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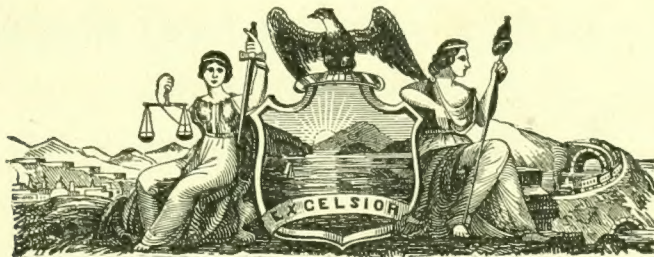
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# LONDON DOCUMENTS :

## XXXIII—XL.

*Lords of Trade to Secretary Fox.*

[Plantations General, (B. T.) XLIII., l. 430.]

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Henry Fox Esq<sup>r</sup> one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir

We have had under our consideration the subject of your letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> instant, signifying to us His Majesty's commands that we should forthwith acquaint you what sum it may be proper to ask of Parliament for the assistance of His Majesty's subjects in North America.

As we apprehend that the money proposed to be given to the Colonies is meant as a bounty & encouragement to them, in consideration of the expences which they have been at on account of the three expeditions which have been carried on in the last year for the reduction of the French Forts at Crown Point Niagara and on the Ohio; it would have been a great satisfaction to us to have been able to obtain a precise knowledge of the actual expence incurred by each Colony, on account of the services abovementioned, and to have made such expence the foundation and guide of our judgment in the consideration of this affair. But the Agents of the several Colonies concerned, by whom we have been frequently attended upon this occasion, are far from being able to give us such information as may lead to any degree of precision or exactness. They cannot ascertain the number of men which have been raised, the time they have continued in actual service, or the sums which have been really issued and expended on account of their pay cloathing or subsistence. We have been obliged therefore, in order to obey His Majesty's commands in the best manner we are able, to proceed upon such informations as could be collected from the letters we have received from the several Governors, and from such acts as have been passed in the respective Colonies for raising men or granting money on account of the abovementioned expeditions.



From these imperfect materials and on the supposition that the Acts which appear to have been passed for the purposes aforesaid have been duly & completely executed, we have made a calculation by which it appears that the amount of the expence incurred by each Colony may be as follows, viz<sup>t</sup>

	£ sterling.		£ sterling.
New York.....	18900	Rhode Island.....	8000
New Jersey.....	6900	Virginia.....	22000
New Hampshire.....	9000	North Carolina.....	8000
Massachusetts Bay.....	60000	Pennsylvania.....	3800
Connecticut.....	29000	Maryland.....	4500
			<hr/>
			£170,100.

It is possible that some of these Colonies may not have expended so large a sum as we have put down to them in the foregoing calculation; but it is also probable on the other hand that others of them may have incurred a much greater expence for the charge of sundry articles, such as the transportation of stores and provisions which are not included in this calculation, because no probable estimate of them can be formed.

Upon the whole therefore we submit it, whether one hundred and twenty thousand pounds may not be a sum proper to be asked of Parliament, to be given to the said Colonies in consideration of the expences they have been at for the abovementioned services, and as an encouragement to exert themselves for the future in their mutual & common defence & to repel any invasion or encroachment on His Majestys Dominions, We are &c

Whitehall  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 16. 1756

DUNK HALIFAX  
ANDREW STONE  
SOAME JENYNS  
JAMES OSWALD  
RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY.

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Ll., No. 11. ]

Fort George N York 16 Jan 1756

My Lords

Inclosed are returns of the Cannon now in and belonging to this Province, also what number of Cannon the works of this City and others to be raised will require, together with a return of Warlike Stores in the Magazine of this Fort. Most of the small Cannon from 6 to 3 Pounders are unfit for Service, it was with some difficulty I could furnish Fort Edward with the few now there from the Fort at Albany, and those left in it are not safe in Firing; Mortars, or Hobits we have none; and only two Royals, that of Iron split in Service at the battle on Lake George the 8<sup>th</sup> of September last.

I must beg your Ldps will please to observe how deficient we shall be in Ordnance, when the works in and about this city are finished the greater part of which I hope to have compleated

this Summer; we shall also want a good many Cannon of the smaller size for the out Forts, Block Houses, and I hope for Forts in the Indian Castles, as they seem inclined to have such built for their Security. Small arms we have none in the publick Magazine but six chests that belong to the four independant companys; this city has a stand of 1000 muskets, they provided last year; and what is in the possession of private People are chiefly for Indian Trade. The Militia are by law to furnish themselves each man one good muskett, with a due proportion of Ammunition, some of them are so indigent that they cannot purchase their proper arms. The Militia Law in Force in this Province, which I beleive is not only the best, but the only one on the Continent that can effectually answer the good purposes of such a Law, will fully inform your Lordships of their mustering and training

I have not been able to collect the number of Inhabitants both White and Black, or the numbers of which the Militia are composed to transmit your Lordships by this conveyance, tho' I have repeatedly ordered them to be taken and sent me, but hope soon to be able to effect it

Your Lordships having been further pleased to direct me by Mr Pownalls letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> July last to give you my opinion, what may be a proper and general System to be laid down for the defence of the Frontiers for the Management of Indian affairs under our general direction, and what Forts should be built, where situated what number of Troops it will be necessary to keep up in America, where they should be stationed, and what will be a proper Fund for makeing a permanent Provision for this Service I shall now endeavor to comply with your Lordships directions; two of the Chief heads are in a great measure blended together and have a close connection (Vizi) the General System for the Defence of the Frontiers against all future encroachments, or Invasions, and for the management of Indian Affairs; I shall begin with the latter but must herein confine myself to the six Nations and their Allies, as I can not take upon me to say any thing of the Southern British Indians whose chief connexion has been with Carolina of whose management I am a stranger

With respect to the six Nations, I must beg leave to offer it as my opinion that the Governor of this Province should have the chief direction of their affairs, and that no steps should be taken with them without consulting him; he has always directed the transactions with them, has and should have the greatest weight and influence with them it is through him that His Majestys commands have always been conveyed to them, and in his Government they live, some proper person under this direction should have the management and conduct of Indian affairs, with such assistance as shall be found necessary from time to time, for the more particular execution of the measures, that may be thought needful to be taken with the Indians, to cultivate the British Interest with them, and to counterwork the Artifices of the French, and no other person should intermeddle in these matters, he should have the choice of such as he may judge necessary to imploy under him that the minds of the Indians may not be distracted by different and contradictory relations and measures. But be made sensible that the pleasure of the Great King, their Father, is only to be received through this Channel. The person proper for this service is Major General Johnson, he has a commission for this purpose from the late General Braddock, the Indians have a high opinion of his Courage and Integrity, and have often experienced his liberality and Kindness. And I make no doubt but he will execute this Commission for the Publick utility if he be not obstructed, by agents employed by the Commander in Chief or from other Governments, who by such means may be tempted to create an inflence to themselves by endeavoring to lessen Mr Johnson's



reputation among the Indians, which I fear must be productive of very evil consequences to the General Interest. I should judge it necessary the better to enable Mr Johnson, or any future Superintendant, to execute a service of so great consequence to the Northern Colonies, that he have His Majestys Commission, and a salary adequate to the Fatigue and Importance of his Duty to be by him drawn for quarterly, and that he or the Governor of New York be empowered to draw for such money as may be necessary for defraying the incidental expences which will arise in performing this Service, of which true accounts upon oath, should be sent to the Governor of New York to be transmitted to England, and that in case of the death of Mr Johnson, the Governor of New York be impowered, with the advice of His Majestys Council, to appoint another in his stead till the Kings pleasure shall be known. This, my Lords I apprehend to be the best system for the management of Indian affairs with respect to the six Nations and their Allies, and if well executed, I trust will not fail of producing good effects, especially if to this be added what falls more naturally under the Head, of a defence of the Frontiers, against all future incroachments or Invasions by erecting Forts in proper places. I should be of opinion that three Forts should be erected on the Northern Frontiers towards Canada, One Fort on Hudsons River, at the great carrying place, another at the south end of Lake George (by the French called Lake St Sacramend) These are done by Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. The third Fort I would propose should be on the Wood Creeck which emptys itself into the drowned lands. The best situation for this Fort, I suppose to be at or about the Falls near where the Wood Creeck and the South Bay mix their waters, whether a proper situation for erecting a Fort can be found there, or thereabouts will depend upon a view and Examination of the Ground, and whether it be practicable and in what manner to support a Garrison there with Provisions and other necessaries; I was in hopes of coming at this Knowledge when at Albany, by employing proper people to explore and survey the country between the Great carrying place, and the falls of the Wood Creeck but was disappointed.

The advantages resulting from these Forts are very considerable. Fort Edward stands at the Great Carrying place on Hudsons River near 50 miles above Albany, and is the common passage from Canada to Albany, whether they come by Lake George, the South Bay or Wood Creeck. Fort William Henry secures the pass by Lake George to Hudsons River, Schenectady and the Mohawks Country. This as it is a cover to their Country, I dare say is very pleasing to them, as the French can not while we hold it, pass with any great body undiscovered towards them. By Fort William Henry and the other to be erected on Wood Creeck we shall be masters of the Waters that lead to Crown Point and may facilitate any enterprize on that Place, or further up Lake Champlain should such be thought adviseable, and I am persuaded had these Forts been erected early last year, the Provincial Forces raised for this expedition, might have been able to have proceeded much further than they did; I can not on this occasion omit observing to your Lordships that the French Generals expedition demonstrates the usefulness of these Forts, to prevent such an other quick march against us without any discovery, as was his. For had he not been repulsed by the Forces under Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson but had beat him and taken Post at Fort Edward then unfinished he would have thrown the Country into the Utmost Consternation, and have laid us under inexpressible difficulties: from the great body of Indians he had with him, he might have sent detachments into the Mohawks Country, and have cut off all communication between Schenectady and General Shirleys Forces at Oswego, at least for some time, whereby a total stop would have

been put to the supply of Provisions for those Troops, who I beleive had not at that time great plenty. The other Forts I would recommend to be erected besides the two built at the Expence of this Province and by the directions of the Lieuten<sup>t</sup> Governor last year, at the Mohawks and Conajoharie for the protection of the Wives and Children of the Mohawks while they were out with General Johnson. Are one in the Onondaga Country, being the place where the General Councils of the six Nations are held, a discreet officer posted in such a Fort and made a Sachem by the Governor of this Province, would be entitled to a seat in their Councils, and with prudent conduct might have a considerable influence in their deliberations Here a good and prudent missionary might be of great Service—The other Fort I would propose to be erected should be at Tierondequat, a place on the Lake Ontario, in the Senekas Country, at about eighty miles distance Westward from Oswego, and nearly the same distance from Niagara. The soil at Tierondequat I am informed is very good, a valuable settlement might be made here under the Protection of this Fort (if the Lands were granted out in small parcels, without Fees to persons that would reside on them, at first without Rent for a Term of years, and afterwards at a small Quit Rent to the Crown; if this should meet with your Lordships approbation, I shall be extremely glad to receive your directions upon it, & I am the more induced to make this recommendation, from the advantages that would necessarily arise from such a Settlement, Here the Sennekas River emptys itself into the Lake Ontario. By means of this Fort and settlement we should soon be able to supply the Garrison of Oswego at a cheap Rate and by the Trade which would in consequence be carried on, with the Sennekas, so near their own habitations we might soon gain an ascendant over them, as numbers of them would draw near this Fort for security by which means we might be able to fix the affections of these Indians who are the most numerous of the Six Nations to the British Interest

These are the Forts I judge most expedient to recommend to your Lordships for the general defence of the Frontiers against future encroachments or Invasions. I have not mentioned Oswego, as I presume General Shirley has strengthened that Post by additional Works. Oswego is a Post of the Greatest consequence and at all events should be made strong and kept well garrisoned. As to the size and Strength of the Forts I have now recommended to your Lordships I can not so particularly describe, as that will more fully appear upon a view of the Situation of the Ground. I shall take leave so far to observe to your Lordships that the Fort at Onondaga need not be so very strong, a Picketted one with a proper number of Block Houses to lodge the Garrison may be sufficient, for I apprehend no enemy can bring cannon there or will attempt to attack it while we hold Oswego

What I have now observ<sup>d</sup> with respect to the Forts proper to be erected, is upon our present state for securing what we are now in possession of from future incroachments or Invasions

But should His Majestys forces get possession of Crown Point and Niagara, these Posts ought to be well secured, that of Crown Point, because it commands the South end of the Lake Champlain, and is a proper place to build such vessells as may give us an uninterrupted Navigation on that Lake, and thereby put an effectual stop to the incursions of the French and their Indians on the back parts of this Province, New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, and prevent the French from marching an army, to attempt a conquest of this Country as they can not bring artillery but by the Waters of Lake Champlain



Niagara is most certainly a Post of the utmost consequence and I must beg leave to offer it as my opinion that this Fort should without loss of time be secured to His Majesty it is the great pass from the Lake Ontario, to the Lake Erie, and opens a very extensive communication with many Tribes of Indians, who might soon be drawn into Friendship with the English by the advantages of their Trade with us, who are able to undersell the French and might give the Indians a better Price for their Beaver than they can do; owing to the French Traders being obliged to deliver their Beaver to the Agents of the French company at a much lower rate than our Traders can sell it for at Albany. An other advantage arising from our possession of Niagara is, that the French from Montreal will be put under very great difficultys in supporting their Forts and settlements to the Westward especially those on the Peninsula on Lake Erie, at the head of Bave River and on the Ohio, I am further of opinion if we make the best use of the advantages which this pass will put into our hands, we may soon oblige the French to abandon their incroachments as it will be scarce possible for them to support those Forts with Garrisons or supply them with Provisions. I must likewise observe to your Lordships that the Indians of the Six Nations will be altogether covered from any insults of the French, if we possess Oswego, Tiorondequat and Niagara, their fears & apprehensions of the French will wear out when they find themselves and their country so powerfully protected. And other Tribes of Indians upon any misunderstanding with the French, may more readily be prevailed upon to take shelter there and draw thither as to a place of great security, and when their Fears are removed, and we have cemented a Friendship with them they will more readily join with us against the French upon any proper occasion.

Thus, my Lords, I have endeavored to offer for your consideration what is in my opinion the best general System for the defence of the Frontiers and for the management of Indian affairs under one General Direction

The other Points of your Lordships commands to me are in what manner his Majesty may further contribute to the security and defence of this Colony, what number of regular Troops will be necessary to keep up in North America, where to be stationed and what will be a proper Fund to be established for making a constant & permanent Provision for these Services

This task is hard for me from the little knowledge I have of the other Colonys, to give your Lordships any opinion upon, but I will to the best of my knowledge offer to your Lordships what occurs to me under these heads. In the first place I must beg leave to offer it as my opinion, that one, or more able and experienced General Officers is greatly wanted for the conducting of his Majestys Forces employed and to be employed on this Continent; I shall suppose (but I say it with diffidence, and with submission to the opinion of men more experienced in Military Matters) that near two thousand men will be necessary to secure, and hold the Posts I have mentioned, and that at those they should be stationed in such proportions, as the importance and the distance from relief of the several Posts may require. This with such a number of Troops in Nova Scotia, as the safety of that country may demand, which the Governor, a much better judge than I can pretend to be, will be better able to inform your Lordships together with the number of Forces thought proper for the Eastern Colonies as also a sufficient number in South Carolina, to enable the Governor of that Province, to secure such advanced Posts in that Country, as may keep up their credit and Influence, among the numerous tribes of Indians in a more immediate connexion with that Government, This I say, my Lords I should be of opinion will put these Colonies upon such a respectable footing as may in the course of a few years, render them an over match for the French.

As to the article of a proper Fund to be establised for these services, is a point of such difficulty, that I know not how to recommend to your Lordships. The Colonys to the Eastward of Delaware River have hitherto bore the burthen of raising men for the removal of the French encroachments. Your Lordships know the difficultys that have at all times arose at every meeting or Congress that has been held for the determining the just Quotas of Men and Money to be furnished by the respective Provinces, in so much, that they never yet have agreed to this point, and I should be of opinion if your Lordships will please to take this matter into your own immediate consideration you will be much more able to settle it for us, than we can ourselves.

I have now to the best of my Judgement given your Lordships my opinion on the several heads recommended to me. And as my residence in this Country has been of too short duration to enable me to make myself master of these several points, I have collected the sentiments of the most impartial judging men upon them. I should do the Lieutenant Governor great injustice in not naming him principally, with whom I have advised with on this occasion, as a Person whose knowledge & sincerity I can depend upon

If these thoughts should meet with your Lordships approbation I hope I shall have your excuse in not laying them before you with more distinctness and precision. but I can with the strictest impartiality offer this general system for Indian affairs as such in my opinion, and such only as will enable this Government to support and maintain their credit, and influence with the Six Nations, and if any objections should arise to your Lordships upon it, I trust they may be easily removed, however such as it is, I submit it to your Lordships, and hope you will be pleased to accept of it, as an earnest of my readiness to comply with your commands. I have the honor to be

Your Ldps most obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

CHAS HARDY

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[New York Papers, Ll., No. 20.]

New York Jan. 17. 1756

My Lords

I did myself the honor of writing to your Lordships the 18<sup>th</sup> past from Fort Johnson, to which I beg leave to refer

By the inclosed Copies of Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirleys letters and mine, your Lordships will see, what past between his Excellency and me relative to his New Commission & Instructions

Mr Shirley hath at length thought proper, to agree to my cont[in]uing to act under General Braddocks commission and upon my talking matters over with him that I shall meet the Indians at Oswego this Spring, and endeavour to dispose them to second such operations as he may determine for His Majestys Service

In one Point and it is a material one, General Shirley will not be so explicit as I would wish, it is in regard to Agents among the Indians employed and paid by him. I can not pretend to carry on this service in a proper manner, whilst I have reason to suspect my measures may

possibly be opposed and probably confused by persons not employed by me nor under my directions. I have told Mr Shirley these measures I apprehend are not agreeable to the Tenor of my Commission and represented to him the ill consequence, his answers leave me in doubt and suspicions, I shall however thus circumstanced do the best I can for the publick service, and fulfill my duty to His Majesty, to the utmost of my power and Abilities

My Lords

Since I have been at New York, I received Mr Secretary Pownalls letter to me, bearing date the 9<sup>th</sup> of October which your Ldps directed him to write

I think myself extremely happy, that my endeavours for His Matys service in Indian affairs, have met with your Lordships approbation, to receive the assurances thereof in Mr Pownalls letter before me, by directions from your Lordships, is an honor, which I not only highly prize, but animates me with the Ambition of retaining and improving your Lordships favorable Dispositions towards me

I have read & considered the copy of the Instructions given to Sir Chas Hardy our present Governor upon the complaints of the Indians relative to their Lands, tho I am fully assured of that Gentlemans sincere and disinterested Inclinations to exert the Powers intrusted with him, in executing these Instructions to the full extent of his authority, yet I conceive that it will be ineffectual, without an act of the Legislature of this Province to destroy the Patents complained of Whether such an act can or will be obtained I very much doubt

But on this point in general as well as to my sentiments upon the important subject of the British Indian Interest, and that more particularly, as it relates to the Northern confederacy, I beg leave to refer your Lordships to the Papers I herewith transmitt you

As my administration of Indian affairs, makes one whole Section in those Papers, and is put in light of a justification, your Lordships will permit me to give you the reasons, for my name being so frequently mentioned therein

I am considerable enough to have enemies, and to be envyed. I have been informed, that General Shirley and some other persons have censured my conduct, since I have had the honor to superintend Indian affairs, The unfavorable Terms I have been on with that Gentleman, his causeless jealousies, and his unmerited Resentment, with some other grounds give me reason to suspect my management has been or may be misrepresented to your Lordships, or perhaps to some in His Majesties Administration, hence it came that some parts of the second Section take more notice of me, than perhaps might otherwise be needfull

That of a fixed fund I must beg to press upon your Lõrdps. as a point absolutely necessary for carrying on Indian affairs, so as to put them upon a solid footing, and extend them to those beneficial purposes without a steady and connected view to which, I should neither chuse to dispose of the public money, nor continue in the administration of these affairs, a precarious Fund may not only fail at a critical juncture but be attended with obstructions almost equally fatal; I am willing to be under the severest Checks and Ties, with regard to my uprightness in money matters, which even mistrust itself can suggest, for my motives in pressing this point are the nature of the Service, and the good of the Publick

As to my own appointm<sup>t</sup> Prudence and justice to myself make it necessary that I should be explicit to your Lordships, every thing of this kind is yet unsettled; while I had no public Character in Indian affairs, I sustained very considerable expences, and these I will be bold to say happily applied



From the time I engaged under my present commission to this day I wholly gave up all Trade ; my attention to my estate and every other improvement of my private Fortune, have been and must be if I continue, lay'd aside, as far as they relate to my personal application

I am if I continue in the administration of them, determined to devote my time and labors wholly to Indian affairs.

At all publick meetings either at my house or elsewhere, not only the officers belonging to this Service, but many other Persons, who generally attend on these occasions are entertained at my expence and when the meeting is at Onondago or Oswego, the expences are increased, the journey is long and very fatiguing

My Lords

A Thousand Pound Sterling Pr Annum, I do assure your Lordships will not be an equivalent for the advantages I give up and the additional expences this employment will put me to however I will undertake it for that allowance And here my Lords I crave the honor to introduce the secretary for Indian affairs, he hath applied himself for some years, with great diligence and with answerable success ; to make himself master of the Department, to which His Matys Commission appointed him ; I am fully convinced from my experience of his assistance and behaviour, that no person I know of, is more equal to or worthy of this employment, his abilities, the importance and fatigues of this office do if I may presume to judge deserve two hundred pounds sterling per annum with an allowance for a clerk and other charges. Upon these points, both with regard to Mr Wraxall and myself I do not chuse to apply to General Shirley, for as Mr Wraxalls sign manual is in the form of it, not adapted to my administration of Indian affairs I hope your Lordships will judge it proper, that both of us will be honored with especial Commissions from His Majesty provided Indian affairs continue in the channel which is at present favored with your Ldps Approbation, when I hope our Salaries may be determinately fixed. I return my Lords to the papers before referred to and to the important affair of the Indian Lands ; to lay before your Ldps all the particular circumstances, of the Grants and Patents in the several Provinces, is beyond my power, and for effectual expedients I apprehend His Majestys Servants learned in the Law, may fall on better methods, than any which are within the Compass of my abilities to propose.

My Lords. having had my time so entirely engaged, since I received the honor of Your Lordships commands to lay before you my sentiments on Indian affairs, and being obliged to return with the best expedition I can to mount Johnson permit me to refer your Lordships to my former letters, and to the Papers herewith. And for all such particulars as may be omitted or not sufficiently explained in them, to Mr Pownall, who I find is going to England, as he knows my sentiments, and is also acquainted with Indian affairs, as they stand connected with these Colonies in General

I have the honor to be

with the utmost respect

My Lords

your Lordships mo

obedient & mo humble S<sup>t</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

*Indian Speeches at Major General Johnson's House. Dec. 28. 1755.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 21. ]

[ Omitted, being a Duplicate of *post.* p. 45. ]*Additional Instructions to Major General Johnson.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 23. ]

Additional Instructions to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> William Johnson relative to the Indians of the six Nations under his command

That a party of the Six Nations to consist of a few Sachems the rest to be Warriors be engaged by private applications and the offer of rewards to take up the Hatchett against the French and their Indians who have fallen upon the Provinces of Virginia, Maryland and Pensilvania

That they be requested immediately to proceed to Pensilvania where the[y] will find a large force actually in readiness, and there concert the best measures for carrying on the War

That they should go by the way of Susquehanna and call upon all the Indians settled upon both the Branches of that River and engage as many Indians as they have any Influence with to [join and] accompany them

That Assurances be given them of their being supplied with Arms Accoutrements, Cloaths, Provisions, and pay. That they shall have besides these, a reward for every prisoner or scalp taken from the enemy and every other reasonable encouragement, all which to be ascertained to their satisfaction by Treaty as soon as they arrive in Pensilvania

That as in all Indian Towns, some may be for the French and some for the English, they should be advised to use prudence in their applications to particular Indians, lest the French be too soon informed of their Intentions.

That they be instructed to look out for fit and proper persons to get intelligence and to engage them to go to the French Fort on the Ohio and to the Towns in that neighbourhood, and when they have made themselves masters of their future designs, and operations then to proceed to the Governor of Pensilvania with their information for which they shall be well paid

That if any of the Indians are afraid to leave their wives & children they be desired to bring them along with them and care shall be taken to assign them a strong and well fortified place to live in where they shall be supplied with necessaries

New York Dec 24 1755

W SHIRLEY

By His Excellencys command

W<sup>m</sup> ALEXANDER SécryNOTE.—The words within brackets are added from the document in *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.—Ed.

*Sir William Johnson to Governor Shirley.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 24. ]

New York Jan<sup>y</sup> 3. 1756

Sir

When I waited upon your excellency the next day after my arrival here, I was so much out of order that I was not in a condition, either to confer with your Excellency or distinctly to remember what you said to me on the subject of your packet sent me by express

On the receipt of your Packet I immediately wrote your Excellency an answer, but when I called for the express, I found he went away without giving me the least notice; I sent it to Albany to be forwarded to you to Boston where I apprehended you would be, on my arrival at Albany I found it still there and this morning I received it from thence, and send it to you herewith

With relation to the New Commission, which your Excellency has thought proper to send me, and desire my answer whether I will accept an[d] act under it. I must beg leave to observe to your Excellency that I apprehend the late General Braddocks Commission to me for the sole management of the affairs of the Indians of the 6 Nations, and their Allies was granted in consequence of the Royal Instructions, and with the concurrence of the Council of Alexandria of which your Excellency was a member, and that it remains still in Force

Under this opinion I do not conceive the necessity of your issuing another Commission to me or that I can consistently accept it.

I am willing to continue acting under Mr Braddocks Commission and as far as my abilities, and the nature of the service will permitt, to follow such Instructions, as I may receive from your Excellency as commander in Cheif of His Majestys Forces in North America.

If your Excellency concurs herewith, I will lay before you my sentiments on the conduct which appears to me most for His Majestys Service relative to Indian affairs at this important conjuncture

I beg the favor of your Excellencys answer as soon as you conveniently can that I may govern myself accordingly

I am most respectfully, Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>cy</sup>s*Governor Shirley to Major General Johnson.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 25. ]

New York Jan<sup>y</sup> 4. 1756

Sir

Last night I was favored with your letter of the third instant, inclosing another of the 16<sup>th</sup> inst: of December

In the latter you say you have been this long time told, "that there was a commission from "His Majesty for you and that it was sent by the late General Braddock" but I can't persuade



myself that the late General was capable of so wrong a thing as to sink a Commission from the King which was sent by His Majesty to be delivered to you

For my own part I don't believe, however that may have happened, that any Commission Appointm<sup>t</sup> or Order was ever sent you from the Crown other than what is contained in His Matys 5<sup>th</sup> Instruction to the late General, wherein it is expressed "that His Majesty had "ordered you to repair to the Northern Indians as the person thought to be most acceptable "to them, to endeavor to engage them to take part, and act with his Forces in such operations "as the late General should think most expedient. By Tenor of which it is clear, that you must from the duty of your office, be subject to the Instructions of His Majestys General of His Forces in America for the time being and as to the Commission which Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock gave you, as general of His Matys Forces, it is part of it that you should follow his Instructions; And I presume you will allow that whilst you act under that Commission, you are equally obliged to follow those you shall receive from me whom His Matys has appointed to succeed him in his command

At all events therefore it is clear, that you are bound to follow my Instructions as much as you was those of General Braddock

With regard to the operation of General Braddocks Commission to you, I think so far as it is founded upon His Majestys Instructions to him it is doubtless good so far as it is not founded upon them and is incompatible with the Directions which the Crown hath formerly given in its Charters to several of the Colonies and constantly to this day, in its Instructions to the Governors appointed by the King concerning the Indians to be clearly void

You observe to me in your last letter "that you apprehend the late General Braddocks "Commission to you for the Sole Management of the affairs of the Indians of the Six Nations "and their Allies was granted *in Consequence of His Royal Instructions, and with the concurrence "of the Council of Alexandria of which I was a member* and that it still remains in Force; so far as the Commission is warranted by His Majestys Instructions I have already allowed it to be in force; but as to its being granted with the Concurrence of the Council of Alexandria, I must observe to you that it seems clear from the Minutes of that Council, that the members of it in giving their opinion upon your fitness to receive full Powers from General Braddock to treat with the Indians of the five Nations, and secure them and their allies to the British Interest, had not any view of advising the general to give you further Powers, than what appear to be intended by His Majesty, in his royal Instructions to him, which were upon that occasion produced to them in Council, that this is the whole of what passed there; as to the Commission which the General gave you it was never produced in Council, nor came under its consideration, and I am persuaded from Part of the late Generals Correspondence with Sir Thomas Robinson, as one of His Majestys principal Secretaries of State, Copies of all which were sent me with my Commission, that the Gen<sup>l</sup> had no extraordinary [design in that] part of His Commission to you, than to prohibit some persons he was jealous had been endeavoring to engage the Indians of the Six Nations to stand neuter between the English and French in their present state of Hostilities from intermeddling in the management of their affairs, and not in the least to obstruct me in procuring some Indians to go with myself in the Expedition against Niagara

Tho I can very ill spare the time, I have entered so deeply into [the] Origin and effect of General Braddocks Commission to you that you may consider it in its just light

Upon the whole, Sir, it appears to me that a sufficient appointm<sup>t</sup> of you by His Majesty to the Trust of engaging the Indians of the Six Nations and their Northern allies to act with His Forces in such operations as his General in North America for the time being shall think expedient, is contained in his Royal Instructions, without any further Commission or Instrument, that it was an Impropriety in the late Gen<sup>l</sup> to ask the advice of the Governors upon a point which His Majesty himself had determined, and that he needed to have done nothing more than give you his Instructions. As to myself I should not have thought of sending you any new commission, if it had not been that I had before experienced some inconveniencies to his Majestys Service arising from your construction of General Braddocks to you which I therefore designed to put an end to. But as you are desirous of continuing to act under it, and hath given me an assurance in your letter that you will follow such Instructions as you may receive from me as Commander in Cheif of His Majestys Forces in America, I shall be satisfied with your doing that, and not urge your acting under a commission from me, but leave you to act under General Braddocks Commission or His Majestys Appointment of you contained in His Royal Instructions as you shall [think] most adviseable yourself

As my stay will be very short here, I must desire you to let me see you on Tuesday at Two oclock, in order to settle the business I have to do with you, and that you will favor me with your company afterwards at Dinner

I am

Sir

Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> SHIRLEY

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*Sir William Johnson to Governor Shirley.*

[New York Papers, Ll. No. 26.]

New York Jan<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1756

Sir

This afternoon I receiv'd your Excellencys favor of yesterday

Your letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> past which I had the honor to receive the 16<sup>th</sup> Dec. together with the new proposed Commission, your Excellency was pleased to send me, desiring to know whether I had a Commission from His Majesty or not for the Sole management of Indian affairs. I wrote your Excellency that I had no other but that, given to me by General Braddock, yet your Excellencys manner of asking me that question, and I having heard by letter from England, as also by a friend just come from thence, that such a Commission was or would be sent me, led me to suppose it might have come out, tho' as I did not receive such, I answer'd you as the fact was, which answer I am sorry your Excellency so misconstrues as to conceive that I could entertain even a thought of charging General Braddock, whom I looked upon to have been a man void of all Chicanery of so bad a thing as sinking a Commission, I always did and I do still apprehend, that the Power by which General Braddock gave me my Commission, was upon the same authority by which his excellency gave away any other Commission, I am therefore extreamly happy, your Excellency has thought it adviseable that I may not act under that Commission, as otherwise I could not possibly have executed the Trust thereby reposed in me, nor do that service, which the public cause requires which hitherto I

have done without any appointment Salary or reward whatever, and which I am still willing to do without any consideration to my own benefit or Interest to the utmost of my abilities to the extent even of my own Fortune which has already greatly suffered by my being obliged to neglect that in giving my attention to these matters. I repeat sir I am still willing to do it (even under this discouragem<sup>t</sup>) rather than His Majestys Service and the Countrys Interest should suffer, which I will take upon me to say would inevitably be the case did I decline it. These, Sir, and no interested mercenary or ambitious views are my motives; and upon such I will always act

Your Excellency as Commander in Cheif has an undoubted Right to direct the measures, of this His Majestys service, and to send me your Instructions accordingly which I shall think it my duty to obey, but how far at each particular juncture, and upon each particular occasion and in what peculiar manner I may be able to manage, and persuade the Six confederate Nations (who tho' Allies to the British Crown are very jealous of being thought dependant upon us) to engage in this or that measure, must I conceive while I have the management of their affairs, be left to my Conduct and discretion, without which, unless your Excellency conceives them as vassals, you must know that no one can manage their affairs properly, and here I must beg leave to represent to your Excellency, that there are now agents acting among the confederate Indians, without any knowledge or advise, and what they are about and what may be the consequences of their measures, I can not answer for, I must therefore beg that your Excellency give orders that they be withdrawn, & that none hereafter be sent there, but by my direction or Recommendation

I shall do myself the honor to attend your Excellencys to morrow according to your appointment

I am,



*Secretary Wraxall to Sir William Johnson.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 27. ]

To Major Generall William Johnson His Majestys sole superintendent of the affairs of the Northern Indians &c

Sir

In consequence of your Request and upon the plan I received from you, I herewith offer you Some Thoughts on the British Indian Interest &c.

I have endeavored to be as concise as the various subjects and the importance of them would permit and at the same time so explicit as to answer the design

The short warning given and the limitation of time I was under, will I hope plead my apology where it may be wanting if I know my own heart, good will towards to the Public Interest and a scrupulous attachment to truth have guided my Pen

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & humble Servant

9 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 175<sup>5</sup><sub>6</sub>

PETER WRAXALL Sec<sup>y</sup> for Ind<sup>a</sup> Affairs



SOME THOUGHTS  
UPON  
THE BRITISH INDIAN INTEREST  
IN  
NORTH AMERICA,  
MORE PARTICULARLY AS IT RELATES TO  
THE NORTHERN CONFEDERACY  
COMMONLY CALLED  
THE SIX NATIONS.

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SECTION 1.

Primary and Capital Causes of the Declension of the British Indian Interest

The Management of Indian Affairs, from the vicinity of the City of Albany to the Indian Country, and from the Indian Trade centering there, fell naturally into the hands of the Inhabitants of that City, and in the more early times, was wholly submitted to them

\* for the time and particulars hereof, vide an abstract of the Indian Records transmitted by the present Secy for Indian affairs to my Lord Halifax

\* After the French had procured a Peace with the 5 Nations, [they] saw & felt their Interest in cultivating a Friendship with them; they began to push their ambitious schemes upon this continent

The People of Albany attentive only to the benefit of their Trade, suffered the French to lay the foundation of their system without any interruptions; had they been equal to a foresight of consequences and under the influence of Generous Patriotism, they might with great ease have destroyed the ambitious schemes of the French in their infancy

Our Indians on the contrary penetrated the designs of the French, their good sense saw consequences, and their Virtue for some time resisted the bribery and cajollments of the French

They endeavored to awaken the commissioners and to stir up an active jealousy, upon the French first building Cadaracqui Fort, and afterwards a house or Fort, on the North side of Lake Ontario †

† Kenthe

Our Indians warmly represented the fatal consequences of these encroachments to the Albany Commissioners but in vain

The 5 Nations obliged the French to abandon Cadaracqui Fort however they returned and strengthened it

The French debauched many of our 5 Nations to their Religion and Interest actually drew several off to go and live in Canada, and laid the foundation of that formidable and fatal seduction which now forms the Cagnawaga nation

Vide abstract  
above noted

\* The Records have preserved many remonstrances from our Indians upon the Growing Powers & ambitious designs of the French among which there is a prophetick speech, of an ancient wise and brave Seneca Sachem, which does him immortal honor and loads our then Indian management with indelible shame

† As the India Records are at Mount Johnson & I took no copy of the beforement Abstract I can not be positive as to the name the particulars of this affair are contained in the abstract. The Deed is mented in the Records but not recorded. The Deed obtained by Gov Burnet a copy of which I have seen doth not come up to the Terms of their speech at this period, & if I remember right is confined to their Patrimonial and doth not extend to their conquered Lands

The five nations finding their representations & admonitions ineffectual and the French making uninterrupted Strides upon their Lands and hunting Grounds At a public meeting (I think) with Lt Gov<sup>r</sup>† Nanfan at Albany, They put all their Patrimonial Lands and those obtained by conquest under the Protection of the King of Great Britain, to be by him secured for the use of them and their heirs against the encroachments and ambitious designs of the French

Still profiting by our supineness and presuming on the weakness of our Indian management, the French push<sup>d</sup> a point not less insolent than alarming with the consent of some Onondaga Indians whom they had debauched to their Interest They built a Fort and were building a chapel at the Onondaga Castle—Our Albany Commissioners awoke Coll Schuyler went up there with a party of men, destroyed both the Fort & Chapel, drove the French away and strengthened our Indian Interest however we relapsed into our former Indolence, and the French tho not so boldly, yet steadily pursued their measures

To sum up and conclude this article; the 5 nations gave us repeated warning of the designs of the French, they represented the fatal consequences both to themselves & us of their encroachments at Cadaracqui & Niagara, and of their management and alliances with regard to the far or Western Indians, with whom Trade produced them alliances & enabled the French to support Niagara and their settlement at Detroit, and that the Trade was chiefly carried on with Goods purchas<sup>d</sup> by the French at Albany

This leads to the second cause of the Declension of our Indian Interests namely

### The Trade between Albany and Canada

Without the Goods which they purchased at Albany the French could not have rivalled us in the Western Trade

Without Trade that way they could not have obtained & extended their alliances & influence with the western Indians

Without these Alliances the could not have supported Niagara & Detroit and obstructed our Trade with the Western Indians by which the French not only deprived us of the Profits of this Trade, but of those advantages with regard to our Indian Interest which are the natural concomitants of such a Trade and at the same time the Western Alliances of the French overawed our 5 Nations & encreased their consequence among them

This Canada Trade was an easy one, very profitable & hath always continued such to those individuals at Albany who were and have been concerned in it. Great Fortunes were obtained by it which obtained that party Provincial Power and influence. I say that party for two Partys sprang up in Albany — The Traders with the six Nations & Western Indians, and the Canada Traders

The Majority of the Commissioners for Indian affairs, were frequently these French Traders, some part at least of them always were

Our 5 Nations were displeased at this trade and often declared both their reasons & resentments against it

Governor Burnet a Wise & honest man, and who had looked more into Indian Affairs & understood them better than any of his Predecessors, saw how detrimental this French Trade was to the true British Interest & how serviceable to the extension of the French. He opposed it—got an act of Assembly past against it, and some vigorous measures were put on foot to destroy it: His removal and the Power of Party prevented the destruction of this pernicious Trade. It revived, it continued and flourished weakened our own Indian Interest, extended and strengthened the French

In return for this advantageous Trade to the French Indian Politicks, they gave a neutrality to Albany in War time and whilst New England was harassed and bleeding at every vein, the Albanians and with them the Frontiers of New York, enjoyed profound Peace and reaped the uninterrupted Profits of the Canadian Trade

The third cause by which our Interest & Influence amongst the Indians hath been greatly injured, their esteem for and confidence in us fatally weakened, hath been from the exorbitances and Impositions of our Albanian Traders: This not only with the six Nations but with the Western or far Indians

For their complaints on this head frequently and pathetically made, or for several Instances of craft & Fraud on this subject I refer to the abstract of the Records afore mentioned

The ill consequences to our true Interest of this reproachful and impolitic conduct, are too obvious to require my expatiating on—

An other and one of the most fatal Causes of the decrease of our Indian Interest & influence, and which hath not only weakened their good opinion and affection towards us, but has made numbers of them our enemies, sown a gloomy discontent and suspicion of our Intentions amongst the whole confederacy hath been very near loosing us their Alliance, and will in all probability wholly do it, if proper measures are not fallen on to give them satisfaction & security. This Cause is relating to their Lands

An unaccountable thirst for large Tracts of Land without the design of cultivation, hath prevailed over the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring Provinces with a singular rage Patents have been lavishly granted (to give it no worse term) upon the pretence of fair Indian purchases, some of which the Indians have alledged were never made but forged—Others bought of Indians who were no Proprietors some by making two or three Indians Drunk and giving them a trivial consideration—They say also the Surveyors have frequently run Patents vastly beyond even the pretended conditions or limits of sale

\* Vide Abstract of Indian Records in many places.

There has certainly been a great deal of unrighteous conduct in these matters\* Many years ago the Indians requested of our Governors, & indeed have earnestly repeated it to almost every Governor, that no Patents might be granted, but for Land sold at their General and public meetings—this hath been as often promised

The cheif Patents in this Province which gave them uneasiness and until they are remedied, will throw insuperable difficulties upon the management of Indian affairs are



## Keyderosseras Connojahary and the Oneida Carrying Place

The vast Grant of Land to the Ohio company is an other and one of the most material articles of discontent & Jealousy to the confederate Nations and their allies, aggravated by many other Patents granted by the Governors of Virginia and Maryland

There is reason to beleive the last Pensilvania Purchase, tho' agreed to at a publick meeting, is a matter of no small Grievance to many of the six Nations, and so disgusting to the Delaware & Shawanese Indians, as hath probably occasioned those Indians now ravaging our back Settlements

That memorable and important act by which the Indians put their Patrimonial and conquered Lands under the Protection of the King of Great Britain their Father against the incroachments or Invasions of the French is not understood by them as a cession or Surrender as it seems to have been ignorantly or willfully supposed by some, they intended and look upon it as reserving the Property and Possession of the Soil to themselves and their Heirs. This Property the Six Nations are by no means willing to part with and are equally averse and jealous that any Forts or Settlements should be made thereon either by us or the French

These are their hunting Grounds, by the profits of which they are to maintain themselves and their Families, they are therefore against any settlements there because the consequence would be the driving away Game & destroying their Livelyhood and Riches. Besides, part of these Lands, they have appointed for their allies and Dependents, these they want to congregate near them & by that means increase their strength, Power and consequence, for in these the Six Nations have been and are dayly decreasing

Our Six Nations and their Allies at least the Polititians amongst them look upon the present disputes betw<sup>n</sup> the English and French in this part of the world notwithstanding our plausible pretences of rescuing their Lands, and some such pretences the French plead on their side, as a point of selfish Ambition in us both and are apprehensive that which ever Nation gains their Point will become their Masters not their deliverers—They dread the success of either and their ablest Politicians would very probably rather wish us to continue destroying each other than that either should be absolute conquerors, could the various nations of Indians form a confederacy equal to the Attempt there is reason to suppose they would unite and drive us and the French to a greater distance from their Hunting Grounds. Could they depend upon our destroying the French Forts & Settlements and erecting none of our own in their room but leave those Lands quite free to them, I am inclined to beleive, that not only the Six Nations, but most nations of Indians in those parts might be brought to join us upon this plan, very soon would the French be then either totally demolished or reduced to the necessity of abandoning their various encroachments. But the Indians suspect we have different views; that to restore their Lands to their natural state and deliver 'em over to them as Proprietors of

\* The Indians hint their sense of the disputes between us & the French in their answer to Mr. Johnson's chit Speech which they say and that we are not inclined to enter into a treaty without Reason yet &c &c

the soil are not the ends we aim at. \* That the disputes between the French and us are on both sides ambition and profit 'Tis true they see the French more powerful in these points than we are, and therefore their wisest Patriots may wish us success and their Policy might lead them to join us at present, but they are timorous to do this thinking the French to be a more military, united and active People than we are

And therefore I suspect the fifth Cause of the Declension of our Indian Interest and influence to be our ill conduct & bad success in our several expeditions against Canada

We have attempted four several expeditions against Canada they were all ushered in with great Pomp in each we boasted to the Indians of no less than driving all Canada into the Sea; at great expences &c. with great difficulty, we persuaded the confederacy to join us, the event of each disgraced us and rendered us more & more contemptible in the eyes of the Indians. The last expedition in the year 1746 tho' introduced with formidable appearances and swelling boasts made us loose all credit for Military Virtue among the Indians and proportionately raised their opinion in favor of our enemies, It must be owned our operations last year towards Crown Point was a happy & retrieving stroke in our favour

When the warlike Genius & disposition of the Indians are considered this scourge of the Declension of our Interest and influence among them will appear to have weight. But I choose to leave this mortifying particular rather to others Reflections, than to make any further animadversions thereon

Thus I have attempted to trace the principal sources which occur to me from whence may be derived the Declensions of the British Interest with and influence over the Indians, particularly as it relates to those of the six confederate Nations

#### SECTION 2<sup>nd</sup>.

All these Causes combining our Indian Interest had been for many years decaying and was approaching very fast to its Dissolution when the Royal Instructions led General Braddock to appoint Col. William Johnson of Mount Johnson in the Province of New York, sole superintendant of the affairs of the Six Nations and their allies and to furnish him with money & Credit to enable him by his skill in Indian affairs & his influence amongst the Indians to endeavor to retrieve the British Interest at this interesting period

That he did speedily bring our Indian Affairs into a restorative condition, may I think be safely asserted from the Records of his Proceedings. But at the same time it appeared

First That the confederate Nations at their meeting with Coll Johnson did with great Reluctancy take up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians

Secondly That they declined sending any of their people to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock

Thirdly That they were not inclined to join General Shirley

I shall consider these three particulars and then in the

Fourth place assign the reasons why no more Indians joined Generall Johnson

In the detail I will to the best of my knowledge adhere to Facts, and to the extent of my Capacity discover the Causes.

##### 1 Their Reluctancy to take up the Hatchett—

What hath been already noted upon the Declension of our Indian Interest will in a great measure account for this reluctance but some other parlars conspired—These I shall touch upon

Some time after the Declaration of the last French War, Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton was advised to take the managem<sup>t</sup> of Indian affairs out of the hands of the Dutch Commissioners at Albany who together with (I have been informed) some others in this Province, were for striking up a Neutrality and carrying on the Canada Trade with the Cagnawaga Indians

Mr Clinton followed this advice and put the management of Indian Affairs into the hands of Coll Johnson The uprightness of his dealings, his friendly and humane behaviour towards

the Indians, with whom he had for many years traded, & near whose country he lived had given him great sway & influence over them. To him it was owing that great numbers met Mr Clinton at Albany and that the six Nations took up the Hatchett against the French and actually went to Canada & brought Mr Johnson several Prisoners & scalps

Coll Johnson during his administration of their affairs, encreased his Indian Interest and so much endear'd himself to them by going out to War with them and by the rest of his conduct that after the Peace took place, and Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton was just under the necessity of recommitting Indian Affairs to the Albanian Commissioners the Indians were extreemly dissatisfied and uneasy and the last time Governor Clinton met them, they earnestly requested he would speak to the King their Father that Coll Johnson might manage all their affairs, and enforced this request with a large Belt of Wampum

Their dislike and contempt of the Albany Commissioners grew stronger and stronger — Indian affairs were unskillfully managed and the cultivation of their friendship grossly neglected.

Coll Johnson, tho the assembly of New York declined to refund him the monies he had by Mr Clintons orders and with his assurances of being repaid, advanced for the public Service, and the sum of £                      New York Currency is to this day unpaid, Mr Johnson still continued with a considerable expence to himself, to exert his Indian Interest and influence for the public Good—he kept many of them from going over to the French and supported those who were well affected with the hopes of better times

During this period the Canada Trade thrrove mightily at Albany, and whilst the Six Nations were treated with a cold respect, the Cognawagas, were honored, courted and humoured\*

\* Vide. Speech of the 6 Nations to ye Lt. Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York & the provincial Commissioners the 24 July 1754

This enraged our Six Nations, and there is abundant reason to beleive if it had not been for Mr Johnsons good offices, we should have severely felt the consequences of our mistaken Politics

While our Indian affairs lay in this illjudged & unhappy Situation, the French were taking the advantage of our bad management. They had their agents in most if not all the Castles of the Six Nations, fomenting their discontents, aluring them by presents & Promises, and using every art to debauch them from our Alliance, some went off to Canada, many to the New French Settlement at Sweegochie

In June 1754. A meeting was appointed at Albany by the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, at which the Indians were informed that Commissioners from most of the Colonies would be present and that very considerable Presents would be given. Yet such was the discontented cold disposition of the Indians towards us, that tho' they were very uneasy & much alarmed at the Proceedings of the French upon the Ohio & well knew how important a Crisis it was, Yet maugre all these temptations & motives, never were so few Indians seen at any public

+ Vide Representatn of the state of the Colonies in Proceedings of Congress held at Albany in June & July 1754

meeting† Those who did come appeared to be very much out of humor, and before they would proceed to the public Conferences remonstrated to the Leit<sup>t</sup> Gov of New York upon the injustice done them with regard to their Lands, complained bitterly, that tho a Deputation had gone down to New York the year before to Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton with these complaints, yet no redress had been granted‡

‡ for further particulars relating to this matter I refer to abovesaid Proceedings.

At this meeting they (the Indians) accused the Albany Commissioners in their public speech to their Faces, of the neglect & contempt with which the had treated the six Nations, told them the Cognawagas & the Bever from Canada, took up their whole attention, bid them take notice that the fire of friendship between the six Nations & Albany was burnt out, the pressed it in the warmest manner that their brother Warrighayaghe§ might again have the management of their affairs; but they continued in the same channel

§ Coll Johnson's Indian Name



Under the Declension observed in the first Section and in this wretched state of our Indian affairs, Coll: Johnson began his administration. The beginning of May 1755 he returned from Virginia, immediately acquaint<sup>d</sup> the confederate Nations with his appointment and summoned a meeting of all their Sachems & Warriors at his house without loss of time

Their universal satisfaction upon receiving this News was evident from the numbers which assembled at Mount Johnson at this short warning, for upon receiving the summons, they immediately set out with the Interpreters, and near 1200 of nine different Nations were at Mount Johnson by the Middle of June, some of which came near 300 miles distance, among this were more men than were ever before known at any public meeting

They came with this readiness and in such numbers, chiefly from their personal Love of & confidence in their brother Coll Johnson, but they brought with them their late mentioned discontents and Greivances; many amongst them were more disposed towards the French than us, and in general but cold to the British Interest

Mr Johnson had an arduous task upon his hands

#### First

To retrieve their lost confidence in & respect towards their Brethren the English

#### Secondly

To bring over from their attachments those who were at the head of the French party

#### Thirdly

Not only to remove the General [preference], of the French management, but to raise a jealousy of their ambition, a dread of their Power, and a spirit of hatred and Revenge for the former injuries they had received and for the blood of their Forefathers which had been spilt by the French

#### Fourthly

To possess them with a respectful opinion of the Prowess, Resolution and abilities of the English, and that we were at present both able & willing to crush the Power & put to shame the boastings of the French

#### Fifthly & lastly

To prevail on them to take up the Hatchett against the French and their Indians and to join our Arms

The four first of these points were so fully obtained, that tho' for a few months before this meeting, it was feared and there were reasons for beleiving, that numbers of the upper nations, several of the Oneidas and some of the Mohocks were on the point of quitting our Alliance & going over to the French. Yet when this meeting broke up, both the inclinations and Resolutions of the whole Confederacy, were sincerely favorable to our alliance and averse to the French

Upon the fifth and last point General Johnson was somewhat doubtful, and both at Alexandria and in his letters to Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock and the several Governors he mentioned it with suitable uncertainty

Let it be here recollected that our Indian Interest had many years ago been wounded: it had been long on the decay had been recently under a very lax injudicious management—Our

Power by the Indians, was little respected—Our Intentions greatly suspected—they were exasperated by the avarice and dishonesty of our Indian Traders The claims on their Lands and the unrighteous methods (in many instances) made use of to obtain them, enraged and alarmed them in the highest degree and gauled them in the tenderest part, add to these the artful insinuating conduct, the uniforme, spirited Indian Policy of y<sup>e</sup> French

When these circumstances are maturely considered, and these were the circumstances at the Period Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson was to attempt prevailing on the confederacy to take up the Hatchett against the French and their Indians and join our arms; This to be done at a sudden unexpected call, at one meeting without time for any previous measures which in matters of importance are very necessary with Indians, who are slow in their deliberations and take much time & form in determining upon any affairs of moment—I say will it then appear extraordinary that the accepted the Hatchett with reluctance and that it was with some uneasiness on their side and great difficulty on ours, that they were brought to a unanimous Resolution that they would join our arms

I apprehend, it falls in with the subject and leads to the remaining particulars and therefore I shall sum up what the Indians said in private and public conferences upon taking up the Hatchett

They complained of the shortness of the warning and the peremptoriness of the Demand

They pleaded the want of time to call in their scattered people

They insinuate the Disgrace of our former expeditions that they had strengthened instead of weakening the power of the French, and when they had engaged on our side, we made Peace and left them in the Lurch exposed to the resentment of the French and to the revenge of their enemy Indians

They told us, the Cognawagas who were absolutely in the French Interest, were permitted to trade openly at Albany, and insinuated that this gave the French numberless advantages over us, enabled them to traverse our designs, strengthen their Indian alliances, and to distress and weaken the connexions & Power of the six Nations

They said the had brothers Sisters &c in Canada & among the French whom they wanted to draw from thence but that so sudden a declaring themselves on our side might involve their Relations in dangers & difficulties, which if proper warning had been given there would have been time for expedients & remedies

These objections had not only plausibility but reason on their side

The matter was a subject of very warm debates for upwards of two days in their Councils, it required all the address & influence which Coll Johnson was master of to produce unanimity in their resolves in this he was assisted by the great Hendricks Political Talents seconded by the Zeal and influence of several other Indians of each Nation

From hence and from M<sup>r</sup> Johnsons having the cheif command of the Forces destined towards Crown Point (for upon that expedition they only had their eyes in their Declaration) it was owing more than either to their Inclinations or judgement, that the confederacy consented to take up the Hatchet in our favor and therefore

Secondly

This does in some measure account for their declining to send any of their people to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock. other Reasons there were I shall mention them.

1 Their jealousies & uneasiness at the claim made by the English upon the Ohio—that of the Ohio company in particular

2 The six Nations are not in good terms with the Government of Virginia and they looked upon General Braddock as the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia and his army as the people of that Province— They know there are large Patents in Virginia for Lands on the Ohio and the circumjacent Country, that some settlements have been made and others attempted

They claim these Lands and deny their ever having either sold or given away their Property in them. They look upon these matters as acts of injustice & usurpation; they have resented them, they will do it, and if in their Power will by Force hinder those Grants from being settled— They looked therefore upon Mr Braddocks enterprize, as one encroachment making War upon another, and which ever got the day the Six Nations judged their Property would be their Prize, and tho' of the two, they might be more inclined to wish us the victory, as thinking we were least to be dreaded, yet were on the whole disposed to leave us and the French to worry each other

These, tho' not openly confessed, there is great reason to beleive, were the sentiments of their cheif men and ablest Politicians, and one of their most prevailing reasons for not sending their People to assist General Braddock

3 Another Reason was that as some of the Six Nations were at War with the Southern Indians, and the Governor of Virginia was in friendship with them, they said if their people should go to join Mr Braddock they might meet their enemies instead of their Friends and spill one anothers blood in his Camp; and that the Governor of Virginia had some time ago told them he had a great many Indians at his command, and had sent the six Nations a Belt of Wampum to desire them to sit still & be spectators while he destroyed the French so that they did not doubt but he would have Indians enough without their assistance These arguments favored their Neutral System.

4 At the very time Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson had this affair on the Carpet and was pressing them to send some of their Warriors to General Braddocks assistance and was not without hopes of gaining 20 or 30. An Indian returned from Wills Creek who had gone with two more & two white men to Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock with despatches from Mr Johnson. This Indian also brought the new that six young warriors of the upper Mohock Castle, who went out to War against the Creeks or Catabaw Indians were slain by them. This had been for some time suspected and was now unluckily confirmed; The Six Nations look upon these Indians to be the Governor of Virginia's people; this unfortunate affair totally defeated Mr Johnsons measures in favor of Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock Besides the same Indian told the others, that the great man in Virginia (meaning Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock, did not seem to love Indians & made but little account of them, and that another great man there, meaning Coll Innis to whom Mr Dinwiddie committed the management of Indian affairs & Mr Braddock continued, treated them ill and would not give them the presents which General Braddock ordered for them, this the white men who went with the Indians confirmed, and by Mr Johnsons Intelligence Coll Innis was very little skilled and very unfit to manage Indian affairs

I come now to the third particular that the confederate Nations did not seem inclined to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley

What I have above noted \* as their chief inducements in consenting to take up the Hatchet, and which way they only proposed to use it, seems plainly suggested in the reply of the confederacy to Mr Johnson on his calling upon them to join and assist General



\* Record of Col  
Johnson's proceed-  
ings page 60, 61, &  
64

Shirley, their answer hereon is as follows\* “In answer to your third Belt (for them to join General Shirley) “we say you are not<sup>1</sup> our Tree of shelter, and why “will you desire us to take shelter under any other tree? where you go we are “ready to follow. They add “However there will be many of our people round about Oswego “and near to Niagara who will join and be ready to assist Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley

The first part of this answer, shows their prevailing motives for taking up the Hatchett and that they were not inclined to lay themselves under an engagement of joining Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley they left this matter to future contingences and did not choose to give any positive promise

† Record page  
53 & 54.

† Their public declaration in our favor is conceived in such Terms and expressed in such a manner as bespeaks their intention was only to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson's command and go with him—They were told they ought not and seemed convinced they could not prudently or consistently remain neuter in the then conjuncture they were in general sorry for it, and since it was proper they should declare on one side or other, they determined in our favor; affection, gratitude and confidence, led them to carry the assistance they proposed to give us to their friends and brother Warrigheyaghy from the Spirit and style of all their speeches on this subject it is deducible, they did not then incline to enter unreservedly into our views & measures. Their Policy produced this caution jointly with their inclinations: They intended the French and their Indians, with whom they had no quarrel, should consider their joining our arms, partly as a matter of Political Necessity and partly as a point of Honor & obligation towards their brother & avowed friend, hence in case the event of Affairs should make it necessary, they reserved to themselves Pleas of accommodation with the French and their Indians

When the state of our Indian Interest and the foregoing account are duly considered, I apprehend this Policy of the Indians will appear not only natural but consistent: And I presume all circumstances taken into the view, it will not be thought strange, that the Indians declined joining General Braddock, and were not inclined to join General Shirley, but that it is a convincing Proof of Mr Johnson's good management and singular influence over them, that they consented to join our arms on any Terms

In the private conferences, when Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson was pressing them to aid the Ohio & Niagara expeditions, they told him they were but a handful, and asked him with some warmth, why he wanted to divide them in three parts, that separated they could be of little Service, but united might be formidable and useful

Had not the unfortunate Difference in opinion between Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley and Mr Johnson defeated his measures, he proposed and was taking such steps, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley might have found a number of Indians disposed & ready to join him at Oswego

I shall proceed Fourthly

To assign the reasons why no more Indians joined Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson

It hath already been observed that it was all circumstances considered an important Point gained to prevail on the Indians to declare in our favor, let me here add, that to have pressed upon them to have joined either General Braddock or General Shirley, in a stronger manner than Mr Johnson or to have insisted upon these points with any greater warmth, would have been illjudged, at this conjuncture it was requisite that they should be humored and these matters treated with the utmost Caution & tenderness

<sup>1</sup> are you not. *Supra*, VI., 983. — Ed.

When the public meeting at Mount Johnson broke up every nation seemed to pique themselves on sending their Quotas to join General Johnson and this spirit was so prevailing that the Sachems told him,\* they were afraid too many of their Warriours would be inclined to join him, and were so apprehensive that by the zeal of their young men to go to War under his command their habitations would be left too defenceless, and upon that account desired he would take measures for their security. General Braddocks defeat did in some measure certainly cool their ardor, but had it not been for Gen: Shirleys proceedings upon his difference with Mr Johnson, & the confusion thereby occasioned amongst the Indians, there is great reason to believe near 600 would have joined Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson, which was about double the number he had with him. To this cause they assigned it, that no more Indians

\* Records page 75  
 † Records page 89  
 & 90 & appendix  
 No. 102

joined Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson, in their speech delivered by the great Hendrick at the camp at Lake George †

The want of a greater number of Indians with Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson and Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirleys interfering, had the following ill consequences

1 It kept the Six Nations from being more deeply engaged in our Interest & prevented their connections with the French and the Indians on their side, from being so much broke in upon as would have been if more of the six Nations had joined Mr Johnson.

2 Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirleys interfering, tended to weaken Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnsons Indian consequence & influence, the support and increase of which, was more particularly at this time of the utmost consequence to His Matys service as to Indian affairs

3 It tended to divide that uniform Channel thro' which all our Indian Politics ought to flow and in which they were wisely placed by His Majesty

4 It occasioned additional expences increased the mercenary temper, of the Indians and perplexed that system which Mr Johnson had framed for his own conduct in the re establishment and Extension of our Indian Interest ‡

‡ vide appendix  
 No. 1 & 2.

This subject might be pursued, but tis an ungrateful and a tender one; to have been wholly silent would have been betraying the design of these papers

I shall now recapitulate the substance of the foregoing sheets

I began with an attempt to trace out and assign the original & subsequent Causes of the declension of the British Interest & influence over the Northern Indian Confederacy: from whence I conceive it appears

1 That the Albanian Commissioners had neither Heads to comprehend nor Hearts to execute a judicious and upright system of Policy. That other Causes have concurred to continue and aid their Declension for near 50 years last past namely

2 The Trade between Albany & Canada

3 The impositions and dishonesty of most of the Traders who dealt with our Six Nations & Western Indians

4 The large Grants of Land belonging to the Indians & Purchases in the several Colonies, which they alledge were never fairly made, or honestly paid for, or do not intend to part with

5 The reproachful Figure we made in our military capacity and our ill conduct in the several expeditions against Canada

I have in the next place sketched out, General Johnsons administration of Indian affairs, from the time he received Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddocks Commission for the sole superintendency, to his entering upon the command of the Provincial Forces

I have also endeavored to account, for our Six Nations declining to join General Braddock, and for their not inclining to join General Shirley, and lastly why no more Indians joined Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson

It is apprehended, that the attentive consideration of these matters will to those who are a little acquainted with Indian affairs, point out the Remedies for those defects which have wounded this essential part of His Matys Service in North America

### SECTION 3.

I will beg leave to offer some Hints in the shape of a Plan for such an administration of Indian affairs and the execution of such measures, as I humbly apprehend may best tend to secure, extend and apply the British Indian Interest for the welfare of these His Majestys Colonies

Permit me first to premise That from the History of Indian Affairs from the nature of this peculiar Specie of Politics—from the Temper & Character of Indians, and from the Political circumstances of these Colonies, it appears to me an incontestable and fundamental Truth that to render the administration of Indian affairs effective to the above Purposes, It must be constituted a distinct Service *immediately* from His Mátý and supported by a fixed Fund

Let there be two persons of approved abilités, known integrity and agreeable to the Indians appointed by Commissions from His Mátý, with adequate Salaries, as superintendants for Indian affairs in North America, one for the Six Nations & their Allies, and one for the Southern district

2 One of these to reside in the Province of New York & generally near the country of the Six Nations, the other in the Province of South Carolina

3 To transmitt regularly authentic copies of their proceedings to the Board of Trade; and to receive their General orders thro' that department of His Matys service

4 Each of them liable to be suspended by

5 To communicate to the Commander in Cheif of His Majesty's Forces in North America, from time to time, all such matters relative to Indian affairs which may affect His Matys service in general on this continent, and to the Governors of New York & South Carolina respectively what may more immediately affect those Provinces

6 To receive Instructions from the Commander in Cheif relative to His Matys Service in general, and from the Governors of New York and South Carolina, on such particulars as more immediately relate to the Provinces under their administration The Superintendants to be members of His Matys council in their respective Provinces

7 The superintendants being neither directly or indirectly concerned in the Indian Trade

8 To hold all public meetings with the Indians—to issue the presents to appoint Interpreters & Agents and the execution of all Indian Transactions to be in them.

9 To give each other regular advices of their Proceedings and to conduct their administration upon such a uniform System as may be most conducive to the General Interest of the British Colonies

#### Particular measures relative to the Northern Division

1 To obtain from the Six Nations their consent to build wooden Forts at each of their Cheif Towns or Castles where they are not already built and some Cannon to be mounted in each



2 That a Regiment be appointed for Garrisoning these Forts, those of Albany, Schenectady, Forts Edward, William-Henry and at Oswego

In time of War this Regiment to be a thousand in Peace reduced to 600

3 The Soldiers to be encouraged by some gratuitys & advantages to marry such Indian Women as will embrace Protestant Christianity

That a Store House be built near each Indian Fort supplied with a proper quantity & assortment of Goods by the Crown, a sworn Factor appointed with a proper Salary to dispose of the same to the soldiers & Indians, at prices regulated by the superintendant, and the profits thereon to be appropriated to the maintenance & support of these Garrisons: The traitors<sup>1</sup> may be also agents amongst the Indians of those Townships where they reside. No Rum permitted to be sold, but what may be thought necessary for the use of the Garrison, and that to be in the custody & issued under the direction of the commanding officer, who is to be answerable under a Severe Article if he exceeds the Limitations\* No Trade with the Indians can be carried on by any officer or soldier, if an officer to be if a soldier

4 A Law<sup>to</sup> be passed, with sufficient Pains & Penalties against the Canada or any French Indian Trade

5 That the important Trade at Oswego be free and open to all adventurers being British Protestant subjects an intendant of Trade to reside at Oswego, with a proper Salary, sworn not to be directly or indirectly concerned in any Indian Trade, diligently and faithfully to discharge the Trust reposed in him that he endeavour to discover all Frauds & impositions on the Indians to inspect all weights & measures, that they are fair and of an equal standard, and to bring all offenders against the regulations of this Trade, to trial before the Commission officer of the Garrison, who shall have power to try offences & finding them of such a nature, as may deserve it, to send them down in Irons to New York with a copy of ther Trial, from whence an appeal may be made to the Governor in Council

The Intendant liable to be suspended by the superintendant of Indian affairs

The Trade to be free of all duties or Imposts unless it may be thought proper to raise some thing of the kind as a Salary for the Intendant

No Trader to presume to sell any Goods before he hath a licence from the intendant who shall receive consideration for the same, and he shall not without justifiable reasons refuse a licence. every Traders name to be register'd in the intendant's book, and to give Bond before he obtains his Licence in £500 New York Currency Penalty † that he observes the Laws & Regulations of this Trade. Every Trader to give in the quantity and sorts of Furrs which he sends or carries off to have a permitt for the same.

The intendant to receive and obey occasional Instructions from the Superintendent & to be paid by him.

Under some such Regulations this important Trade is proposed to be put, and if they are effectual, we shall not only be able to undersell the French and deprive them of their valuable Western Trade, but extend and secure our Alliances with and influence over the Western Indians

<sup>1</sup> Sic. factors. — Ed.

† In case of forfeiture  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the informer  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the Intendant &  $\frac{1}{4}$  to be paid to the Superintendent to be by him applied to the public Service under his Department

6 That the utmost endeavors & every method prudently practicable, be pursued, to draw the Cagnawagas off from the French & prevail on them to return & live amongst the six Nations.

7 That the Indians be remedied and satisfied with regard to their complaints about their Lands particularly those Grants & Patents mentioned in the former part of these Papers, and that no Patents for Lands be hereafter Granted but for such as shall be bought in the presence of the superintendant at public meetings & the sale recorded by His Matys Secry for Indian affairs

No one point will be of more beneficial consequence than this and unless it be put upon some satisfactory footing, it will be utterly impossible to establish the confidence of the Indians, to defeat the measures of the French and to secure these colonies from the ravages to which they are and will be subjected. If this is not done, we shall vainly project Expedients, waste our Treasure and the Indians will infallibly quit our Alliance

By relinquishing these claims, assuring them that we would in no manner invade their Hunting Grounds but secure them to them and their use, to the beleif of such a resignation would in a great measure contribute, and by Indian affairs being put under the management of a capable person, in whose favor they were prejudiced upon whose Integrity they could depend and who would be able to inspire them not only with confidence in him, but bring them to beleive, he had more than their Interest at Heart, than an opposition to the French founded on equally ambitious Views for the English—by these measures it might be a practicable scheme, not only to stir up all the Six Nations, but to engage the whole Western confederacy against the French encroachments, when they would, even without any assistance from us cut off all resources of Provisions & so harrass the French, that they would be obliged to abandon their Forts [to] save themselves as well as they could. The Indians might also be brought to assist us in demolishing Niagara & Cadaraqui, which compassed would give us a great superiority of Indian Interest, most of the Trade in our favor and confine the French to their proper bounds of Canada—when we had gained the ascendancy in our Indian Interest, then by a prudent & politic management we might obtain the liberty of building Forts and gradually possess ourselves of the valuable country on the South side of Lake Erie

Till we act upon some such System as this the Indians will never heartily enter into our measures against the French we shall never be able to recover our ancient superiority of Interest & Trade, nor I fear remove the French from their present encroachments on His Matys Dominions in North America and which I suspect meer force will never effect but am pretty confident good Policy may

Measures such as I have now touched on, will I conceive save a vast (and perhaps fruitless) expence of Blood and Treasure and perhaps fix the British empire in America on a permanent bottom

Let the observations which have been made upon the fourth Cause of the Declension of our Indian Interest and their ideas of the present disputes between us & the French contained in Section the first be duly attended to and judiciously improved upon, and it will I think appear, that this scheme of gaining the confidence of the Indians, and thereby turning their jealousies wholly upon the French will be one of the most eligible measures we can pursue with respect to the Indians in the present conjuncture of the American affairs

Let a similar conduct be observed in the Southern District and at the same time methods put on foot to obtain a firm and sincere Alliance between the Northern and Southern Indians

I am aware of the difficultys attending a presumption<sup>1</sup> of Grants & breaking of Patents, a commission under the great Seal to try their validity, would be probably too tedious a method If the good of the community and that in a most essential Article, is the *prima ratio legum*, can not an act of Parliament, reinvest these Lands in the Crown and give such proprietors as shall fairly prove their Rights an equitable alternative

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APPENDIX.

Nº 1

Albany 8 Aug. 1755

The Warriors of the lower Mohawk Castle were sent to Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson by the Sachems & Warriors of said Castle with the following Memorandum of Canadagaia the Cheif Sachem of said Castle and also to inform Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson of the proceedings of General Shirley & his agents

MEMORANDUM taken from Canadagaia who desired that his Depositions should immediately be sent to Warragheyaghy which was the following & commenced Yohakowano (General Shirley) he spoke in the presence of several of the Lower Castle at Mount Johnson Aug 6—1755 and said,

“That when Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley came to the Castle he applied to him to be his speaker to which he hardly would agree, and told Lydius who spoke to him for it that he would serve him that day but not the next

Governor Shirley then with a Belt of Wampum condoled the losses of their people and passed some other ceremonies according to Custom—he then gave the Belt

Then with another large Belt he told them that when he parted from Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson he asked him how many Indians of the lower Mohock Castle was to join him, when he answered that twenty men were ready for him at a whistle wherefore he should be glad these 20 men were to set off with him immediately—and laid down the Belt

Whereupon the Mohocks said they knew nothing about it after which he took a Paper out of his Pocket and told them that these doings of Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnsons seemed very strange to him as it was him raised Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson to the post he was in now

Then Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley further asked them whether Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson did not allow them 10 shillings a day for going upon the outscout and also if he had not told them that those Indians who would serve the Crown in this expedition were to have £5 a piece after their return if successful and that it should not be lost upon them that might happen to be killed as their family was to receive the said sum.

The Indians said it had not been told them (when John Fisher and the rest looked at one another and smiled

Then Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley further acquainted the Indians that he lodged now £5000 sterling in Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnsons hands for the use of the Indians. At parting he told them that he must take the people along that was working at the Fort as he wanted hands in the Battoes as they were in his employ—Canadagaia also said that they heard Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley stopped all the Waggons that was pressed for Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson on the River—

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, resumption. -- Ed.



All these doing he said appeared strange to them & should be very glad to hear their Brother Warrigheyahy answer to it, especially concerning the Fort as no body was working at the Fort and they soon leaving their Families

\* Province Inter  
preter

Deposed in the presence of

Arent Stevens\*

General Johnsons answer to the Three Warriors who brought the forgoing memorandum

Brethren

I told Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley according to what you agreed on when I saw you last at my house — that there were six of your people who were ready to attend him; I promised him no more I wrote no such letter to him as I am informed he showed you, nor sent any Belt of Wampum by him. Brethren, it was not Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley who raised me up, it was as I told you at our public meeting, by the King your Fathers directions to Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock — Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley has lodged no money in my hands; the money I received for managing your affairs was put into my hands by Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock he having a power from the King your Father for so doing. If Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley told you I had orders to allow you 10 Shill<sup>gs</sup> per day or to give you 5 pounds per man after your return he imposed on you for I never had any such orders. All my promises I will faithfully fulfill to you as I have always done and you may depend upon it that those who remain true to their engagements & go with me, I will always remember and do every thing for them in my power, and I am sorry to hear that the workmen were taken away from building your Fort. I will write to Justice Fry to press men to finish it as soon as possible †

A true Extract from the Records

PETER WRAXALL, Secretary.

No. 2

Camp at Lake George 4 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1755.

PRESENT — Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson  
Lt Coll Whiting  
Lt Col Pitkin

Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Lyman  
Col Ruggles  
Peter Wraxall Secretary for Indian Affairs

Interpreters

Capt<sup>n</sup> Butler

Lt Claesse

W<sup>m</sup> Printup

Hendrick Speaker

The last speech  
this great man ever  
delivered

When the foregoing speech was ended Hendrick desired the General & the rest of the Company would set a little longer because they had somewhat to say upon another subject, he then spoke as follows

Brother, some time ago we of the two Mohock Castles were greatly alarmed and much concerned and we take the opportunity of speaking our minds now before so many Gentlemen

† This fort was building by directions of the Lt Gov of N York (upon Genl Johnsons application) with a Fund raised by the Governor of New York

present concerning our brother Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley who is gone to Oswego, he told us that though we thought you, our brother Warraghajaghy, had the sole management of Indian affairs, yet that he was over all that he could pull down and set up; and he further told us that he had always been this great man and that you our brother Warrigajaghy was but an upstart of yesterday. These kind of discourses from him caused great uneasiness & confusion amongst us, and he confirmed these things by a large Belt of Wampum

Brother I just now said these matters made our hearts ache and caused a great deal of confusion in our castles, by Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirleys telling us—"you think your brother Warrighajaghy "has his commission for managing your affairs from the King your father, but you are mistaken "he has His commission and all the monies for carrying on your affairs from me, and when I "please I can take all his power from him, and it was I, gave him all the Presents and goods "to fit out the Indians with"

Brother He further told us when he came to our Fort "This is my Fort it was built by  
\* This Fort was built with the same Fund and under the same direction as the Lower Mohock Fort. "my order and direction I am Ruler and Master here \* and now Brethren I "desire twenty of your young Warriors from this Castle to join me as your "brother Warrighajaghy promised me you would do & be ready at a Whistle"

"Brethren, you may see I have the cheif command, here is money for you, my Pocketts "are full, you shant want, besides I have good[s] and arms ready for all that will go with me"

He said a great deal more of the like kind which time will not allow us to repeat at present He was two days pressing and working upon my brother Abraham to go with him as a minister for the Indiaus he said to my brother, "Warraghajaghy gives you no wages, why "should you go to Crown Point, you can do nothing there but crack Lice, with me there will "be something to do worth while."

These speeches of Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley made us quite ashamed, and the five Nations hung down their heads & would make no answer

But Brother notwithstanding all these temptations we that are come and now here, were determined to remain steadfast to you and had it not been for Governor Shirleys money or speeches you would have seen all the six Nations here

Brother

We have taken this opportunity of giving you this Relation, that the Gentlemen here present may know and testifie what we have said and hear the Reasons why no more Indians have joined this army.

A true Copy from the Records

PETER WRAXALL

Sécry

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*Chief Justice De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 10. ]

New York 21 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1756

My Lords

I must beg your Ldps excuse for not sending the Acts of the Assembly under the Great Seal sooner. when the ships sailed from this place to London, by whom they were to be sent, I was

at Albany attending Sir Chas: Hardy our Governor, who determined to go thither, upon receipt of the express which gave an account of a Battle at Lake George, the event not known, as no person had come from the Lake to Fort Edward, when the express was sent from thence I had offered myself to Sir Charles to go up as L<sup>t</sup> Governor to take upon me the command of the Militia, above the Highlands, but Sir Charles thought it a matter of such consequence that he determined to go in person, & I accompanied him to Albany, where his behaviour merits great applause and as I had before sent printed Copies of these to your Lordships, there did not seem to be a necessity of sending them earlier

I latelie had the honor of your Lordships of the 8<sup>th</sup> of october for which I return my thanks and am happy that my conduct meets with your Lordships approbation

I am now returned to the exercise of my office as Cheif Justice, which I shall execute with much less anxiety, than I could administer the Government in these difficult times

Let me become a suitor to your Lordships to recommend me to his Majesty, that leave be given to Sir Charles Hardy, to pass a Bill for paying the debts due to me & the other officers of the Government, who have received no Salaries: I am greatly indebted by the expences I was at during my administration

I am my Lords

Your Lordships

most obedient & most

humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY

### *Representation of the Lords of Trade to the King.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., p. 48. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty.

Having lately received a letter from Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy, Gov<sup>r</sup> of Your Maj<sup>ty's</sup> province of New York, dated the 18<sup>th</sup> day of December 1755. in which he acquaints us, that the Assembly of that Prov<sup>ce</sup> have declared their Resolution not to comply with the 17<sup>th</sup> Article of your Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Instructions to Your Gov<sup>r</sup>, in which it is recommended to them to establish a permanent Revenue for the support of Govern<sup>t</sup>, and are determined not to depart from the Custom, which has of late years prevailed there, of making annual provision for this service; We think it our duty to lay before your Maj<sup>ty</sup> an extract of this letter, so far as relates to this matter, and also copys of the Gov<sup>rs</sup> speech to the Assembly, and their address in answer thereto.

The principal reason urged by the Assembly of New York for not complying with Your Majesty's reasonable demand is: that they can not, in justice to their constituents, depart from a custom or priviledge they have so long enjoyed, and which other Colonies in the same circumstances with them are permitted to enjoy.

We shall not enter at present into a consideration of the motives, which have been the foundation of your Maj<sup>ty's</sup> indulgence to other Colonies in this particular; but shall only observe



in general, that the late conduct of the Assembly of New York, in making use of this indulgence, as an Instrument to wrest out of the hands of Your Majesty's Gov<sup>r</sup> almost all the executive parts of Govern<sup>t</sup>, by an annual nomination of Officers, and by their own authority disposing of the public money granted to your Majesty without a Warrant from the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, made it necessary, that your Maj<sup>ty</sup> should take this proper method of checking such unwarrantable proceedings, and restoring the Constitution to its true principles.

We are sorry to find that this Instruction has not had all the good effects, which might have been hoped for from it; it is however a great satisfaction to us to observe, that the present Assembly does not appear, to be desirous of reviving the unwarrantable and illegal claims and pretensions of former Assemblys, and have declared, that they do not mean to take upon them the Executive part of Govern<sup>t</sup>; and as Your Majesty's Gov<sup>r</sup> has represented that they are well inclined to concur in every other measure which may be proposed for your Majesty's service, We should humbly submit, whether it may not be advisable, in the present situation of affairs, when peace, unanimity and a good understanding between Your Majesty's Gov<sup>r</sup> and the People are so absolutely necessary for the good of the province, that the Gov<sup>r</sup> should be directed, not to press this establishment of a perpetual Revenue for the present, but to assent to such temporary Bills as the Assembly shall from time to time frame and pass for the support of Govern<sup>t</sup>; provided, they be in all other respects conformable to your Majesty's Instructions with regard to the granting and disposing of public money.

If your Maj<sup>ty</sup> should be graciously pleased to approve this, We should further humbly propose, that We might receive your Majesty's commands to signify your directions to your Gov<sup>r</sup> upon this head by a letter, which appears to us to be a more proper method of doing it than by public Instructions.

All which is most humbly submitted.

DUNK HALIFAX  
J. TALBOT  
SOAME JENYNS  
T. PELHAM.

4 Feb<sup>r</sup> 1756.

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*Secretary Hardinge to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, XV. (O), No. 134.]

My Lords

The house of Commons having resolved that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty upon account to be distributed in such proportions as his Majesty shall in his wisdom think fit, to his Majesty's Colonies of New England, New York and Jersey in America, as a Free gift and reward for their past services, and an encouragement to them to continue to exert themselves with Vigour in Defence of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s just Rights and Pretensions, the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury desire that Your Lordships will be pleased to consider what part of the said sum of one Hundred and Fifteen thousand pounds may be properly allotted to each of the said Colonies, and favour them with Your opinion thereupon, and also that Your Lordships will report Your opinion to

what persons the same should be consigned; that the respective Colonies may have the full benefit thereof. I am, My Lords,

Your Lordships most Faithful humble Servant

N. HARDINGE

Whitehall Treasury  
Chambers, 5<sup>th</sup> febr<sup>y</sup> 1756

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*Lords of Trade to the Lords of the Treasury.*

[ Plantations General, ( B. T. ) XLIII., 448. ]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

My Lords.

We have taken into our consideration the subject matter of Mr Hardinge's letter dated the 5<sup>th</sup> instant, signifying that the House of Commons having resolved that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds be granted to His Majesty upon account, to be distributed to the Colonies of New England, New York and New Jersey, as a free gift and reward for their past services and an encouragement to them to continue to exert themselves with vigor in defence of His Majesty's just rights and pretensions, Your Lordships are desirous of our opinion as to what part of the said sum may be properly allotted, and to what persons the same should be consigned, that the respective Colonies may have the full benefit thereof, and we beg leave to acquaint Your Lordships:—

That from the best information we have been able to obtain from the Agents of the said Colonies and from the letters and papers which we have received from His Majesty's Governors with regard to the expences which the said Colonies may have incurred in carrying on the expeditions for the reduction of the French Forts at Crown Point and on the Lake Ontario, the amount of which is the only measure for our judgment upon this matter; we are of opinion that the said sum of one hundred & fifteen thousand Pounds may be properly allotted to the said Colonies in the following proportions viz<sup>t</sup>

Massachusetts Bay .....	£54000
New Hampshire.....	8000
Connecticut .....	26000
Rhode Island .....	7000
New York .....	15000
New Jersey.....	5000
	<hr/>
	£115.000.

With respect to the consignment of the said money, we are of opinion that the sums allotted to the Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire New York and New Jersey, should be consigned to the Governor of each of those Colonies, to be delivered into his hands in the presence of the Council, & to be by him forthwith paid over into the hands of the Treasurer

of the Province, taking a proper discharge for the same and sufficient security for the safe custody of such sum until it shall be disposed of for the publick service by an Act of the Legislature; and that the sums destined for the Charter Governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island should be consigned to the Governor and Company of each Colony, who shall give a joint receipt for the same under the publick seal of the Colony.

We are, My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

and most humble Servants

DUNK HALIFAX

J. TALBOT

RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY

SOAME JENYNS

T. PELHAM.

Whitehall

Feb<sup>r</sup> 12. 1756

*Lords of Trade to Secretary Fox.*

[New-York Entries, B. P. 54.]

To the Right Hónble Henry Fox Esq<sup>re</sup> one of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

It appearing to us to be of great consequence in the present Situation, that proper persons should be appointed by His Maj<sup>ty</sup> to manage and conduct the affairs of the several Nations of Indians, subject to, or in friendship and alliance with His Maj<sup>ty</sup> in North America, by which means His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Interest among the said Nations may be better cultivated & improved, and the said Indians engaged to join His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops in such operations as may be undertaken for the defence and security of His Majesty's Colonys against the common Enemy; We beg leave to desire you will move His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, that Sir William Johnson Baronet, who last year received a Commission from Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock to be sole Agent for, and Superintendant of the Affairs of the Six United Nations of Indians and their confederates, may now be appointed to that trust by a Commission from His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, with such salary and allowance to be paid by the Commander in Chief of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s forces in America, as to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> shall appear most just and reasonable; and we herewith inclose a Commission in the form which appears to Us to be most proper for this purpose, in case His Majesty shall be pleased to approve of this our humble recommendation. We are

Sir

Your most obedient and most humble  
servants.

DUNK HALIFAX

FRAN: FANE

JAMES OSWALD

J. TALBOT.

17 Febr<sup>y</sup> 1756.



*Lords of Trade to Governor Hardy.*

[ New-York Papers, B. P. 57. ]

To Sir Charles Hardy, Knight. Gov<sup>r</sup> of N. Y.

Sir,

Since our letter to you dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> last, we have received yours of the 27<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> acquainting us with your return to New York from Albany, and of the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, inclosing your speeches to the Council and Assembly, and their addresses in answer thereto.

The Great zeal you shew'd for the good of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service in going up to Albany so soon after your arrival in your Govern<sup>t</sup>, and in the vigorous measures you pursued, whilst you resided there, to promote the expedition under the Command of Generals Shirley and Johnson, and enable the latter to pursue the advantage he had gained, could not fail of meeting with His Majesty's approbation; and tho' your endeavours have not been crowned with all the success we expected from them, yet they had apparently the good effect to enable both Armies to keep the Field, and to prevent their retreat to Albany, which we apprehend must otherways have unavoidably happened.

The Sense, which the Council and Assembly express of this measure in their addresses, gives us the greatest satisfaction. We have no doubt but that you will by your future conduct continue to deserve their good opinion, and that they will chearfully, concur with you in every measure for the good of the service.

His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having been pleased to appoint the Earl of Loudon<sup>1</sup> to be Commander in Chief of His Forces in America and Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia, and to order two Battallions of His Troops to be sent from hence, and four others to be raised in America; We doubt not of your Zeal to aid and assist his Lord<sup>sh</sup> to the utmost of your power, in all such measures as shall be taken for the defence of America, and the annoyance of the Enemy; and we have the fullest confidence, that His Majesty's bounty, in freely giving so large a sum of money to His subjects in New York in consideration of their past services, will animate them to exert themselves with Zeal and spirit for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service in the present situation of affairs.

<sup>1</sup> JOHN CAMPBELL, 4th Earl of Loudoun, Baron Mauchlane, one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, and F. R. S., was born in the year 1705, and succeeded to the title on the death of his father, Hugh, the 3d Earl, in November, 1731. On the landing of the Pretender in Scotland, in 1745, the Earl of Loudoun repaired to Inverness, where he raised for the Crown a regiment of Highlanders, of which he was appointed Colonel in April. On the approach of the enemy, however, he abandoned his position, and retired to the Isle of Skye, without making scarcely any show of resistance. *Smollett*. This regiment having been broke in 1748, his Lordship became Colonel of the 30th of foot, 1 November, 1749; Major-General on the 17th February, 1755, and on the 25th of December, 1755, was appointed Colonel of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment, which was to be raised in Virginia, of which province he was appointed Governor in February, 1756, when he also became Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America. He sailed in the latter end of May for this country, where he arrived in the latter part of July, 1756. His career in America was distinguished mainly by arrogance and inefficiency, and his military operations confined principally to the celebrated "Cabbage planting expedition" at Halifax, in 1757; so that, though promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General in January, 1758, not only his military skill, but his courage and integrity were questioned. It is, therefore, not surprizing to learn that "the multitude exulted at the news of his being recalled to England" in the course of the latter year. *Entick's History of the War*, II., 393; *Smith's New-York*, II., 258, 261. In 1763 or 1764, he was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle at a salary of £300 a year, and on 30th April, 1770, became Colonel of the 3d regiment of Foot Guards (Scotch) and a General in the Army. His Lordship died, unmarried, at Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, on the 27th of April, 1782, aged 77 years. *London Magazine*, LI., 251. — Ed.

We have likewise the pleasure to acquaint you, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has appointed General Johnson, to be agent for Indian Affairs, a Copy of his Commission is herewith inclosed for your Information; and we do earnestly recommend to you to be aiding and assisting him to the utmost of your power in the execution of this important branch of the service, and particularly, that you will furnish him with copys of such parts of your Instruct<sup>ns</sup> as relate to Indian affairs, and the measures recommended to you, for redressing the grievances they complain of, and for preventing the like for the future. We are.

Sir

Your most obedient and most humble servants.

DUNK HALIFAX

FRAN: FANE.

JAMES OSWALD

J. TALBOT

17. Feb<sup>r</sup> 1756.

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 80.]

Fort George New York

23<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1756

My Lords

I have the honor of your Lordships Letter by the Packet of the        and have great satisfaction in receiving your Lordships approbation of my conduct in the early part of my administration on my Landing in this Government.

I have now the honor to inclose your Lordships a copy of my message to the General Assembly of the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month, in consequence of the Council of War held in this city to concert operations for this year also a copy of their immediate resolves upon it which I forwarded by express the 30<sup>th</sup> to Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley and the Eastern Governments and by the post to those Westward but have not yet received advice from any of them, that their assemblies have come to any Resolutions to take the part assigned them by the Council of War. for the Crown point Expedition

This liberal Grant of the Assembly, I trust, will sufficiently testify their zeal and resolutions, vigorously to pursue all proper measures for defending His Matys Rights and Possessions in this country and to remove the French from their unjust encroachments

Your Lordships will observe that the Provision in the inclosed Resolves for sinking this sum of Forty thousand Pounds for this service, exceeds the limited time of His Majestys Instructions for the emission of Bills of credit; I have endeavored to prevail on the Assembly, to conform to his Majestys directions in this particular, and have laid this matter before His Majestys Council, who have unanimously advised me to accept the supply on those terms and are of opinion this Province can not furnish Funds for sinking the Emission proposed in a shorter time

The Bill for raising and subsisting 1000 Men has gone through a second reading and I hope the present emergency which calls for large supplys for carrying on his Matys Service will justify me to your Lordships in giving my assent to it, when it comes before me, for I doubt my insisting on the term of 5 years might have been the means of looseing the Bill, and the

want of a proper Force on the Northern Frontiers have exposed this country to the open incursions of the French

Inclosed is a copy of the last Intelligence of the French at Crown Point from two Prisoners taken by a scouting party from Fort William Henry; I am of opinion we have no reason to doubt the preparations making in Canada, for the defence of their present encroachments and for the attacking our Forts, if we have not a sufficient strength there to maintain & defend them.

I have some time ago laid before the Assembly his Majestys Instructions for making a provision for defraying the charges of His Matys Commission for determining the Line between this & the Province of New Jersey They express to me great difficultys they are under to make the Provision directed and urged the great expence it would draw on this Province (as other Lines are equally disputed but more particularly between us & the Massachusetts) and at this time when they are at such heavy expences for the public Service; I have argued and urged the Point strongly with the Speaker, and many of the Members but at present nothing has been done in it

I have endeavored to inform myself of the merits of this dispute, between the two Provinces, and find all partys agree the determination of the Line depends altogether upon the construction of the Duke of Yorks Grant I beg leave to refer it to your Lordships opinion if this Point may not be better discussed, and more equitably determined by persons under his Matys Commission in England than by Commissioners appointed abroad. On the side of this Province His Matys Interest is greatly concerned should the determination be made in favor of and confirmed [according] to the Claim of New York by which His Maty would have a great acquisition of ungranted Lands that would be readily taken up, agreeable to His Majestys Instructions, and I am informed might produce Quit Rents to the Crown of near £2000 Sterling per annum; on the other hand should the Claim of New Jersey be confirmed, the acquisition of this ungranted Land would fall to the proprietors of East New Jersey, As His Matys Interest is so principally concerned in this Dispute, I thought it my duty thus briefly to lay it before your Lordships With regard to the dispute between this and the Massachusetts Government it is and may be, attended with Great evils, the Inhabitants of that Province indiscriminately dispossess the Tenants of the Proprietors of the Manors of Levingston and Ransaleer, and have violently and by Force seized and committed all who opposed them in their outrages, I have transmitted Mr Shirley complaints against the People of his Province on this account; frequent demands has been made to that Government to sett forth their claim, but ever unanswered, In short my Lords we shall be obliged to defend the Rights of His Majestys subjects of this Province, by such means as must inevitably create a dissension between the two Colonys, I have hitherto avoided entering upon such measures in hopes the Government of the Massachusetts would put an end to the outrages of their people; I must therefore beg your Lordships will please to take such measures as you shall judge proper to oblige the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts Government to keep within their respective Limits, till His Majesty shall please to determine the Line of jurisdiction between the two Provinces

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

most obedient & most

humble Servant

CHAS: HARDY.



*Lieutenant-Colonel Burton and Captain Bradstreet to Major-General Shirley.*

[ New-York Papers, LI., No. 31. ]

Copy of a letter from Lt Coll Burton & Capt<sup>n</sup> Bradstreet to his Excellency Maj<sup>r</sup>  
Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley dated at Albany Jan<sup>ry</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1756

Sir

We think it our duty to dispatch a Messenger to your Excellency to inform you we have just examined two Frenchmen taken prisoners seven days since by a party from Lake George between Crown Point and Tenonderoque, who say a few days before they were taken two men came by Land from Montreal and reported that they saw two hundred men mustered who were ready to follow them in two days and that thirty Battoes, with Pork Flour and ten men in each was actually set out from St Johns, and would if the weather permitted be there in three days the whole of which was intended for the defence and security of the above mentioned places

And they further said, that five thousand men (exclusive of Indians which was very considerable) were actually fixed upon and would certainly set out to join them in seven weeks, and were intended for to attack our Forts or defend theirs as occasion might require; and that upon the whole all people at Canada were employed in making military preparations

ROB<sup>t</sup> BURTON, JN<sup>o</sup> BRADSTREET

A true Copy examined by

BENJAMIN BARONS

Secretary.

*Lords of Trade to Governor Hardy.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P. 62. ]

To Sit Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy Knight, Gov<sup>r</sup> of N. Y.

Sir,

We have attentively considered that part of your speech to the Assembly and their address in answer thereto, which relates to the establishment of a perpetual Revenue, and having laid it before His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, with our sentiments at large thereupon, We have received His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commands to signify to you, that the arguments urged by the Assembly for not complying with His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s reasonable demands in a matter of the highest importance to the security and welfare, and to the peace and good order of Govern<sup>t</sup>, are not to be supported upon any principles either of reason or Justice; and whatever motive His Maj<sup>ty</sup> may have for allowing of a temporary supply for the support of Govern<sup>t</sup> in other Colonys, the conduct of former Assemblys of New York, in making use of this indulgence as an instrument to wrest out of the hands of His Gov<sup>r</sup> almost all the executive powers of Govern<sup>t</sup>, by an annual nomination of Officers and by their own authority disposing of public money granted to His Majesty

without a Warrant from the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, made it necessary, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> should take this proper method of checking such unwarrantable proceedings, and restoring the Constitution to its true principles; and it is with great concern His Majesty finds, that his faithful subjects in New York have not shewn a proper obedience to His Royal will and pleasure herein. It is however a satisfaction to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> to observe, that the present Assembly do not appear to be desirous of reviving the unwarrantable & illegal claims and pretensions of former Assemblies, and have declared that they do not mean to take upon them the executive power of Govern<sup>t</sup> belonging of right to His Gov<sup>r</sup>; and as you have represented, that they are well inclined to concur in every other measure, which may be proposed for His Majesty's service, His Maj<sup>ty</sup> is pleased, in consideration thereof, and of the present situation of Affairs, when peace and unanimity and a good understanding between his Gov<sup>r</sup> and the people, are so absolutely necessary for the good of the service, to direct that you should not press the Establishment of a perpetual Revenue for the present, and to allow and permit you to assent to such temporary Bills as the Assembly shall, from time to time frame and pass for the support of Govern<sup>t</sup>; provided they are in all other respects conformable to His Instructions to you, with regard to the granting and disposing of public money. We are.

Sir

Your most obedient and  
most humble servants.

DUNK HALIFAX  
JAMES OSWALD  
J. TALBOT  
SOAME JENYNS  
RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY.

4. March 1756.

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*Secretary Pownall to Major-General Johnson.*

[New-York Entries, B. P., 67.]

Whitehall, March 5<sup>th</sup> 1756.

To Sir William Johnson Bart:

Sir,

Since my letter to you dated the 2<sup>d</sup> of Decem<sup>r</sup> last, His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has been pleased to appoint the Earl of Loudoun, an Officer of experience, ability and Integrity, to be commander in Chief of his forces in America, and to direct, that two Battalions of his Troops should be sent from hence, and four others raised in America for the defence and protection of the Colonies against the Hostilities & invasions of the French; and as the success of such measures as His Lordship shall think proper to pursue upon His arrival, for the general interest and security of the Colonies, and the annoyance of the Enemy, will in a great measure depend upon his having a large body of our Indian allies to Act in conjunction with the King's Forces, and such as shall be raised in the Colonies; the Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations have thought it their duty upon this great occasion to propose to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, that you should be appointed

Agent and the sole Superintendant of the Affairs of the Confederate Indians to the Northward, by an express Commission from His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, being well assured from the experience they have had of your Influence amongst them and great abilities in conducting their affairs, that nothing can so effectually answer the great end proposed of fixing them steadily in our Interest, and engaging them in the service; and that you may be the better enabled to answer His Majestys expectations, the whole management of this branch of the service, will be left entirely to your discretion, and the Commander in Chief will be empowered to furnish you with whatever sums of money you shall have occasion for, either for building Forts for the protection of their Wives and Children, whilst they are engaged in the service, establishing Smiths and other Artificers amongst them, or for making such other regulations as may remove those difficulties and doubts in their minds which have hitherto operated as an obstruction to their heartily engaging with us, and have induced some to enter into engagement with the French; and that nothing may be wanting on the part of His Maj<sup>ty</sup> to manifest His regard for them; Lord Loudoun will carry out with him a very large present to be delivered to them.

The redressing the grievances complained of by the Indians, with respect to the Lands which have been fraudulently taken from them, is a matter to which a very serious attention and regard have been paid, and every measure which His Maj<sup>ty</sup> could legally and properly take to redress their complaints, and prevent the like abuses for the future, has been pursued, as will more fully appear to you from the inclosed copys of the Instructions given to Sir Charles Hardy, with respect to this important point; and as a further proof of His Majesty's resolution to protect and defend them, in their rights, I am directed by their Lord<sup>ps</sup> to inclose to you a copy of a Report they have lately made to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> upon an application from the proprietors of Pennsylvania, with a proposal for making settlements to the Westward of the mountains, upon the Lands purchased by the said proprietors of the Indians, at the meeting at Albany. All which papers you will communicate to the Indians, in such manner and in such times as you shall think most proper.

As to the other measures which you propose in your letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of July last as advisable to be pursued for putting Indian Affairs upon a proper foot, their Lord<sup>ps</sup> entirely approve them, and have no doubt but that those measures, as well as any other necessary to be taken, will be carried into execution under the authority of the Commission, which you will receive from His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, and the directions which will be given to the Earl of Loudoun, to aid and support you to the utmost of his power.

I am.

Sir.

Your most obedient humble servant

JOHN POWNALL. Secr<sup>y</sup>

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Li., No. 87. ]

My Lords

Since I did myself the honor of writing to your Lordships the 17<sup>th</sup> of January from New York, I have had a general meeting of the Sachems and Warriours of the six Nations and



some of their allies, particularly a more considerable number of the most remote Nation of the confederacy than has appeared at any publick meeting for many years past

It gives me the most solid pleasure that I can with the greatest truth assure your Lordships that the six united Nations at this time give us the strongest intimations of sincerity & Fidelity and that they are at length highly sensible of the treacherous and extensive designs of the French, and from what I have more particularly observed at this meeting. I am convinc'd there is nothing wanting to cement & enlarge the British Indian alliance but unanimous and vigorous efforts against the common enemy to convince them we are in good earnest to put a stop to their encroachments and at the same time that we are determined to protect and stand to them as our Friends and Allies.

I herewith transmit to your Lordships a copy of my proceedings since I came from Lake George as also of this public conference, from which your Lordships will be better able to form an Idea of the present disposition of the confederate Indians, and from the facts contained therein, what future expectations we may entertain from our Indian Allies. They seem solicitous now to enlarge this<sup>1</sup> confederacy by bringing in the Western Indians, which I have been advising them to these several years as a point of the utmost consequence and I flatter myself it may now (if we are successful next Campagn) be accomplisht. In order the better to bring about, and continue such an important Alliance, the Indian Trade should I think (with humble submission to your Lordships) be seriously attended to, and put upon such a Basis, and under such regulations, and restrictions that it may prove the greatest means of bringing in the most remote Nations in a little time—Your Lordships will observe from the treaty what their sentiments are upon this important Point

The intended congress at Oswego is highly pleasing to the six Nations in general, who are now very sensible of the necessity of enlarging & stengthening the Covenant Chain by a more extensive Alliance, and of maintaining that superiority which their forefathers by conquest obtained over so many and Powerfull Nations. How far they interest themselves in this, and the many other weighty matters I have proposed to them at this meeting, will appear by their answers to which I beg leave to refer your Lordships. from the measures I have taken to give notice to the several Nations of my intention of meeting them at Oswego, and the Persons employed for that purpose, I have reason to expect a numerous and I hope a successful Congress

The high opinion I have of the present good temper of the six Nations, is entirely grounded on Facts, which are more conclusive than the most sanguine professions. The Onondages, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, & Oghquajas your Lordships will observe have earnestly desired Forts in their countrys, and that they might be properly garrisoned, this can proceed from nothing but a firm resolution of abideing by our Interest and I look upon it a singular proof of their Fidelity. By this method the French have been so successful in their Indian Interest. The Grand Monarch has employed his Troops to good purpose in that way. and I make no doubt all the expence the Court of France has been at in garrisoning the Indian Towns in their Alliance has been sufficiently compensated, I am fully satisfied this would be a measure of the utmost moment at this important conjuncture the service I confess would be pretty extensive, and require a Regiment but the Good effects which such a step would produce would abundantly make up the expence

It would be very necessary to provide every Castle (especially where there is a garrison) with a worthy person in the character of minister of the Gospel, I need not repeat how much

<sup>1</sup> then. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV. — Ed.

the French have done by their Preists even among the Indians in our Alliance that we ought to counteract them in all their measures I think quite obvious therefore humbly beg leave to recommend this measure to your Lordships consideration particularly with regard to Onondaga & Oneida, that, two proper persons of unblemished Character might be sent as Chaplains for those Garrisons, and at the same time serve as Missionaries to the Indians, how much may be done in that way, may be easily gathered from the success the Gospel has had among the Mohawks, who are our most hearty friends.

I beg the liberty to mention to your Lordships the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Ogilvie missionary to the Mohawk Indians who has upon all occasions done every thing in his Power for the promotion of true Religion. this Gentlemans Salary both for this place and the City of Albany is very inconsiderable, some further encouragement to him by some addition to his Sallary would be of service to the common Interest, as it would enable him to proceed in his mission with greater spirit, & to support the expences that must attend the keeping up common hospitality among so mercenary a people

At this critical and interesting conjuncture I am sensible the utmost attention should be paid to our Indian Alliance and no measures left untried that may have the least tendency to strengthen and increase it. Wherefore I would humbly propose a steady and uniform method of conduct, a religious regard to our engagements with them a more unanimous and vigorous exertion of our strength than hitherto, and a tender care to protect them and their Lands against the insults and encroachments of the Common enemy as the most and only effectual method to attach them firmly to the British Interest, and engage them to act heartily in our favor at this or any other time. I have the honor to be

My Lords

Your Lordps mo ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Fort Johnson Mar 8<sup>th</sup> 1756

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

P S.

After I finished my letter the Cheifs of the Seneca Nation desired they might have a Fort built in their Country, which I promised them, well knowing it will be the means of keeping out French emissaries from among them and of securing them and settleing their former wavering disposition

This moment two Indians arrived here with the inclosed letters the one from Onondaga, is wrote by one of our Interpreters left there on purpose for intelligence, the other is from an officer of Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirleys posted about half way between this & Oswego I greatly fear we shall lose that very important Garrison unless other measures are immediately taken I dispatched an express with the account I received both to Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley and Sir Charles Hardy, I hope the former will send immediate releif thither—if not we shall certainly loose that place and with it all our Indians

Your Lordships will pardon my taking up so much of your time and excuse the inaccuracy of this and the many Blunders committed in copying the Transactions of the meeting. Occasioned by the number of Indians still about me, which leaves me no time to think or write

I am

Your Lordships

Mo &c

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

*Conferences between Sir William Johnson and the Indians.*

[ New-York Papers, LL., 38. ]

Fort Johnson Dec 7. 1756.<sup>1</sup>

The Speech of the Honble Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson at a Meeting of the Mohawks,  
Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Senecas

Arent Stephens Interpreter

Bretheren of the Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas &amp; Tuscaroras.

I am glad to see you here at this meeting Place of all the Nations after the dangers & Fatigues of the Campaign, the reason of my sending for you immediately on my return is very pressing

Your Brother the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York wrote me a letter dated nine days ago, which overtook me at Schenectady, acquainting me that the Shawanese, Delawares and River Indians were committing Hostilities in the Southern Parts of this Province, as well as in jersey, and Pensilvania, that they had burned several out settlements in those Provinces, and killed many of our People who never offended them, as those Indians are looked upon by us, as allies and Dependants of you the six Nations and living within the Limits of your Country. I must [desire] that you will without loss of time, reprimand them for what they have already done, prevent their doing any more Mischeif, and insist on their turning their Arms with us against the French, and their Indians both you [r] and our common enemy, and that without loss of time. this is what you engaged to do at the General Meeting last June at my house, I am surprized you have not done it before, and I expect you will now do it without loss of time if not we will endeavor to put a stop to their barbarities and do ourselves that justice the Law of Nature allows

A large Belt

Bretheren of the Confederate Nations

I desire you will send me from time to time what news you receive from your Allies to the Southward and Westward as at all times it is very necessary for me to know it, and more particularly so at this time. In return you may depend on my giving you all the news among us which may be useful to you.

A large Belt.

Their Answer

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are obliged to you for the welcome you give us and assure you we are equally rejoiced to meet you here at our fire, after your great fatigue and danger, and congratulate you on your success over our common enemy It gives us the greatest concern to hear of the Behaviour of our cowzens the Delawares to our Bretheren the English, and we assure you we shall without loss of time forward your Message through all their Nations and use all arguments in our Power for their exerting themselves on this important occasion

A Belt

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* 1755. *Johnson's Manuscripts*. IV. — ED.



Brother Warraghiyagey

We will also recommend it to them to keep up a constant correspondence with you as we are sensible it is of the utmost consequence at all times, but more so at Present A Belt

Ended.

At a meeting of the Mohawks Oneidas and Tuscaroras Dec 28 1756 <sup>1</sup>

Segwarusara, Cheif of the Tuskarora spoke

Brother Warraghiyagey

We return you our hearty thanks for the care you take of us, in supplying us with Ammunition large Guns and Paint, as we do not know how soon the enemy will come upon  
\* meaning the Oneidas. us. We have been speaking to our eldest brothers\* these four years about having a place of defence made against the French, but could never bring them to a conclusion untill now having promised to join and assist our Brethren the English against any attempts which the French shall make against them

Kanquiesa spoke (cheif of the Oneidas).

Brother Warraghiyagey

We join with our Brothers the Tuscaroras in returning you our hearty thanks, for adviseing us to be upon our guard against the malicious designs of the French and that you would supply us with Ammunition large Guns Paint &c

Brother Warraghiyagey

We own we have been lost or drunk these several years past in not listening to you and our youngest brothers in joining the two Castles together but we have now opened our ears, which have been stopped and are determined to live and die with you A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

You acquainted us some time ago of the Designs of the French in incroaching upon our hunting Grounds and desired<sup>2</sup> us to be on our guard, against them, or otherwise they would come and dispossess and destroy us all. It seems to us now that they had blinded our eyes and is as plain to us as the sun that rises in the morning, that they had it in view. No doubt but you have heard that the French had invited us to meet them at Swegatsy, but we have taken a firm resolution never to listen to any but yourself. We dont speak this from our Lips, but it comes from the bottom of our hearts A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

You blame us for not taking care of our Allies to the Southward but we assure you we have some time ago sent four large Belts to them desiring that they would not join with any but whom the five Nations joined. And since we are informed that the Belts & Messages we sent were directly made known to the French. Now brother we have sent an other Message desiring that they would come and speak with us, and be assured we shall do our utmost endeavors to put a stop to any more Bloodshed that way and we hope that you

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>2</sup> advised. *Johnson Manuscripts*. IV. — Ed.

will desire the Governors to do their utmost in bringing them over to us, as we are sure there is nothing draws them from us but the large Presents which the French make them

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have sent to the River Indians and Shawanese to come to our Castle, to hear from their own mouths, what they have to say for their killing so many of our brothers, and if they should not come upon our Message We the Oneida and Tuscarora Sachems are determined to go to them and know the reason of it

Governor Shirley promised to have a Fort built for us and men to garrison it, and not hearing any thing about it since, We think he will refer it till Spring but we hope<sup>1</sup> you will have a Fort built immediately, and men to Garrison it as we are certain the French only wait a favorable opportunity to fall upon us

A String—ended.

My answer made [to them] Feb 17<sup>th</sup> 1756

Arent Stevens Interpreter

Bretheren of Tuscarora

I received the friendly speech you made at my House when I was at New York, together with your acknowledgements for the arms, ammunition &c. I gave your Nation, I heartily wish they may answer the end they were designed for, which was to enable you to secure yourselves against any attempts of the French, or any other enemy. I highly approve of your wisdom, and timely advice to your elder brothers the Oneidas, and am extreemly glad that you and they have at last agreed to build a place of defence, and to join your Brethren the English, against any attempts, of your and our common enemy the French

A Belt.

Bretheren of Oneida.

It highly pleases me to find you so gratefull for the advice I have given you, and the assistance I promised you should have, as well as your Bretheren the Tuscaroras, and I expect you and they together with the Skaniodaraghroonas, will live so compact and have your Castle fortified in such a manner, as may enable you to make a bold defence, should any attempts be made against you. If you do this, and have a good officer with a party of men, there can nothing hurt you

A Belt.

Bretheren

Nothing can give me greater satisfaction than to find that you have at last come to your senses, and to the use of your hearing of which you acknowledge to have been bereft some time. As I have a great regard for you, I most sincerely wish you may continue in your senses, that you may follow the wholesome advice, which your brother the Tuscarora alltho' younger has given you, and that which I shall from time to time give you

Brethren

Had you been in your [right] senses, and your eyes open, when I timely acquainted you with the designs of the French encroaching on your hunting Grounds, and destroying you, and had

<sup>1</sup> So hope that *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV. — Ed

followed my advice, the French would not have been now in possession of the best part of your country, and bid<sup>g</sup> you defiance as they now do. Shake away then that infatuation which has so long had the better of you, & exert yourselves now in conjunction with your Father the Kings Troops, and you may still recover your Lands, and be a happy People, which is the sincere wish of your Father, and all your Brethren — Your not complying with the Governor of Canadas Invitation to meet him at Oswegatsy, was quite right, and am glad you have taken so firm a Resolution of adhering to your engagements, had you acted otherwise it would have been a breach of the many solemn promises you have made to me on that head A Belt.

Bretheren of Oneida & Tuscarora

I am heartily pleased to hear from you, that you have not been so remiss as I imagined, with regard to the Delawares, and Shawanese and that you are determined to have a conference with them, I must press you in the most strenuous manner to exert your authority at said meeting and let me know the result thereof as soon as possible A Belt

Bretheren

I heard General Shirley say he had ordered a Fort to be built for you some time ago, why his orders have not been complied with I can not say, but this I may venture to affirm it was not his fault, however as you now desire it may be built, I will order proper Persons to go about it as soon as possible A Belt

Ended

Copy of a letter from the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Hawley at Aughquagey to the Hónble W<sup>m</sup> Johnson dated Dec. 27.—1755

Very honored Sir

The Sachems who went from hence with your Message to the Delawares just now return from Trizaoga<sup>1</sup> and desire me to pen the following letter to your honor, in which you have a brief account, how the Quarrel between the English and Delawares began, and what has happened since, according to the account which we have from Trizaoga<sup>1</sup> in which also your honor has the answer of the Delawares to the Message you sent them by the Bearer hereof and a short speech which those Indians desired me to pen relative to the affair Your Honor will pardon me if I am not so particular in my Narration as the Indians are in telling a story the letter I am desired to write [except abbreviation] is as follows

Brother Johnson

We have been to Trijaoga<sup>1</sup> upon your affairs—In the first place we relate what news we hear, The Indians there inform us that about two months ago, there was a party of English at Tsnasogh<sup>2</sup> alias Shamokin upon a scouting Design, and that while they were there news came that there was a party of French and Indians from Ohio about there, and that Scarouady advised the English Party to return back and by all means to keep on the East Side of the River, they took his advice, tis said, and returned, but went the West side of the River, and that before they had gone far, a french party came upon them, fired and drove them into the River, where four of the English were drowned. Not long after this that an Englishman came

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Tiyaoga. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Tsinaghse. *Ibid.*—Ed.



to Seahandowana alias Wioming, and as he used to trade upon this River the Indians asked him, whether he had brought any Goods with him. He said, no, but I have brought my body, my Flesh, and you may do what you please with me its you said he and the six Nations who killed our people t'other day. I was there, I know your Language, it was certainly you that did the Mischeif and now said he you and the English will fight. may be you think that you and your uncles the Six Nations are able to stand the English I tell you said he that we can pinch you between our fingers. I shan't cheat you and act in the dark and underhanded as you do, but tell you plainly that the English are going to fight you. In six days more the English will set out from all parts against you. The Englishman returned to the white People and informed them that a great multitude of Indians of all Nations were gathered at Wioming &c &c., then the English that way made it their business, to take as many of the Delawares who lived among or near the White People, and make them Prisoners, as they could lay hands

\* this is false on. the number they took its said is\* 232 in all. One old man they took [who] heard the account which the Englishman brought from Wioming, and made his escape with much difficulty and carried the news back to Wioming and gave an account of the English taking the Delawares who lived near the white People &c. The Indians at Wioming its said were fully concerned after the Englishman had been there, and kept scouts out to see if any English were coming against them, at last they saw a single man coming, the Indians went to the white man, and asked him whether he was alone, he told them that three more who were gentlemen were coming to have a treaty with them, they soon arrived and called the Indians together, and informed them that they were sent to treat with them about building a Fort there that their Squaws and Children might be protected from the French. The Indians desired to see their Commission, they produced a certificate of it in writing, the Indians objected against their not having Wampum, with that they produced another Paper Now the old man who had been taken by the English and made his escape, said to the Indians, dont you beleive these men they only mean to deceive you, and make you prisoners or put you to the sword. At that the Indians took their Hatchets and knocked them all in the head except the Indian Trader who came there before and was now with these gentlemen that made his escape. Thus Brother Johnson we have given you an account how the Quarrel began, between the English and Delawares, and what has happened since, and if they have told us a pack of lies we can't help it.

Now my brother we give you the answer of the Delawares to the Message you sent by the Bearer this is the answer our Nephew gives

Brother Johnson

You desire to know what is the reason of the Quarrel between us and our Brethren the English, you say you are ignorant of it so are we, we don't know the cause of this Quarrel, tis true Brother as you say we are not at our own Command but under the direction of the Six Nations We are women, our uncle must say what we must do, he has the Hatchett and we must do as he says, tis true Brother we have not the Hatchet—We are poor Women and have got out of temper. We are much obliged to you brother that you tell us to stop, and leave off that which we have begun to do, We hear you we stop & repent. But Brother Johnson some of our young men a few days ago went out against the English, we cant help it, tho we have sent after them as soon as we heard from you Brother to stop them and call them back Now Brother, you must take care of your side too, many of our people are

now captives, among the English—We must see every one of them returned again, or else it will not be well. We shall wait two months to see whether our captives are given up, and if we dont see them then we dont know what we shall do. — When we see our people again, then we shall contrive to make up the matter and settle affairs and not till then—Thus Brother Johnson you have the answer of my Nephew to your Message. Now brother we that are young ones here, and say a few words, by and by, you shall hear from our Heads. We ask leave for once according to the English Custom to use paper instead of Wampum

Brother Johnson

Be strong, do all you can on your part, and we will do all we can on ours let both of us be engaged to pursue the things that make for Peace and Harmony. You'l not doubt Brother, but that the six Nations will make it their business to set things to rights again, and make up the unhappy quarrel between our Brethren the English, and the Delawares our Nephew. Be strong Brother, be engaged and we will assist you and we need not doubt but we shall gain the point

We would inform you Brother, that the Delawares tell us that two companies of their men set out not long ago against the English, but they have now sent after them to bring them back, they say that there was 80 in one and 40 in tother company, And that a number from Ohio set out lately against the English Frontiers

Thus honoured Sir, I have wrote all that the Indians desired I have wrote in hast, and not correct as I might, had I leisure. the Indians from Tiyaoga arrived just at sun set, and the bearer designing to set out early in the morning, I must send this rough account just as it is I rely on your Honors Candor—If I can serve your Honor in any thing in your public Affairs I am yours at Command

GID<sup>n</sup> HAWLEY<sup>1</sup>

To the Hònble Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson esq<sup>re</sup>.

P S I propose to your Honors consideration whether it would be well for the English to build a Fort and keep a Garrison here I dont at all think that the Delawares design to be peaceable and a Fort here perhaps will be necessary to keep the rest of the Indians on the River in order

<sup>1</sup> REV. GIDEON HAWLEY was born in Connecticut in the year 1727, and graduated in Yale College in 1748. He commenced his labors in February, 1752, as a Missionary among the Indians at Stockbridge where he used to instruct some Iroquois that came thither. He visited the Susquehannah Indians the following year, and was ordained a Missionary to the Western Indians, July 31, 1754. He remained at Oglipagan, or Onohoghuaga, in Broome Co., N. Y., until May, 1756, when the French War obliged him to retire. He returned to Boston, and served as Chaplain to Col. Gridley's regiment in the expedition against Crown Point. In 1757, he was sent Missionary to the Marshpee Indians, Mass., among whom he passed the remainder of his life. He died October 3, 1807, aged 80 years. *Allen*. — Ed.

Fort Johnson Feb.<sup>1</sup> 29. 1756

At a meeting of the Aughquageys, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighroonas, Chughnuts, Mibicanders and Shawanese. Thomas their speaker stood up and went through the ceremony of Condolence for the Loss of my sister and brother in Law;<sup>2</sup> and then proceeded as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We will now open our hearts to you, and throw off the Burthen which lyes to<sup>3</sup> heavy upon us, it greived us much to hear it was suggested that all the Nations living upon the Bankes of the Susquehana, even as far as Aughquagey had joined the French. We assure you it is a false Report, & we appeal to your<sup>4</sup> Brother whither we have not (since your acquaintance with us) always proved true Bretheren to the English and strictly adhered to the agreements made so long ago between them, and our Forefathers and depend upon it we ever shall notwithstanding all the Temptations of the French. What we now say comes not from our Lips only, but from the very bottom of our Hearts

Brother Warraghiyagey

We spake now in behalf of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Shaniadaradighroonas, and Chughnuts and we may say, we spake also in behalf of the Shawanese who are now upon their way to Chugnut<sup>5</sup> where they are to settle and live under our protection, also the Delaware Indians who live upon the East Bank<sup>6</sup> of that River near the Head of it, have given us the strongest assurances that they will live and die with us, and in consequence of that will keep up the same Friendship and alliance with the English as now subsists between us, and them. and this Belt we hereby deliver to you as a Testimony thereof—

Gave the Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We beg leave to lay our immediate danger and distress before you. We are now entirely exposed to the merciless Power of the French and their Indians, our and your common enemy their Hatchet is ready to fall upon our Heades, their Indians who live not far from us, threaten us for our attachment to you for they call and look upon us as English as we truly are. Now Brother our earnest request is that you would build us a small Place of Defence, wherein our old men, Women, and Children may have shelter in this time of Danger, and that you would also supply us with arms, Ammunition &c, wherewith to defend ourselves from any attempts the enemy may make upon us.

Gave a Belt.

<sup>1</sup> January. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Farrell, his sister's husband, who was killed in the battle of Lake George. *Supra*, VI, 1005.

<sup>3</sup> so, *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.

<sup>4</sup> you, *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> This village was situate on the South bank of the Susquehanna river, opposite Binghamton, Broome county, N. Y. *Guy Johnson's Map of the country of the Six Nations.*

<sup>6</sup> Branch. *Johnson Manuscripts*, — Ed.



Feb 2. 1756.

At a Meeting of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras Skaniadaradighroonas, Chughnuts, & Mihicanders,  
I made an answer to their speech in the presence of

The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Hawley  
Lieut Miller  
Mr Reid

Three Interpreters viz<sup>t</sup>  
Mr Daniel Clause  
Arent Stevens  
W<sup>m</sup> Printup

Canadagai a Mohawk Cheif my speaker stood up and answered to their speech as follows viz<sup>t</sup>

Bretheren of the Oneidas, Tuskaroras Schaniadaradighroonas, Mihicanders, Chughnuts, and Shawanese

I approve much of your openness of Heart to me, on this occasion and as that is the surest way of having your Greivances redressed. I would advise you, (as I have often your Bretheren of the Six Nations) always to follow that method, and you may be assured I will endeavor to ease your minds and do every thing in my power to contribute to your happiness. As for the idle surmises of, or reports spread by any evil minded, silly People, who know nothing of your sentiments, or the state of your or our affairs, I must desire you will not give ear to, nor be in the least uneasy at them, for their words are like Wind, and not to be noticed. if at any time your minds are disturbed, or that you labor under any difficulties, let me know it immediately and you may depend upon releif. The strong assurances you now and always have given me of your attachment to your Bretheren the English, and of [your] gathering together, gives me the greatest pleasure and will animate me to take the more care of you which you may depend upon as long as you continue stedfast friends to the English which you will ever find it your Interest to do

A Belt

Bretheren of the several before mentioned Nations

Your case I have considered, and agree with you in opinion, that your present situation is far from being safe having so dangerous and deceitful an enemy as the French (are notoriously known to be) on the one side, and their blind folded, rash Indians (who know not their own Interest) on the other Wherefore agreeable to your request, I shall immediately have a Fort built for the safety of your old people, Children, and friends living round about there I will also supply you with arms, ammunition &c, to defend said Fort against any attempts the French or their Indians may make upon you. Keep a good look out, and if at any time, you find a design against you let me know it, and I will come immediately to your assistance. this I confirm by this Belt of Wampum.

A Belt

Feb<sup>y</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1756

The Auswer of the Aughquageys, [Tuscaroras] Skaniadaradighroonas,  
Mihicanders, Chugnuts and Shawanese. Adam speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the several Nations of Indians living at and about Susquehana River, and its Branches, here present, Return you our most hearty thanks for your kind compliance to our requests, as

well as for the great regard you shew for our safety by promising to come in person to our assistance should there be occasion at any time for it, this convincing proof of your love for us at this critical time, lays us under the greatest obligations, and be assured we and ours shall never forget it, as long as the Waters of Susquehana run A Belt & finished

Giving six Shouts of approbation

Friday 6 I sent an Indian express with a belt of Wampum to know the reason of the six Nations delay.

Monday the 9<sup>th</sup> Not hearing from them yet and all the other Nations waiting here impatiently, despatched Jacobus Clement one of the Interpreters to bring them down speedily

Wednesday the 11<sup>th</sup> Three Onondaga Warriors arrived at my House with three Strings of Wampum from the Sachems acquainting me that their Nation Cayougas and Senecas were making all the haste possible and would be here tomorrow in a body

In the afternoon the Onondagas and Cayougas arrived and told me the 50 Senecas would be here tomorrow

The Mohawk Sachems came to me with an express from their Bretheren the Conajoharees acquainting them, and me that the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were to be a Friday at their Castle, in order to condole the death of the great Hendrick and the other Cheifs of that Castle, who were slain at Lake George, and desired their, and my attendance at the Ceremony. I gave them the proper Belts of Wampum on that occasion, and desired they would act for me, as I could not possibly attend, there being so many Indians at my house, which they readily agreed to; and set off.

Thursday the 12<sup>th</sup>—The Senecas arrived & told me, that the Oneidas & Tuscaroras would not be here till Saturday or Sunday for the above mentioned reasons

Friday 13—Some more of the Senecas arrived when I performed the necessary ceremony on that occasion

Saturday the 14—Had an express sent me from Conajoharee that a great number of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras & Mohawks were met there and would finish their condolence that day and set off the next which they accordingly did and on Monday 16<sup>th</sup> the Oneidas and Tuscaroras arrived here when I received them and performed the usual ceremony on that occasion.

After which Kanaghquiesa an Oneida Sachem stood up & spoke

Brother Warraghiyagey

We doubt not but you have been uneasy at our staying so long after our Brethren of the other Nations, the reason is this, we have been clearing up the Road of our Forefathers as is customary among us, (meaning condoling the loss of several of their people who died, and were killed. since they travelled that Road before) particularly at Conajoharee, where we have lost two great men in whose stead or Room we have been appointing others. Our Bretheren of the other Nations have passed by and neglected this, which we think wrong. Now we are here compleat and beg you will be easy in your mind A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

Hoping we have now quieted your mind be beg you will think and speak cooly, otherwise it may be of ill consequence to us, as our welfare depends greatly on your cool deliberations

A Belt

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

As this is the Council Room where all the affairs of the Six Nations are transacted, and as you told us you would keep a white Wing hanging in it to sweep it clean with, we now take this Fan down and sweep all dust and dirt out of it, so as nothing may interrupt us in our councils and deliberations

3 Strings Wampum.

Feb 16<sup>th</sup> 1756.

**The Answer to the Oneidas & Tuskaroras speech****Bretheren**

On your arrival yesterday you expressed your concern least I might be uneasy at your staying so much longer than the rest of your Bretheren, and the time appointed. The reasons you have given are sufficient apology. I am very glad you have done every thing necessary on your part agreeable to your customs and the Rules layed down for you by your wise auncestors. So many of you appearing here now at this Council and at so bad a Season of the Year gives me great pleasure, as it plainly demonstrates your regard to my invitation

A Belt.

**Bretheren**

I thank you for the prudent and kind steps you have taken to quiet my mind at this time I assure you it is quite settled and my thoughts fixed upon nothing so much, as what may tend to your welfare and that of all our Bretheren in general

A Belt

**Bretheren**

I have had this Council Room (on my inviting you and the rest of the Nations [to it]) well cleansed, but as you imagined it might have by your staying so much longer than the time appointed [for meeting] gathered some dust, I am glad you have taken the Fan down, and swept [it], so that nothing might in the least impede our Consultations

3 Strings Wampum

Ended this affair

At a private meeting of the upper Mohawk Castle Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup>

PRESENT— all the Sachems & Warriors

Abraham the great Hendricks brother stood up & spoke

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

We return you our hearty thanks for the care you have taken in Fortefieing our Castle last summer agreeable to our desire and also of garrisoning it in our absence for the security of our old People & Children. and as we look upon it as necessary now as ever (from the many reports we daily have of the Frenches Intentions of attacking us for our attachment to you) we earnestly desire there may be an officer and a proper number of men posted there as soon as possible for our defence.

A Belt

**Bretheren of Conajoharee**

As I am fully convinced of your sincerity & attachment to His Majesties Interest, I readily comply with your request, not doubting it will be very agreeable to your father the Great



King, who has nothing more at Heart, than the safety & Welfare of you his faithful children.  
As an assurance of what I say, and now promise you I give you this Belt of Wampum  
A Belt

Ended.

At a Meeting of Five hundred and eighty six of the Six Nations and their allies at Fort Johnson. Feb 18 1756

PRESENT—The Hónble W<sup>m</sup> Johnson sole Superintend<sup>t</sup> of their affairs

Rev D <sup>r</sup> Ogilvie	Lieut <sup>t</sup> Dunbar
Rev <sup>d</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Hawley	Lieut <sup>t</sup> Pottinger
Capt <sup>n</sup> Beckwith	Lieut <sup>t</sup> Mills
Lieut Miller	Lieut <sup>t</sup> Lottridge
Capt <sup>n</sup> Butler & other Indian Officers	
Several Gentlemen	
The Deputy Secretary and four Interpreters	

Bretheren of the Six united Nations

I have heard with great concern that a war party of the Senecas the most remote nations of the confederacy have had a considerable misunderstanding with their Bretheren the English to the Southward which has been fatal to some of that nation I am extremely unable to express my sorrow for that unhappy affair, and as the Hatchet remains fixed in your heads I do with the greatest affection and tenderness remove it thence.  
A Belt

Bretheren

With this Belt I cleanse and purify the Beds of those who fell in that unfortunate affair, from the defilement they have contracted  
A Belt

Bretheren

I am informed that upon that unhappy occasion you have lost three of your principal Warriors I do with this Belt cover their Dead Bodies that they may not offend our sight any more and bury the whole affair in [eternal] Oblivion  
A Belt

Bretheren

I have now agreeable to your Antient Customs scattered those clouds that looked with so dark and threatening an aspect. The Sun now shines bright again, therefore let us under its enlightning and cherishing influences proceed upon an<sup>1</sup> important business with our usual cheerfulness and unanimity  
A Belt

<sup>1</sup> *ow. Johnson Manuscripts, IV. -- Ed.*

The remaining part of the ceremony of condolence jointly in the names of General Johnson, & Gov<sup>r</sup> Morris, whom Scarowjady the Half King and M<sup>r</sup> Montour represented

Bretheren of the Caijougas and Tedirighroonas,<sup>1</sup>

By constant experience we discover that the life of Man, is as the Flower of the Field, in this transitory scene therefore Resignation becomes us under the loss of our nearest and dearest friends, comfort yourselves therefore under the losses you have sustained as becomes reasonable creatures With this Belt I cover all your dead, that they may no more offend your sight

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuskaroras, Skaniadaradighroonas, Aughquageys, and the Mohawks of both Castles.

I perform the same ceremony to you

After this ceremony six French Prisoners some of those who were taken at the late Battle near Lake George were delivered with great ceremony to the Indians in order to replace the following Indians who were killed in that Battle viz: Tiyanoga, alias Hendrick, Tarrachioris, Waniacoone, of Conojaharee, Skayowees, Onienkoto of the Mohawks, Nica'anawaa, Skarouyadas son, and Cayadanorong, a Tuscarora. they received the Prisoners with the greatest mark of Gratitude and Satisfaction, every nation giving the Shout of approbation, and then carried off the Prisoners to their respective familys

Thus ended the Ceremony necessary on those occasions agreeable to their Customs

The Answer of the Six Nations and their Allies. Feb 19<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Red Head Speaker.

PRESENT—The Honble W <sup>m</sup> Johnson	Lt Miller
The Rev D <sup>r</sup> Ogilvie	Lt Dunbar
The Rev <sup>d</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Hawley	Capt <sup>n</sup> Butler & other Indian Officers
Three Interpreters	

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Sachims and Warriours of the Seneca Nation return you our sincere [and hearty] thanks for your great affection in drying our Tears, and driving Sorrow from our Hearts, and we in return perform the same ceremony to you, with the like Hearty Affection.

A String of Wampum

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are sensible of your goodness expressed to us in removing the cause of our Grief, and tenderly taking the Axe out of our Heads

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are thankful to you for cleansing the Blood out of our sight agreeable to the antient Custom of our Forefathers

A Belt

<sup>1</sup> This tribe lived at the head of Cayuga lake, on the site of the present village of Ithaca, Tompkins Co., N. Y. *Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations.* — Ed.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are thankfull likewise for your covering the Graves of those who were slain in that unhappy affair

Brother Warraghiyagey

We acknowledge your Goodness in thus settling our minds which were so much discomposed, and that you have so seasonably reminded us of that Harmony that has always subsisted, between our Forefathers and our Bretheren the English, an account of which has been handed down to us by Tradition from Father to son—We promise due attention to your advice, which we are convinced tends to our welfare, and assure you that we bury that unfortunate affair in eternal oblivion.

A Belt

The Cayougas & Tederighroonas returned their hearty thanks to the General for his affectionate and Public Condolence with a Belt

A Belt

The Onondagas acknowledge the same

A Belt

The Oneidas . . . . . the same

A Belt

The Tuscaroras and Skaniadaradighroonas the same

A Belt

The two Castles of the Mohawks the same

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

The Six United Nations as one body do with the greatest thankfulness acknowledge your brotherly affection in thus effectually cleansing and purifying all our habitations from all the Blood and defilement they had contracted by the Death of so many of our principal men

A Belt

The Speaker then took up a large Belt which the General gave them in the year 1748 with an emblem of the Six Nations, joined hand in hand with us and spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

Look with all attention on this Belt, and remember the solemn and mutual engagements we entered into when you first took upon you the Management of our affairs. Be assured we look upon them as sacred, and shall on our parts punctually perform them as long as we are a People

A Prodigious large Belt.

The Speaker then took up another very large Belt which was given them by the Governor of New York some years ago.

He then repeated the solemn promises that were then made them by the Representatives of all the Governments then present and said

Brother Warraghiyagey

We hope our Bretheren the English will seriously remember the promises made us by this Belt, & exactly perform them, and we promise to do the same, though we have no records but our memorys

A very large Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

As you and the Governor of Philadelphia have asked us what reason we can possibly assign for the barbarous Behaviour of our Nephews the Delawares, all we can say at present is, that they are deluded by the craft & subtilty of our old and perfidious enemy the French, but we promise on our part, we will try all means to stop their proceeding further in their Hostilities, and beg you will do the same

3 Strings



Brother Warraghiyagey

We earnestly entreat you will immediately acquaint all the Gov<sup>rs</sup> concerned that we the six Nations have not been inattentive to this important affair, but have already sent some of our people to take the Hatchet out of the hands of our Nephews the Delawares, and we should be glad that you would draw your Troops from the Frontiers, then we will endeavour to bring our Nephews the Delawares to deliver up all the Prisoners they have taken from their Bretheren the English and to make the best acknowledgement in their Power for their base and treacherous Behaviour

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Six Nations

I am extremely pleased with your kind and friendly acknowledgments of my public condolence yesterday, and as all causes of uneasiness to either of us are now removed. I propose tomorrow to deliver you a speech relative to our French<sup>1</sup> circumstances which I hope you will be properly prepared to hear

Ended

Feb 19<sup>th</sup> 1756

At a Meeting of several principal Warriours from the most remote parts of the Senecas country, who never came down before to any meeting. The Chief man named Kayandigaro alias Kindarunty spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

I with my party of Warriors from Kanuskago the Door of the Six Nations embrace this first opportunity of shaking you by the Hand and of assuring you that nothing but my regard for you, and my desire of hearing your sentiments from your own mouth, could have induced me and my young men, to take such a journey at this season of the year, as we had several of our sachims attending at the meeting. We are now here at the Fire place of all the Nations, and assure you we are heartily glad to see you

Bretheren of Kanuskago<sup>2</sup>

As I have nothing more at heart than the Welfare of the six Nations and their allies. It always gives me the most sensible pleasure to see or even hear from any of them, and more especially you whom I never saw before, as it affords me an opportunity of commencing that acquaintance and friendship with you, which is natural among Bretheren, and which my inclination will always lead me to improve, especially with so brave a people as your nation has always been deemed

Ended

<sup>1</sup> Sic. present. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Kanuskago, or Ganuskago village was in the present town of Dansville, Livingston county, N. Y. *Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations*. — Ed.

Feb 20<sup>th</sup> 1756

PRESENT at the following public Speech

The Honble W <sup>m</sup> Johnson	sole superintendent of their affairs
Rev D <sup>r</sup> Ogilvie	Lieut <sup>t</sup> Pottinger <sup>5</sup>
Rev M <sup>r</sup> Hawley	Lieut Lee <sup>4</sup>
Capt <sup>n</sup> Beckwith <sup>1</sup>	Lieut Kennedy <sup>5</sup>
Lieut <sup>t</sup> Miller	Lieut Mills
Lieut <sup>t</sup> Dunbar <sup>2</sup>	Ensign Pinitint <sup>6</sup>
Several Indian Officers & other Gent <sup>l</sup>	
Three Interpreters	

Bretheren of the Six United Nations your allies and Dependants here present.

It always gives me the most solid pleasure to meet you herē, that we may felicitate ourselves in the cherishing warmth, and light of that Fire kindled here for our mutual good. may it ever burn bright as the Sun that illuminates, and guides the day, that you and your posterity to the latest generations may rejoice in its benevolent influence

A Belt

Bretheren

It gives me a particular satisfaction to meet you here at this time for two important reasons

The first is, that it affords me an opportunity of a friendly Interview under the shade of that Tree which was lately so solemnly, and judiciously planted; and of calmly consulting, and maturely deliberating matters of the utmost consequence and which nearly concern our mutual safety, Welfare and Honor

A Belt

The second is, that it gives me an opportunity of shaking you by the hand with a brotherly affection, and in the name of the Great King your Father congratulating you upon our late happy success which I make no doubt must give you the more sensible pleasure, and I flatter myself from your late repeated protestations of fidelity to your Bretheren the English, it will prove a means of animating you and all your faithful allies to stand forth with your usual Bravery upon all future occasions

A Belt.

How much greater might our success have been, how much more sensibly would it have been felt by our treacherous and common enemy had more of your Warriors appeared in the Field on that important day had all our force been united. If the Bubling or drops of our

<sup>1</sup> Capt. JOHN BECKWITH, of the 44th regiment, entered the Army 11 June 1748, and obtained his commission as Captain on the 2d March, 1751; served in the campaign under Braddock; became a Major 18th July, 1758; a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army 3d January, 1762, and of the 27th or Enniskillens, serving in America, 1st May, 1773. Which last commission he filled until October, 1775, when his name disappears from the Army list.

<sup>2</sup> JOHN DUNBAR, of the 48th Regiment, was wounded at the battle of Monongahela. His name is not found in the Army list of 1765.

<sup>3</sup> JAMES POTTINGER was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 44th Regiment on the 2d May, 1752; he made the campaign under Braddock, and continued in the Regiment until 1758, when he sold out and died. *Manuscript note in Army list of 1758.*

<sup>4</sup> CHARLES LEE, of the 44th Regiment of foot, was promoted to a captaincy 11th June, 1756, and on 10th August, 1761, became Major of the 166d, or Volunteer Hunters, which Regiment was disbanded after the peace of 1763. On 25th May, 1772, he rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army, and so continued until 1776.

<sup>5</sup> QUINTON KENNEDY was a Lieutenant in the 44th Regiment 30th June, 1755, and in 1758 became Captain.

<sup>6</sup> In the copy of these Conferences, printed in London for A. Millar, 1756, and in the State Library, this name is "Ponington." — Ed.

War Kettle did so much how great would have been the consequence had it boiled with its usual Fury, it would like a mighty Torrent carried all before it, and it would have sounded the fame of our victorious arms far and near and spread universal Terror all around us. I now in the name of the Great King your Father, in this publick manner return you thanks for joining our arms last summer, and for your Gallant Behaviour in that action. this gives him reason to expect the like fidelity & courageous conduct from you all for the future, and greatly endears you to him, and to all his loving subjects your affectionate Bretheren

A Belt

Bretheren

This animates me with fresh pleasure, and affection, and at this important conjuncture of affairs to brighten and strengthen the Covenant Chain, that has so long linked us together in mutual freindship and brother[ly] affection which I hope will continue inviolable and sacred, as long as the Sun shines or the Rivers continue to water the earth, notwithstanding all the intrigues of our old and perfidious enemys, who have left no means unessayed, and especially at this time to weaken and divide us that so they may in the event root out the remembrance of your name, and Nations from the face of the earth

A large Covenant Belt

Bretheren

On my arrival from Lake George last December I had (from your brother the Governor of New York and since from the Governor of Pensilvania) the shocking news of your Nephews the Delawares and Shawanese falling upon your Bretheren of Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia in the most cruel & treacherous manner, killing and barbarously butchering the innocent defenceless people who lived on the Frontiers of said Governments, burning and destroying all they had, and that without any just cause or reason as I understand. This I communicated immediately to you, by one of your own People a Seneca, with a Belt of Wampum desiring you would without loss of time put a stop to your Nephews spilling any more of your Bretherens blood, and that you would inquire into, and let me know the reasons for such their wicked and unparaelled Behaviour to the Kings subjects, your Bretheren and friends. I now repeat the same and expect to hear what you have done, in consequence of said message and desire

Bretheren I tell you all with concern, that I plainly foresee, unless you the six Nations who have always maintained a superiority over them Indians, will now exert yourselves in this case you will not only loose that authority which they have hitherto acknowledged but will have them your enemies

A Large Black Belt

Bretheren

I told you before the Governor of Pensylvania had acquainted me with the base Behavior of your Nephews the Shawanese, and Delawares, and has also sent your freind Scarouady, and Andrew Montour to you with his Message, and to know your sentiments thereon. I desire and expect you will pay a just regard to his Message, and afford him all the Assistance you can, in bringing that unhappy affair to as good an issue as possible

A Belt

Bretheren

I am now to acquaint you that the Great King of England your Father on the Death of the late General Braddock, has committed the command of all His forces raised, and to be raised upon the Continent of North America to General Shirley, and has in a particular manner commanded him to protect your country and the Lands which your Forefathers have conquered,



and are of right your Property<sup>1</sup> against all violence, and attempts of the French our common enemy, and to cultivate a strict Friendship between them<sup>2</sup> and you, and he takes the first opportunity of communicating this to you, by me, and of his assuring you of his intentions fully to follow His Majestys Instructions herein  
A Belt Black Wampum

Bretheren

General Shirley also desires me to acquaint you that he is to have a great army this insuing spring for the defence of your country, and the recovery of such parts of it as have been incroached upon by the French, and that in the mean time His Majestys Troops in the Province of New York shall be held in readiness to defend you against any attempts the French may make before the opening of the Campaign  
A Belt

Bretheren

On my return from New York, I received your kind Message and information of the design of the French attacking His Majestys Garrison at Oswego, I am extremely obliged to you for your friendly notice, which I immediately acquainted General Shirley and Gov Hardy with by express from Albany who by their answers to me are also greatly pleased with you for the concern you show, for our mutual safety; and I expect you will not only continue your vigilance but will also be ready (like unalterable Bretheren and friends) to use the Ax which I gave you last summer in conjunction with His Majesties Troops whenever called upon, either at Oswego, or any where else they may be employed to the utmost of your Power, as it is His Majesties intention to stand by you and protect you as well as his own subjects against the insults or attempts of any enemy whatever. Beleive me, Bretheren this is the proper time to convince your father the Great King of England and your Bretheren, of your sincerity, and attachment to their Interest by your acting vigorously with His Troops Which I most heartily advise you to do as it is of the utmost consequence to our mutual Interest

A Large Belt.

Bretheren

I must now acquaint you that I propose meeting you at Oswego next spring, and desire you will join me in the invitation I shall send to your Friends and allies far & near to come to said meeting, when & where you and they shall receive a handsome present from your Father the Great King of England, who is very desirous of bringing all Nations worthy of His and your Alliance into the Covenant Chain at that meeting. I hope we shall then be able to make such an alliance, and settle matters in such a manner and so much to our mutual advantage, as will give reason to all concerned, and their Posterity to bless that happy day we met together

A Belt.

<sup>1</sup> territories. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> him. *Ibid.* — Ed.

The Answer of the Six Nations 21 Feb<sup>y</sup>. 1756.

PRESENT—Honble W<sup>m</sup> Johnson

Rev<sup>d</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Ogilvie

Capt<sup>n</sup> Beckwith

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Miller

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Lee

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Dunbar

Three Interpreters

Red Head Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We meet you with the greatest pleasure at this fire Place and heartily join you in your wishes, that it may burn bright to the latest Posterity, let us mutually endeavour to collect such materials for the use of this our Fire, as may tend to support it in its full strength as long as the Sun and Moon endureth

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We acknowledge that this Tree was solemnly and judiciously planted for our mutual welfare, its Roots reach to the remotest Habitations of the Confederacy, and its Branches afford a friendly retreat to us, and all our allies and Dependants. Brother take a tender care of it, see that it be fed plentifully by freindly streams, that it may increase and spread its Branches so far that it may be a sufficient shade, not only for us, but also all other Nations which may hereafter come into our alliance

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We heartily rejoice with you upon our late success and assure you it gives us a solid pleasure

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are extremely well pleased that our late conduct was so highly acceptable to the Great King our Father

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We assure you that we on our parts do with equal pleasure and friendship, join with you at this time of public commotion in brightening and strengthening the Covenant Chain that has so long united us together. Let us mutually and stedfastly adhere to our engagements, notwithstanding the crafty Intrigues of our perfidious and Blood thirsty enemies, let us vigorously endeavor to frustrate all their treacherous Designs that so we may reap the good effect of this our Union which has long been the object of their envy. With this Belt we do most solemnly renew the engagements of the Antient Covenant Chain

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

\* by Onas is meant the Govr of Pensylvania We always looked upon the Delawares as the more immediate care of \* Onas, that they were within the Circle of his arms, We are therefore of opinion that he has not taken that friendly care of them, as he ought to do, and therefore our common Enemy hath taken the advantage of their<sup>1</sup> Neglect, for we can not but think that if there had

<sup>1</sup> his. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.—ED.

been proper measures taken they would have still continued faithful friends to the British Interest.

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are sensible of the care of the Great King in appointing General Shirley a successor to the late General Braddock and we are extremely thankful for the particular Instructions he has given him to cultivate a strict friendship between us, and Him, and to protect our Lands, and recover those incroached upon by our common enemy. We hope and expect He will strictly adhere to his Matys Instructions, by protecting us from the bloody incursions of our treacherous enemies, and use his utmost endeavours to recover those Lands which they have clandestinely wrested out of our hands

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are very thankful for the assurances he gives us that the soldiers posted in this Province are to hold themselves in readiness to defend us upon any sudden emergency, for we assure you we are apprehensive that as the French find, that all their delusive, and wheedling arts have not had their desired effect, they may throw off their disguise and rush in upon us with a voracious fury like the wolves of the wilderness.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are pleased that the information we gave with respect of the designs of the French against Oswego has been acceptable to you and our Bretheren the English, and we promise for the future to keep up a strict vigilance. The Ax has been frequently put into the hands of our Forefathers by our Bretheren the English, and they always used it with the greatest vigour, till it was taken out of their hands. We assure you that we intend punctually to conform to the bright and brave example they sett us, and we hope this will be a sufficient proof of our sincerity and fidelity to the great King our Father

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

Your proposal of taking a few embers from the Fire at Onondaga and to kindle a fire at Oswego, and meeting us there this spring is highly acceptable to us, as we have good reason to think that the light and warmth of that fire will invite many nations to meet us there. And we make no doubt that the things you will propose to their consideration, will carry such light and conviction with them as will be sufficient to engage them to join in our confederacy, and we promise to use our utmost endeavors to accomplish that great event, and we doubt not but that our childrens children will have reason to remember that happy day. Brother we very cheerfully concur with this your proposal, as we are convinced you will propose nothing but what is for our mutual Interest

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have now opened our minds with Freedom & sincerity and we understand each other clearly let us mutually remember our engagements which we have again so solemnly renewed and if at any time our enemy should attack us, prove by your readiness to support & assist us, that you really love us, and we assure you we shall not be wanting on our parts to give proofs of the like fidelity, & friendship

A Belt.



At a Meeting of the Six Nations. Feb. 23. 1756.

PRESENT —      The Honble William Johnson  
                       The Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr Ogilvie  
                       The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Hawley  
                       Capt<sup>n</sup> Butler & other Indian officers  
                       Three Interpreters

Bretheren

As it was [very] cold and late when I delivered you my speech a Friday night, I told you I would then postpone some things I had further to say. I now take this opportunity of communicating them to you.

In the first place I must recommend to you in the strongest manner as His Matys Troops will be passing, and repassing to Oswegoe next spring, that you endeavour all in your power to keep open the road thither, and not suffer any obstructions or stoppages to be thrown in the way by the enemy, as there is the greatest necessity now for our keeping that Road clear, and open being for our mutual Interest & safety

A Belt.

Bretheren

Now is your time to have Forts. or Trading houses built in your countrys, while your father the great King of England has your Interest so much at Heart, if at any time you incline to have such built in any of your Castles only let me know it, and it shall be done

A Belt

Bretheren

Governor Hardy desired me to acquaint you, that he had a present from your Father the King for you, which he intends to deliver to you here, as soon as possible he can, & expects your attendance

3 Strings

Bretheren

The one great end proposed in calling you here at this season of the year, was to have that affair of the Delawares and Shawanese settled, but I am sorry to find you are not so hearty in the affair as I expected you would or as (at this important time) you ought to be I must therefore urge you most strenuously to fall upon, and settle this affair before you leave this place, as there is no time should be lost, besides your Bretheren of the several Governments with impatience wait the result of this meeting, on which let me tell you much depends

A large Belt

Bretheren

It is my kind concern for your Welfare that leads me to propose the following advice to you, I have your happiness very much at Heart and most zealously wish your prosperity, therefore I conjure you to observe and follow the friendly hints I am going to give you

1<sup>st</sup> Endeavour to bring as many nations of Indians under your alliance as possibly you can, and try all means without loss of time to settle the minds of all such as are wavering, and those who are now ready to rebel against you, if you can accomplish this then, let your study be ever after to keep up that correspondence, faith and Friendship with them which is absolutely necessary between Friends, and allies, and without which neither friendship nor alliance can long subsist

2<sup>ndly</sup> I would have you to adhere inviolably, to all the engagements you have or shall enter into with your Bretheren the English who have always been your stedy friends, and are determined to continue ever such, besides they are the ablest, and will be the readiest to protect and defend you against any attempts of an enemy, and moreover can, and will supply you, and all your allies with the necessarys of life at a cheaper rate than the French can

3<sup>rdly</sup> Be not any longer wheedled, blindfolded and imposed on by the artfull speeches of the French, for their Tongues are full of deceit, do not imagine the fine Cloaths &c they give you is out of love, or regard for you, No, they are only as a bait to catch a fish, they mean to enslave you thereby and entail that curse upon your children after you, you<sup>1</sup> will have reason to repent the day you begot them, be assured they are your inveterate and implacable enemies, and only wish for a difference to arise between you, and us that then they might put you out of their way by cutting you of the face of the earth

4<sup>thly</sup> Fall upon a method of collecting each Nation into a compact body, where you have good Land and a good situation there fortifie your castle in such a manner, as you may be able to defend yourselves against any number with small arms & above all things be unanimous in your councils, and also in the Field

5<sup>thly</sup> If at any time your Bretheren the English or any of your Indian Allies are injured or threatned from any quarter the whole body of the confederacy should rise and endeavour to bring about an honorable accommodation, but if your enemy should not hear to reason but still persist in acting unjustly, then the whole body should as one man join their arms against the enemy, by which means you will always be able to bring them to what terms may be thought proper. you will in that state be a terror to the French, who now (well knowing your unsettled divided disposition) at every turn of the wind use threats, and menaces against you. Be not afraid of them, cleave to your Bretheren the English and they can not hurt you

If you duly observe the[se] wholesome admonitions, you will again become numerous, and retrieve your pristine Fame. then the very name of the Six Nations and their Allies will be a terror to their enemies, and their arms will carry conquest with them as heretofore

But Bretheren & Friends if you continue any longer in your past lethargic, and supine state, and neglect this my friendly advice, and earnest desire I greatly fear you will sooner, or later have cause to repent it, and wish too late you had followed it. Let all your youngest People hear what I say, and your men and women seriously consider it, and let your and their memory witness for me that I have given you all this timely, & wholesome advice.

Take this pipe to your great Council Chamber, at Onondaga, let it hang there in view, and should you be weavering in your minds at any time, take and smoke out of it, and think of my advice given with it and you will recover and think properly —

Gave the largest Pipe in America made on purpose

As it is late now I shall deliver you the Present I have got for you tomorrow morning by which time I hope to have your definitive answer to these Points I now spoke to you upon

Ended

<sup>1</sup> who will, &c. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV. — Ed.

The Answer of the Six Nations Feb 24<sup>th</sup> 1756

Red Head Speaker

PRESENT— The Honble William Johnson  
 The Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr Ogilvie  
 The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Hawley  
 Capt<sup>n</sup> Butler and other Indian officers  
 Three Interpreters

Brother Warraghiyagey

You have very seasonably put us in mind of that superiority which we by a series of conquests have obtained over the Delawares Shawanese and others We are sensible of it, and therefore no sooner did you send us the shocking tidings of their treacherous and barbarous conduct but we looked upon ourselves nearly concerned to interpose. We immediately dispatched a message to them, to enquire into the cause of this their unparralelled Behaviour we backed this with a second message with equal warmth but both proving abortive We obtained an interview by the means of our Bretheren of Oneida. At this meeting we reminded them of their subordination, we shook them by the Head, and demanded the reason of their conduct, we put them in mind, how contrary this Behaviour was to the Covenant subsisting between the confederacy and the English. We told them that our latest Posterity would have reason to curse their Actions, and that it would give our Bretheren reason to suspect us [all] of treachery, while we so basely abuse the confidence they repose in us. We again and again desired they would immediately change their behavior, at least that they would suspend Hostilities till they hear from us at our Return from this Meeting. They seemed sensible of their fault, and promised they would cease committing any further Hostilities

A String

Brother Warrighiyagey

We look upon you as one of our own body, and therefore as you have out of sincere regard to our common welfare pressed upon us to put an effectual stop to the Ravages and Devastations made by our Nephews the Delawares and Shawanese. We solemnly promise in the name of the Sachems & Warriors of the five Nations, that we will use our utmost endeavours to put a speedy and effectual stop to these unhappy Proceedings It is the firm resolution of the whole confederacy to conform themselves intirely to your reasonable request in this important Point. But as the Mohawks are the head of our confederacy we leave the management of that affair intirely to them. We sincerely wish that the Great Spirit who governs all things, may succeed them in this important undertaking, as it will greatly contribute to our mutual happiness & strength

this confirmed with a large Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

The Mississagaes acknowledge a message sent them by General Shirley last year, giving them an Invitation to meet him at Oswegoe they answered that the season of the year was too far advanced, to admit of a meeting then, but that they promise to come early in the Spring, and be attentive to what their Bretheren the English have to say, they desired, that this string might be kept at Onondaga, least it might be intercepted by the French, for should



they be acquainted with their design of meeting the English they feared they would fall upon  
and destroy them A String

Brother Warraghiyagey

Be attentive to what we now propose: they are the real sentiments of the five Nations, not merely the sounds of their Breath, but the genuine Resolutions of their Hearts Look upon this Belt [This Belt was the largest ever given, upon it was wrought the sun by way of the emblem of Light and some figures representing the Six Nations: it was intended to signify that they now saw objects in their proper Light and that they were fully convinced of the truth of every thing proposed] as a pledge of our inviolable attachment to you, and of our unshaken resolution of joining you in all your measures. Our determinations are founded upon clear conviction, as clear as that Sun that now shines in the firmament. We shall send this Belt to the Senecas that from thence it may be conveyed to the remotest nations, as an emblem of the happiness we enjoy by our union at the same time kindly inviting them to come in and join our Covenant Chain. Brother you may depend upon this as our Resolution which we will put into immediate Execution

What you have said with regard to the Trade, we look upon as a convincing proof of your love and affection to us, and it gives us pleasure that it now becomes a matter of serious consideration with you. We are sensible of your ability to supply us with all the necessaries of Life cheaper and better than the French can possibly do, indeed Brother there is nothing you should more seriously attend to, as it would greatly conduce to cement that friendship that subsists between us, and would be the most likely means of bringing in the most remote Nations to an acquaintance and Union with us A Prodigious large Belt

As the General had frequently insisted upon knowing their Resolution with respect to the Ravages committed by the Delawares &c this Paragraph is intended as an apology for not making their answer sooner

Brother Warraghiyagey

You have most earnestly and frequently pressed us to accommodate that unhappy Breach between the Delawares and our Bretheren the English our delay did not proceed from backwardness on our parts but from the great sence we had of its importance we hope you have received satisfaction on that Head, by the great Belt just now delivered with so much solemnity and sincerity

Brother Warraghiyagey

You have acquainted us that the Great King our Father is resolved to defend our Country, and to recover such parts of it as the French have encroached upon also to protect us to the utmost of their<sup>1</sup> power, by erecting Forts for our safety, and defence. We are grateful for this Instance of his goodness but have not yet concluded upon any thing with regard to the latter

Brother Warraghiyagey

You have informed us that the Governor of New York has a present for us from the Great King our Father, we are thankful for it but are afraid as it comes so soon upon the back of this meeting it will be inconvenient for our aged people to attend but our Warriors shall come upon that occasion

<sup>1</sup> his. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV. — Ed.

Brother Warraghiyagey

As you have given us a large Pipe to be a constant memorial of the important advice you have given us, when you are dead and gone and to smook out of, at our publick meeting place, when we jointly and maturely reflect upon our Engagements, We assure you we shall hang it up in our council Chamber and make proper use of it upon all occasions. We likewise beg that you on your part will likewise seriously consider your engagements and faithfully perform them

The General concluded with the following words

Bretheren

I do not think you have been so explicit with regard to what I proposed to you, concerning your keeping open and clear the road to Oswegoe, as I could wish. they made the following apology

Brother Warraghiyagey

With respect to the article relative to the keeping open the Road to Oswegoe, we imagined our answer was contained in our general reply wherein we assured you we would support and assist each other upon all occasions, but as you did not look upon that sufficient. We now assure you that we shall punctually conform to your desire herein

Bretheren. The present waits your acceptance As there has been frequent complaints with respect to the division of the Presents given at these public meetings. It is my earnest desire that they may be so divided as to prevent all jealousy and complaints. then delivered them a very handsome publick present which together with the private Gifts to the several Cheifs and Sachems amounted to £1085. 9. 8½ York Currency

At a Meeting of the Six Nations Feb 25<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Red Head Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

It was yesterday agreed on by us, that our oldest brother the Mohawk, should take upon him to settle that unhappy affair between the Delawares, and our Bretheren the English, but on more mature deliberation (having the thing so much at Heart) we have now unanimously agreed that several Delegates from the Six Nations should use their utmost endeavors to accommodate that Difference and depend upon it we shall loose no time for we will immediately despatch a message to them by the Skaniadaradighroona's and Oneidas, and desire them to meet us at Otseningo<sup>1</sup> where the Council is to be held

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have agreeable to your repeated desires, kept a good look out and daily watch the motions of the French We must acquaint you that they have lately sent a Message to our Bretheren the Caiyougas to let them know their resolution of attacking Oswegoe, and desire their opinion upon it hereupon three of their Sachems, and seven of their young men, are gone to Niagara with a design to forbid the French attacking Oswegoe, or any Indians (they

<sup>1</sup> now Binghamton, Broome county, N. Y. *Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations.* — Ed.

may see) Joining them. We daily expect their Return, when you shall immediately hear what they have done

A Belt

Bretheren of the Six Nations

I greatly approve of the alteration you have made in the method of accommodating that unhappy breach, between the Delawares, and your Bretheren the English, as it must certainly have greater weight now as it is to be the act of the whole Body, and the more likely to succeed, I look upon this as a very considerable proof of the unanimity and zeal that you have expressed at this present Meeting.

A Belt

Bretheren

I must repeat to you that I am extremely pleased at and much obliged to you for the kind intelligence you have given me of the designs of the French attacking Oswegoe and desire you will continue that Vigilance, and let me have every information you can relative to the proceedings, and motions of the French, as nothing can contribute more to the defeating all their designs, than our having certain and good intelligence. I wish your Bretheren of Cayouga may succeed in their intentions of endeavouring to prevent any Indians they may see) joining the French, but as they (the French) can do nothing without their assistance, I doubt of their success, however it is good to try what can be done in that case. but be that as it will, we do not fear what the French can do, neither should you, after the strong and many assurances we have given you of His Majestys protection and friendship

A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are now ready to return home, as all affairs for which we came here are settled to our satisfaction, and we hope to yours. We shall finish by assuring you we will strictly act up to every thing agreed upon at this meeting [and hope you will do the same.]

So ended the Congress

At a private Meeting of the Oneida Nation Feb<sup>y</sup>. 25. 1756.

Kanaghquiesa their speaker spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We some time ago applied to General Shirley to have a Fort built for the security of our Castle we now acquaint you with our unanimous Resolution of having one, and should be glad it could be accomplished, as soon as possible and that you will be particularly careful in the choice of those whom you employ in that work, and to charge them strictly by, no means, to bring any spirituous liquors among our people, as they are very ungovernable and turbulent when intoxicated by Liquor.

A String of Wampum

Bretheren

As I have general orders to build Forts for the safety and Protection of any of our Bretheren of the six Nations I do with the greatest cheerfulness comply with your request, and shall immediately employ proper persons for that purpose I am convinced it must be the fault of those people whom General Shirley employed that it was not done sooner for he had given orders for that purpose so long ago as last october



Then the Tuskarora Cheif spoke  
 Brother Warraghiyagey

We have some time since sett up the Stockadoes for the defence of our Castle, as we were, and are still apprehensive of the French acting against us in a Hostile manner, We as yet want some Block Houses to make it the more defenceable, and some soldiers to garrison it, which we hope will be readily granted us. We acknowledge the receipt of the swivels, and ammunition you so seasonably sent us for which we return you our hearty thanks.

Bretheren

I shall represent your case to General Shirley, who I doubt not will readily grant you a sufficient number of men, to Garrison your Fort, and as to the Block Houses which you desire, when I go to Oswego shall point out a proper situation for them, and then order them to be built.

At a Meeting of the Ganuskago Indians Feb 25<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Warriors of Ganuskago<sup>1</sup> upon our arrival informed you we were come down merely to see you and hear your words at this publick meeting As we are young and unexperienced and have never been at any meeting with a Governor we hope you will make a kind allowance for our want of ability in speaking, and we beg leave to assure you, that the reason of our never attending a meeting before, was not the want of affection to the English but was entirely owing to our remote situation, which prevented a timely and proper notice

Brother Warraghiyagey

As goods are vastly dear and ordinary in our parts, upon our determination to come to this meeting, We thought proper to bring some skins and firs with us in order to purchase some necessarys for ourselves and Familys and we beg you will as a brother direct us where we may be supplied with the best and upon the most reasonable Terms

Brother Warraghiyagey

We beg leave to assure you nothing can give us more satisfaction then the speech we heard you deliver the Six Nations on our arrival, as it contained nothing but what was quite right, and has a direct tendency to our Welfare. We think our time well spent in coming down, for if we had not probably we should not have heard all you have said, for we are convinced from what we heard you now say that our Sachems heretofore, have smothered the greatest part of your former advices. and we assure you we shall now spread your advice among all our people who are considerably numerous —

Threw down a Pack [of] Skins

Brother Warraghiyagey

As we are warriors we are not acquainted with the ceremonials of Publick Meetings, and therefore express what we have to say in a narrow compass We have no more to offer at present and hope you will excuse the trouble we have given you on this occasion

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 57. — Ed.

Bretheren

I have given attention to your words, and shall seriously consider your desire, but can not give you an answer until tomorrow. I choose to deliberate maturely upon every thing that I say, because my word once given is as binding as cement to a stone

Brother Warraghiyagey

We return you thanks for your kind promise of considering our desire, and as we see you are crowded and full of business of more importance we shall with patience wait your Leisure

Feb 26<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Bretheren

I told you last night that I had paid due attention to what you had said and would consider your request and give you an answer this day — In the first place I assure you it gives me no small pleasure to hear that my speech was so agreeable to you, and that you would acquaint all your nations with the contents of it. I beg you will not fail in this particular as it points out what will make you a happy People if duly attended to, which from your unanimity and zeal at this conference, I have no reason to doubt I am sorry you have not been duly invited to former meetings agreeable to my orders, and promise that for the future you shall have proper notice, and I hope you will be always ready, to assist us both in the Council, and the field, with all the chiefs and Warriors of that castle who shall be treated as friends and Bretheren

Bretheren

In the next place as I have no goods to sell [myself] I will take all possible care that you are not imposed upon in your Trade at Schenectady — I shall give directions to Mr Stevens the interpreter to assist you and see that justice be done you in every respect for I have a great regard for your castle and as a proof of it. I present you with these goods, giving them at the same time [a hand]some present, and three silver Gorgets to three of the principal warriors viz<sup>t</sup> Tarrawarriacks, Tá'hun'nun'sira'wé and Kindarunty who was the Cheif

Brother Warraghiyagey

We return you our hearty thanks for all your kind expressions of affection and love shown to us at this time, and we in return assure you that you may depend upon our sincerity and readiness, to serve you whenever you call upon us, and you know very well that whatever Warriors promise is sacred

Bretheren

I return you thanks for your sincere professions of Friendship and so parted

At a Meeting of the Onnondaga's Feb 27<sup>th</sup> 1756

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Onnondagas very readily embrace this opportunity offered us of having a Fort built for the protection of our Castle, and upon our return home shall choose a proper situation for it. As soon as the season of the year will permit, we beg you will not delay to send proper workmen to build it. As we have for some time past had an acquaintance with Lieut<sup>t</sup> Mills, we should be glad to have him as our officer, and as William Printup undertands the

Indian Language [well.] it would be agreeable to us to have him reside with us as a smith, and at the same time to serve as an Interpreter between the officer and us

Bretheren

I shall acquaint Gènl Shirley with your desire and I make no doubt he will comply with it. The Fort shall be built with all possible expedition and whatever officer is posted in it, will no doubt have particular orders to be carefull of your safety, and to treat you with all the marks of affection & Friendship

Ended

At a Meeting of the Senecas Feb 27<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Tagchsady Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

Our brother the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York was so good last year to promise us a smith, to mend our arms and Tools, and that he should reside among us untill the Corn was a foot high, but he labouring under the misfortune of a sore leg, was obliged to leave us some time sooner We acknowledge you sent us a smith last summer, with whom we are well pleased and beg you will continue him with us untill the Corn is a foot high, then he may come down for the necessarys he may have occasion for, and then we hope he will soon return to us again

Bretheren

I was present when the Governor of New York last year promised to send you a Smith, which he accordingly did and one agreeable to you, if he did not stay there the time appointed the Governor was not culpable; as he could not be supposed to know any thing of his coming away. I am very glad you are pleased with the smith I sent you last year & as you are desirous he should remain there until your corn is such a length. I very readily agree to it, and shall order him accordingly to stay that time

Ended

Feb 27<sup>th</sup> 1756

At a private Meeting of the Sachems and Warriors of the Conajoharee Castle, Abraham the Great Hendricks brother Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Sachems and Warriors of Conajoharee take this opportunity to say something to you relative to our own affairs, as your great trouble is now mostly over

Brother Warraghiyagey

When we were first allarmed with these publick Commotions you were so kind at our request to promise us a Fort for the protection of our Castle, we acknowledge you have punctually performed your promise, so that at the time when the confederacy were coming down last summer it was compleatly finished. Mr Fry on hearing of our application for men to Garrison it, applied to you in behalf of his son that he might be the Commander thereof, you answered him that you would consult the Indians whether it was agreeable or no, (which



you did) in answer to which we declared he was agreeable to us, and that it would be more acceptable to have those with whom we were acquainted than strangers

Brother Warraghiyagey

We were mistaken in our choice, for altho' he made us the fairest promises, that he would (during our absence) take care of our Lands and the crop then in the Field, he was altogether deficient in the performance by which neglect we entirely lost our crop, in this melancholy scituation, we make our application to you, assuring you that without your assistance in this article we must greatly suffer

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Warriors of this Castle look upon ourselves as under obligation always to be ready at a call upon any emergency, and therefore as we can not at present, fall upon any means to retrieve our loss, we look to you for support. Our fences having also suffered much in our absence we beg your assistance in repairing them

Brother Warraghiyagey

As soon as you informed us that you was ready for war, we gave you a sufficient proof of our regard for you in our readiness to attend you. We have also at your request stopped all our Warriors for some years past from making any excursions against the Flatt Heads and turned our weapons against our common enemy agreeable to your desire in short we hope we have upon all occasions given you reason to think that we have a sincere regard for you

Brother Warraghiyagey

Our spirits are now pretty much sunk at the loss of so many of our principal Sachems, and Warriors who fell at Lake George. we look to you to raise them up agreeable to our Customs

Brother Warraghiyagey

At the request of the upper Nations, without our consent, the selling of Strong Liquors is entirely forbid we have no design to contradict any thing they do, but only request that we may have leave to procure a little for our comfort.

3 Strings Wampum

Bretheren

It gives me great concern with you that the person who had the care of your Fort, and Castle had (in your absence) neglected the charge I gave him of both, but as he was your own choice there is the less to be said, however I shall reprimand him for it severely. As I am fully convinced of your Loyalty to his Majesty, and readiness at all times to follow my directions, you shall not want any assistance in my power to supply your wants, and contribute to your happiness, as a proof of which I shall now order you three hundred skipple of Corn for your support, and should that fall short, let me know it and you shall have a further supply untill you are able to raise your own Grain, I shall also give orders that your Fences be immediately repaired And as for you Warriors I shall send you a present by the first opportunity worthy the singular Service you have done your Country with me last Campaign

3 Strings Wampum.

Bretheren

As I have nothing more at Heart than the welfare and happiness of the people of your castle who have always been our steady friends. I am sensibly affected and sincerely sympathize with you upon the great loss you have sustained by the death of two of your principal Sachems

and likewise of some of your young men at Lake George. We should comfort ourselves with the thoughts that these friends of ours who dropped that day, died bravely in their countrys cause, and that their memory will be honored to the end of time. As it is necessary for us, to supply as well and as soon as we can the place of the two great Sachems lost that day I hope you have considered of proper persons for that important trust, if you have I should be glad you would produce them that I may give them the proper marks of distinction, and enter their names among the rest of the Sachems

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Sachems and Warriors of the Conajoharee Castle are much obliged to you, for your friendly and good opinion of us. We assure you we shall daily endeavor to merit it [more] and more, by convincing proofs of our Loyalty on any occasion

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Sachems and Warriors return you our most hearty thanks, for your kind and well timed supply of Corn, and promise of a further supply if necessary; the repairing of our fences will likewise be of the greatest service to us, as without them, we can raise no grain for the ensuing year. this care of us in our distress, adds greatly to the many obligations we already lye under and can never be forgot

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Warriors of Conajoharee are extreemly pleased with the favorable opinion you have of our Behavior in the late action at Lake George, which alone animates us much, and greatly eleviates our minds, notwithstanding they were so much depressed. We are extreemly obliged to you for the present you intend us, and shall receive it with the greatest gratitude

Brother Warraghiyagey

We take your anxiety for supplying the place for the two great Sachems lost, who chiefly managed our affairs, as a singular mark of your regard for our welfare. We present you one of our most capable men to succeed our deceased brother Tarrachioris of the tribe of the Turtle and hope our choice may meet your approbation. we have not as yet fixed upon one to succeed the great Hendrick, when we do shall immediately acquaint you.

3 Strings Wampum

Bretheren

As a proof of my regard for your choice, I now in the presence of your whole Castle, invest him with all the powers of a Sachem and put on him those necessary marks of distinction which I wish him long life to wear

Ended

The Aughquagey Indians before they parted made the following speech Feb 25<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Adam their Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are now ready to return, having heard all You had to say, which we assure you has made so deep an impression on our minds as not to be forgot. We would only beg leave to desire one favor of you before we go, that is, to have a tradeing house built in our country,

and a constant supply of goods, which would not only add greatly to our happiness but would encrease our numbers, as it would draw Indians from all parts within a hundred miles of us, to settle among us, if you would gratifie us in this you will greatly add to the many favors already received

A Belt

Bretheren

I have so good an opinion, and so many convincing proofs of your Loyalty to the Great King your Father, and affection to your Bretheren the English, that I have not the least reason to doubt your sincerity, nor the least objection to building you a trading house as soon as that unhappy affair is settled between the Indians of the lower settlements on your River, and your Bretheren the English, which I hope will be very soon

they returned their hearty thanks & so parted

Ended here

A true copy  
examined by me

ROB<sup>t</sup> ADEMS

Dep<sup>y</sup> Sécry

NOTE.—The words within brackets in the above Document, are added from the copy in the *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV., in the State Library. — Ed.

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*John Van Seice to Sir William Johnson.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 40.]

Onondaga March 6<sup>th</sup> 1756

Sir

This is to let you know that last Friday there was ten prisoners taken at Oswegoe on the East side of the River about a mile from the Fort, but not one killed, all from Sir William Pepperills Regiment it was done by the Oswegatchi Indians there was a great party of them, as I did hear from our Indians. as soon as I had the news, I did send a letter to Coll Mercer but it was all over when the Indian got there, so I had a letter from Coll Mercer and he is very sorry for the loss. He writes me that his people are dying very fast and no provisions for the men, so that they must perish to death Sir, it is the opinion of our Indians that the Oswegatchie Indians will do all the mischeif they ever can at Oswegoe, and so Coll Mercer is very much concerned. He says Sir that if there does not come Provisions to him against the 25<sup>th</sup> of March they must give it over. I do write to you as he does write to me, Sir in great haste for the Indians desired me just now to write to you. So no more at present but

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

JOHN VAN SEICE.

To Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bart.

Interp<sup>r</sup>



*Secretary Fox to the Governors in North America.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 75.]

Governors of: New Hampshire  
New York  
Connecticut  
Massachuset's Bay  
New Jersey  
Rhode Island.

Whitehall, March 13<sup>th</sup> 1756.

Sir,

The Earl of Loudoun, whom the King has appointed Commander in Chief of all his forces whatsoever in North America, being preparing to set out, with all possible expedition together with two Regiments of Foot, a Train of Artillery, and a sufficient quantity of Warlike stores, which His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has been pleased to order for the public service in those Parts, I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should be ready to give His Lord<sup>sh</sup>, and the Troops from England, all the assistance in your power on their arrival in America agreeable to the orders sent you in Sir Thomas Robinson's letter of October 26<sup>th</sup> 1754. and you will correspond with, and apply to the Earl of Loudoun, on all occasions, in the same manner as you were directed to do with the late General Braddock, and Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley.

It being of the greatest importance, that the King's Regiments already in North America (as well as the three stationed in Nova Scotia as the four in the province of New York) should be recruited as soon as possible, to their full complement of 1000 Men each; it is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure that you should forthwith call together, the Council and Assembly of the Province under your Govern<sup>t</sup> and that you should press them in the strongest manner, to make the most early and effectual provision, for raising and assisting His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Officers, to raise, such a number of Men as shall be sufficient to recruit the King's Regiments now stationed, or to be stationed in North America, up to their establishments, and you will acquaint them, that the King, in order to encourage his faithful subjects to engage in a service so essential for their own defence and preservation, does consent, that such Recruits, shall not be obliged to serve any where, but in North America; That they shall be discharged when hostilities shall cease; and that each of them shall have a grant of 200 acres of land, free from the payment of Quit Rents for ten years, either in the Province of New York, New Hampshire or Nova Scotia, at their own choice, which lands shall be granted them, on producing their discharge from the Commander in Chief, to the Governor of either of the said provinces respectively; & in case they should be killed in the service, their Widows, and children, shall be entitled to the said lands in such proportion as the Governor and Council of the Prov<sup>ce</sup>, wherein such land lye, shall direct.

You will acquaint the Council and Assembly with His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s great goodness, in having recommended their case to the consideration of his Parliament, who have granted the sum of £115000, to be distributed in such proportions, as the King shall think proper, to the four Provinces of New England, and those of New York and New Jersey, and thereby enabled His Maj<sup>ty</sup> not only to manifest his sense of their past services, but also to encourage them for the future to exert themselves, in the service with spirit and vigor; that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> therefore expects, that they will heartily and zealously concur in every measure, which shall be thought advisable

for carrying on the War in North Am<sup>ca</sup> and that they will forthwith raise the same number of Men, in each Colony, as were raised last year (whereof as great a proportion as may be to consist of Rangers) to act in conjunction with the King's Troops, in such operations, as shall be undertaken for annoying the Enemy, and recovering His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> just rights. This service will be the less burthensome to them, as the raising of the Men, their pay, arms and clothing, will be all that will be required of them, measures having been already taken for laying up Magazines of stores, and provisions of all kinds at the sole expence of the Crown; and you will use your utmost endeavours to induce the Council and Assembly to give the necessary orders for raising their Quota of these Men, with the greatest expedition, so that they may be ready to march to such place as the Commander in Chief, shall upon His arrival direct.

It is also His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> pleasure, that you should particularly recommend it to your assembly to make provision out of such Funds, as already exist, or may hereafter be raised for the King's service, for repaying the Masters of such Indented servants, as shall engage in His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> service, the money paid by the said Masters upon the original contract, in proportion to the time, such indented servants have to serve; and you will at all times discourage the harbouring, concealing, or assisting such as shall desert the service, and also use all means for discovering, and apprehending such deserters. You will likewise use your best endeavours to prevail on your assembly to appropriate such part of the Funds now raised, or which shall be raised for the public service, to be issued and applied to the General service, in such manner as the Commander in chief shall direct.

The King would have you recommend it in the strongest manner to your Council & Assembly, to pass effectual Laws for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with the the French, & for preventing the exportation of provisions of all kinds to any of their Islands or Colonies.

I am ettc.

H. Fox.

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*Secretary Fox to Sir William Johnson.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 75.]

Whitehall 13. March 1756.

Sir,

It is with great pleasure that I am to acquaint you, that the parliament, in consequence of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> gracious recommendation, have granted the sum of £5000, as a reward for your long and faithful services in North America; and it is His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> intention, as a further mark of his approbation, to give you a Commission of Colonel, Agent and sole Superintendant of the affairs of the Six Nations, and other Northern Ind<sup>os</sup>, together with a salary of 600.£ p<sup>r</sup> annum, for executing the same; and I herewith send you the said Commission

It is the King's pleasure, that you should assemble the Indians as soon as possible, when you will acquaint them with His Majesty's steady resolution to support and protect them, as his Allies; and invite them to join and act with his Troops against the French. You will communicate to the Indians all the orders the King has given for prohibiting settlements upon their Lands; for redressing their just complaints with regard to the patented lands, and for

preventing the like abuses for the future; and you will assure them, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> will give orders, that the Cacnawagees be not permitted to trade at Albany or Oswegoe: You will also acquaint the Indians, that large presents will be sent to them by the Commander in Chief, who will be fully instructed to make regulations with respect to their commerce and all such other points, as regard their welfare and security; and you will apply to the Commander in Chief of the King's forces in North America for the time being, for such sums of money, as shall be necessary, from time to time, in carrying on this important branch of the service; in the execution of which, I cannot too strongly recommend it to you, to exert your utmost zeal and endeavours; and I may add, that relying on your knowledge and integrity, whatever money you require, as necessary for engaging the Indians to act, will be given you without reluctance, or delay.

I am—etc.

H. Fox.

P S. Your patent of Baronet having passed the great seal in the usual form, I take this opportunity of sending it to you.

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*Lords of Trade to Governor Hardy.*

[ New-York Entries, B., P. 74. ]

To Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy Kn<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

It appearing to us upon a consideration of the present state of Indian Affairs, that the extravagant Tracts of Land, which have at different times been granted to particular persons upon pretence of purchases made of the Six Nations and their confederates, which they alledge to have been fraudulently obtained from them, has been one of the principal causes, of the decline of our Interest with the said Indians; and as we are fully convinced, that they can never be induced to engage heartily and sincerely in the just and necessary measures, which His Maj<sup>ty</sup> is compelled to take for the recovery of his undoubted rights in America, until they have received full satisfaction with respect to this real grievance, which they have so often and so justly complained of. We think it our duty to recommend this matter to your serious attention, and to desire you will also lay it before the Council and Assembly for their consideration.

The Patents or Grants, which the Indians principally complain of, and which they consider as most injurious to their Rights, are those commonly called Keyoderosseras, Connojohary & that at the Onejda carrying place, and if proper measures were taken to vacate and annul them, there is little reason to doubt, but that the Six Nations would Act in conjunction with us against the French with their whole united strength.

The difficulties, which would attend the doing this by Legal process in the Courts, are so many, as leave us little room to hope for success from such a measure; and we see no effectual Remedy to this great evil, but from the interposition of the Legislature of New York, in passing a Law for vacating and annulling these exorbitant and fraudulent Patents; a measure,



which we desire you will earnestly recommend to their consideration, and in which we doubt not of their concurrence, as it will be so much for His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s service, for their Honour & Interest, and for the advantage, welfare and security of their constituent in General. We are.

Sir

Your most obedient and  
most humble servants,

DUNK HALIFAX

J. TALBOT

SOAME JENYNS

RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY

19. March 1756

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*Lords of Trade to Chief Justice De Lancey.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., p. 85. ]

To James De Lancey Esq<sup>r</sup> Chief Justice of New York.

Sir,

We have received your letter dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of January, and are glad to find, that ours of the 8<sup>th</sup> of October came safe to your hands, and that the approbation we expressed therein of your conduct during your Administration of the Govern<sup>t</sup>, was received by you with satisfaction; as to that part of your letter, in which you request us to intercede with His Maj<sup>y</sup>, that the Gov<sup>r</sup> may be permitted to assent to a Bill for the payment of the Salaries due to yourself and the rest of the Officers of Govern<sup>t</sup>, We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that His Maj<sup>y</sup> has been pleased, upon a consideration of the present State of affairs, to allow his Gov<sup>r</sup> for the present to assent to such temporary Bills as the Assembly shall frame and pass for the support of Govern<sup>t</sup> and other necessary services.

We have lately had under our consideration the present State of Indian Affairs, and as it appears clearly to us, that the Patents of Lands commonly called the Kayoderosserras, Conojohary and that at the Oneida carrying place, which have been made at different times, upon pretence of purchases from the Indians, is one of the principal causes of the decline of our Interest amongst them, and that they can never be induced heartily and zealously to join in the just and necessary measures, His Majesty has been compelled to take, for the recovery of his undoubted Rights, until full satisfaction is given them with respect to these grievances, they have so long and so justly complained of; We have thought it our duty, to recommend this matter to Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy's serious attention, and to desire he will lay it fully before the Council and Assembly to the end that proper measures may be taken for vacating and annulling these exorbitant grants, as were done upon a former occasion of the like kind in 1699.—The many difficulties which will attend the doing this by a legal proces in the Courts are so many and so great, as leave us little room to hope for success from such a measure; and we see no remedy to this great evil, but from the interposition of the Legislature by passing a Law for this purpose, which we have directed the Gov<sup>r</sup>, earnestly to recommend to them, as a measure which will be for His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s service, for their honour and Interest, and for the advantage, security and welfare of their constituents in general.

We are sensible that the framing a Bill of this kind will be a matter of great tenderness and delicacy, and will require the advice and assistance of all those, who are any ways concerned or employed in the Administration of Govern<sup>t</sup>; and as your Situation & character, and the knowledge you have of the true interest of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Colonys, have rendered you particularly conversant in questions of this kind, we think it our duty to recommend to you to consult with Sir Charles Hardy upon this important point, and to co-operate with him in any steps which may be properly taken to render this measure effectual. We are.

Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>

DUNK HALIFAX

J TALBOT

SOAME JENYNS

RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY.

19. March 1756.

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*Lords of Trade to Governor Hardy.*

[ *New-York Entries, B. P.*, p. 78. ]

To Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy Kn<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

Since our letter to you dated the 29<sup>th</sup> of March, we have received your's of the 12<sup>th</sup> of January, and 23<sup>rd</sup> of Febr<sup>y</sup> last and the papers transmitted with them.

The fresh proofs, which His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects in New York have given of their regard and zeal for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Interests and Service, and their own Honour and Security, in making such early and ample provision for that part of the plan of operation for this year, which was assigned to them by the Council of War, cannot fail of recommending them to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s favour, and it would have been a great satisfaction to us, to have known by the same conveyance, what were the resolutions of the other Colonies to the Eastward upon a matter of so high importance.

It has given us however some concern to find, that this service is provided for in a manner inconsistent with the sense of the Legislature of this Kingdom, with respect to paper money, expressed in the Act passed here in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s reign, for restraining it in the four New England Colonies, and upon which the Instructions to you are founded, but if it be a Fact, that the Assembly can not furnish funds for sinking the Bills in a shorter time, we hope the necessity of the service will justify your conduct in Assenting to the Law in its present shape.

Another circumstance in your letter which gives us great uneasiness is, the refusal of the Assembly to make provision for the expence of a Commission for determining the controversies with New Jersey and Massachusetts Bay concerning their boundaries, the unsettled state of which has already been productive of so much mischief, and is an evil every day increasing. We had hopes that a matter of this nature, and which so essentially concerns the internal peace and quiet of Govern<sup>t</sup>, would not have met with any difficulty, and we can not but still be of opinion, that, when they seriously and impartially consider the case, they will comply with what has been so properly recommended to them.

We have considered your proposal for settling temporary lines of Jurisdiction, as a means of putting a stop to Acts of Violence and oppression, but as the Crown has, by the Charter to the Massachusetts Bay, granted the Jurisdiction as well as the property, it does not appear to us, that such a measure can take place with respect to that part of the dispute. In the case of New York and New Jersey, it undoubtedly may be done; but even that could not be done without in some degree affecting private property, and would be ineffectual, unless provision be made for the expence of running out and marking such a line, when determined upon.

As to the appointing Commissioners here for determining the controversy upon a supposition that it depends entirely upon the words of the Grant to the Duke of York, the establishing such a Jurisdiction is altogether without precedent, liable to numberless objections, and might be attended with very bad consequences; besides it could not be done without as great, if not much greater, expence than that which has been proposed, and therefore upon the whole, we are of opinion, that the only proper and effectual method of determining these disputes will be by a Commission, in the nature of that, upon which the limits between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire were settled; and we desire you will acquaint the Assembly, that, as this is a matter of high concernment to the peace and quiet of Govern<sup>t</sup> and the lives and properties of His Majesty's subjects, His Majesty does expect, that they will forthwith make a proper provision for the expence of such a Commission, and give their agent here proper Instructions thereupon, that there may be no further delay upon a matter of so great Importance.

We are,

Sir

Your most obedient humble servants,

DUNK HALIFAX

SOAME JENYNS

RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY.

13 April 1756.

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New York Papers, Li. No. 34.]

Fort George New York 10<sup>th</sup> May.

My Lords

I now enclose copys of two conferences Sir William Johnson has lately held with the Indians, one for the removal of those settled in this Province and called the River Indians who have lately caused great Jealousys and uneasiness to our Inhabitants the setting them with the Mohawks will be an additional Strength to their castle and may make them a useful people. The shocking Barbarities committed in the back country of Pensilvania by the Delawares and Shawanese, has been terrible and that poor Province reduced to very distressed circumstances; I have repeatedly urged it to Sir William Johnson, to bring the six Nations to interpose with their Nephews and Dependants: Indian deliberations are very slow, but he has at length brought them to call upon the Delawares to lay down the Hatchet, join them and assist their English Brethren, what measures have been taken for this good purpose the inclosed report of their Deputies will inform your Lordships. The meeting at Onondaga, agreed upon between



Sir William Johnson and them, I am afraid will be suspended (but I hope only for a few days) by a late alarm that the French and their Indians were in motion to attack our Magazines on the Mohawks River, these alarms have been so frequent of late, and given by Indians, who magnify small to great numbers, that I am inclined to think, this, like the others, will turn out only scouting Partys, to intercept and impede, the transportation of Provisions to Oswego. If this Breach with Pensilvania and the Delawares should be accomodated by the interposition of the Six Nations at the intended meeting at Onondaga, I shall esteem it a great point gained, and will sufficiently show your Lordships, the Influence Sir William Johnson has with the Indians, and his superior abilities for the management of them, I should not do this gentleman justice if I did not recommend him to your Lordships Notice and through your Lordships to his Majestys Ministers. The manner in which they invite him to the meeting at Onondaga, is the strongest mark of their regard and good opinion of him

The good consequences that will attend the accommodating of this unhappy Breach, are great, it will give a great turn to the affairs of the present Warr in North America, and I trust may by a little time and proper management, enable us to withdraw the Delawares & Shawanese that are settled on the Ohio from the French Interest, I doubt their present connections are too strong to hope for this success now

When Sir William Johnson had his meeting with the Indians last February (his proceedings at that meeting have been transmitted to your Lordships) I desired him to settle the time with them for my meeting them this spring to give them His Matys Present, your Lordships will see their answer in the conference, and so many alarms have of late taken up their attention as well as ours, that I could not possibly call them together, without great inconvenience to the public Service by taking them from it: this has rendered it impracticable for me to go up with the present, and as they had a large one given them by Sir William Johnson, made it less necessary and I believe will be of more real use and more acceptable in the fall of the year, at such time as they can be conveniently got together. But as there is no arms to be procured in this or the neighbouring Colonies fit for the Indians I judged it necessary at this Critical juncture, to send all those with the Powder and Lead I brought from England, to Sir William Johnson to distribute from me, by orders from His Majesty; and to acquaint them, as the French have threatned them to convince them of the regard I have for them, I have put those arms into their hands, and do not doubt but they will make the proper use of them—The want of these arms renders my Present very incompleat, and I hope your Ldps will judge it proper to replace them early this summer (that I may have them in readiness with the remainder of the Present and the addition I prevailed on the Assembly to make to it to the value of nearly £500) to give to the united Nations at the most convenient time. The prospect we have of uniting the Delawares with the Allied Castles, may make a farther addition to the present necessary, as the number of Indians will be considerably increased, all which I beg leave to refer to your Lordships consideration.

My Assembly is adjourned to the 25<sup>th</sup> Instant, before they rose I passed a Law to prohibit the exportation of Provisions for three weeks, but to continue in force for three months, if the neighbouring Colonies pass Laws for the like purpose, I hope such an example may bring them into it, I have proposed it, and shall not fail to urge it strongly, I find the Governors well inclined and have promis'd to recommend it to their several Assemblys

The French draw great quantitys of Provisions for the use of their Islands, by means of the Dutch, and from the Island of St Thomas and possibly may throw some into Louisbourg and

from thence to Canada, if this can be prevented their Islands must feel great distress, as well as our nearer neighbours. I shall by the next Packet acquaint your Lordships with the success of my proposal. I hope soon to have the Forces raising in this Province for the Crown Point expedition, assembled at Albany

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble servant

CHAS: HARDY

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*Report of a Deputation of the Onondagas.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 35.]

Fort Johnson 21 April 1756 A M

A Deputation from the Onondagas of Two Sachems, and 15 Warriors

Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>

Arent Stephens Interp<sup>r</sup>

Tioquanta speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are very sorry for your late loss at the Carrying Place<sup>1</sup> and as we doubt not you are oppressed with grief on this occasion we do with this Belt of Wampum wipe away the Tears from your eyes and clear your throat that you may speak to us with ease and freedom, and we clean away the blood which hath been spilt that we may confer together with our usual confidence and satisfaction

Gave a large Belt of Black Wampum

Brother

At our late public meeting you put the five Nations, in mind that the Delaware & Shawanese Indians were under their Government and direction, and you enjoined us to send them to express our Disapprobation and Resentment for the bloody Hostilities which they had and were dayly committing against our Brethren the English in those parts and that we should order them to cease from those Violences, and live in that Friendship and harmony with our Brethren the English as they were wont to do, and that they should turn the edge of their Hatchetts along with you and us against our common enemy the French & their Indians

We have been to them and delivered what you gave us in charge and we have succeeded by convincing them that they had acted very foolishly and very unjustifiably and they have promised and agreed to join their arms with us in Conjunction with you against our common enemys, but at the same time they earnestly desire that they may see and talk with you at Onondaga the Fire-place of the five Nations and that if you will meet them there it will convince them of your desire to live with them in Harmony and Friendship, and that you

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the destruction of Fort Bull and its garrison, on Wood Creek, Oneida county, by a detachment of French and Indians, under the command of Lieutenant de Lery, on the 27th March, 1756. — Ed.

intend to behave to them as friends and allies and the five Nations join with them in this request as they propose to have a very great Meeting there and as the present times are so troublesome and the general welfare so precarious, we desire you will fix upon as early a day as possible to meet me at Onondaga. As this meeting will be of great importance to the Common Cause, we press upon you to be present at it, and that with as little delay as possible, and that we will bring your Neighbours the Mohawks of both Castles along with you. We would willingly now take you by the hand with us, but if this cannot be done we must beg you will tell us what day you will be at Onondaga that we may summons the Six Nations the Delawares & Shawanese and our several Allies to come punctually at the time you shall fix upon  
(delivered a Belt of Invitation)

Brother

With half of this Belt (holding one up) we put you in mind that as you have often told us, that we are one people and one family, we must now inform you, that as this meeting at Onondaga will be a very considerable, and at which will be present a great number of Indians of several Nations, we are by reason of the present situation of affairs (which requires our young men to be constantly in Arms attending the operations of our Brethren the English) very short of provision and by no means able to provide for such numbers as will come to this meeting, we therefore hope you will bring along with you some Provisions to assist us to support the many Indians who will assemble at Onondaga on this occasion

Brother

With the other half of this Belt we acquaint you that as you desired the Six Nations in General and we Onondagas in particular would have our eyes constantly fixed upon Oswego our Trading place, and keep out Scouts in order to discover and make known the motions and designs of the enemy—This we have constantly done and no sooner one scouting party comes in but we send out another and upon gaining any Intelligence immediately communicate it to the commanding officer at Oswego; and this we shall continue to do with our utmost zeal and Abilities, for Brother we are determined to live and die with our Brethren the English. Now brother you know that arms & ammunition are not only the means of our Livelyhood and that by constant use they must be wearing out and expended, but more especially so at this time when they are constantly in our hands, and not only for our own maintenance but to assist our Brethren the English, we must therefore desire brother that you will bring along with you to this meeting at Onondaga a good supply of arms, Powder & Ball as things absolutely needful at this conjuncture, dont think brother we are so earnest upon this point with a view of private advantage, for we propose to use our arms and ammunition in conjunction with our Brethren the English against their and our enemies  
(Then gave the whole Belt)

21 April 1756

Sir William Johnson's Answer to the foregoing speech.

Peter Wraxall Sécry  
Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

Bretheren of Onondaga

The condolence of your Nation on our late misfortune at the Carrying place is friendly and acceptable These things are the natural consequences of War and I hope they will animate both you and us with a laudable spirit of resentment



Bretheren

I am very glad to find that your remonstrances to the Delawares and Shawanese Indians have had the desired effects, and that they not only repent of their cruel and unjust behaviour towards their Bretheren the English but now perceive what is their true Interest and Duty & are disposed to join with you and us against the common enemy, agreeable to their request and your urgent desire I propose to come up to the intended meeting at Onondaga and to be there in twenty days from this day. There are several reasons which prevent my being able to go with you now, or to attend sooner, one of which is that I have been lately called three times to the German Flatts and Oneida carrying place, by which means I have a great deal of Business upon my hands which must be attended to before I can leave home again.

I shall give timely notice to the Mohawks of both castles to be ready to go when I call upon them.

Bretheren

I am sensible that at this time more especially you will not be able to find Provisions for such a number of Indians as will probably be at this meeting, and I shall therefore agreeable to your request take care to assist with a supply of Provisions

Bretheren

It gives me great pleasure to hear that you manifest that attention to your true Interest and my exhortations as to be duly watchful over the safety of your Trading place at Oswego, by keeping out constant scouting parties round it. I hope you will in this any by every other method continue to lett your and our enemys the French and their Indians see that you look upon the preservation of Oswego not only as a security to your own Castles, but as a place which your Honor and your Interest call upon you to protect from their inroaching attempts and that you will to the utmost of your power keep the road to it free and open

Bretheren

I well know how necessary arms and Ammunition are to you at all times, and more particularly so at this, and I shall do every thing in my power to obtain and bring with me as much and as good of the kind as I possibly can, but as several Armaments are now making throughout the Continent these important Articles are thereby rendred scarce, and difficult to be obtained and that I may have time to get the best & as large a quantity as I can purchase is another reason why I can not sooner meet you at Onondaga

Gave a Belt.

To this the Speaker replied

Brother Warraghiyagey

You have given us a very satisfactory answer to the several particulars we had in charge from our Castle. We are extreemly obliged to you for it and we shall punctually make our Report on our return. The Friendship between our Brethren the English and us, hath been of an ancient date, and a long continuance, and we can not more effectually distress our enemies than by stedfastly uniting ourselves together against them.

Sir William then told them that as he had promised their Nation at the late meeting that when the weather would permitt he would send people up to build them a Fort, this he now intended speedily to do and desired their people would agree upon a proper place to build it and hoped when the Workmen came up they would use them well and avoid any Quarrells

or disagreements and that he would give a charge to the Workmen to behave well on their side.

Then the conference broke up

A true copy from the original

minutes examined by me

PETER WRAXALL

A true Copy examined by

BENJ<sup>n</sup> BARONS Secry

Sécry for Indian Affairs.

*Report of the Mohawk Delegates.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 36.]

Fort Johnson 22<sup>d</sup> April 1756 P. M.

The Mohawk Delegates who were sent down to the River Indians waited upon Sir William Johnson and gave him the following account of their negociation

Brother Warraghiyagey

Our Delegates are returned from our Nephews the River Indians, and we are come to this our fire-place with them to give you a relation of their proceedings

Brother

Our Nephews were extreemly glad to see us & expressed their gratitude for our Invitation to them which they readily accepted of, and promised as soon as they could gather their people together, which they beleived would be next month they would remove hither & accept our offers. They said they had looked upon themselves as a people abandoned & were extreemly rejoiced to find their Uncles the Mohawks had not wholly forgott them, but had taken measures for their Wellfare and establishment and that previous to their removal they would despatch some of their young men forwards to give us notice of their coming

Hereupon Sir William answered

Bretheren of the lower Mohawk Castle

I thank you for the account you have given me of your Proceedings with your Nephews the River Indians, I approve thereof and am glad to find they have so readily and gratefully embraced your kind & prudent invitation. When they come and are incorporated with you I shall consider & treat them as Bretheren and assist them accordingly and I hope they will be an addition to your strength and Welfare

A true Copy

PETER WRAXALL

A true copy examined by

BENJ<sup>n</sup> BARONS

Sec<sup>ry</sup>.

Sécry for Indian Affairs

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., 41.]

Fort Johnson 28<sup>th</sup> May 1756

My Lords

My last letter to your Lordships, bore date the 6<sup>th</sup> March, therewith I had the honor, to transmitt a copy of my proceedings in Indian affairs from the time of my arrival from Lake George to that date

I have since received Mr Secretary Pownalls letter bearing date the 2<sup>d</sup> December, which your Lordships did me the honor to direct him to write me.

General Shirley's interfering in Indian affairs, and that with so much personal resentment, and such prejudices against my management, was a matter of as much surprize, as it was mortification to me. I had many reasons to think I stood high in that Gentlemans opinion which I had always endeavored to deserve and to strengthen

If my sense of duty to that part of His Majestys Service which his Royal Orders had entrusted to my management, had not unfortunately obliged me, to have differed with Mr Shirley in opinion, I should not have troubled your Lordships with a detail on that disagreeable subject, but as it did affect that part of His Majestys Service, I thought I could not consistent with my duty be silent to your Lordships thereon Tho' I have reason to beleive, I have lost General Shirleys friendship and confidence, which I wish myself honored with for the good of His Majestys Service, so far as it is connected with my department, yet he hath of late silenced those Agents, he set up in opposition to me, and of whose conduct I complained to your Lordships

I have the honor herewith to transmitt to your Lordships a copy of my proceedings, since the date of the last I sent

The Slaughters and devastations, which have been committed on the Frontiers of His Majestys Southern Provinces, I doubt not your Lordships have received particular accounts of from their respective Governors, it is certain that the Delawares, and Shawanese Indians have been concerned in these Hostilities

Till very lately those Indians were faithfull friends to us & lived in a peaceful and harmonious Intercourse with His Matys Subjects what are the several and real causes of their defection, I can not take upon me at present precisely to ascertain

I beg leave to offer to your Lordships my general opinion from all I can as yet gather on the subject

I would premise, that the Defection of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians is not general, many I beleive yet remain if not firm to our Interest, not wholly lost to it

These Indians were settled in the neighbourhood of the French encroachments on the Ohio, some were settled where the French have now actually built, Forts; when His Majestys Troops under the late General Braddock were defeated, it gave the French who remained Masters of all that part of the Country, an opportunity to strengthen and increase their Indian Interest and influence, they flattered they boasted, and by persuasive and intimidating arts they won over several of those Indians, who were before in our Interest, and some who held themselves as it were neutral till they saw how the event of that expedition would turn out; of those latter were the *Twightwees* the *Jenundadees*, and some *Chickasaws* Indians, who are as



I am lately informed fallen in with the French Interest, but I apprehend more from fear than choice

Those Delaware and Shawanese Indians who lived nearest to the Ohio, being seduced by the French, went among their bretheren who dwelt on the Susquehanna and propagated those prejudices against the good intentions of the English, which the French had furnished them with at the same time making them offers and promises from the French and magnifying their prowess, kindness and generosity, by these means they won over some, and spread a general prepossession amongst the rest against the English

The great Patents of Land which had been purchased and taken up in those parts and our extended scattered settlements beginning to crowd upon the Indians, had been a long eye sore to them, infected them with jealousy and disgust towards the English, and thus prepared them to be more easily influenced, by the prosperity of the French affairs, and the ill success of our arms, and when they saw after Mr Braddocks defeat and death, our military operations ended as it were to the Southward and carried to the Northward, they joined the French and their Indians in their depredations, upon the open and defenceless Frontiers of those Provinces

The third and last cause I shall suggest, is my suspicion that these Indians, who used to be more immediately under the direction of the Southern Provinces had been either neglected or injudiciously treated at that critical time when the greatest address was requisite; something of this kind is hinted in the last proceedings which I transmitted to your Lordships

These hints I humbly submit to your Lordships consideration as this is a very important affair, I apprehend I might with propriety offer my thoughts thereon; there are some other particulars relative to this subject for which I beg leave to refer your Lordships to the Papers herewith. In those your Lordships will perceive a Meeting at Onondaga was proposed by the Southern Indians in consequence of a deputation sent to them at my earnest request by the Six Nations at which I agreed to be present and named the day, but as I was from informations very doubtfull whether the Southern Indians were come to Onondago, according to their appointment, and the two Mohawk Castles with some other Indians of all the 6 Nations (except the Onondagas) were so averse to my attending this meeting at this critical juncture. I thought it would be prudent to be certain whether those Indians were actually at Onondago before I undertook my journey thither, as the meeting them was my cheif Inducement for promising to go there, Messengers were accordingly dispatched and your Lordships will see the answer they have brought from the Onondaga Indians, and that they are so extreemly pressing for my coming up, and give such cogent reasons for it that I apprehend the good of his Majestys service will not dispencc with my refusal. I am therefore preparing to set off, so as to be there by the time appointed, and I have General Shirleys concurrence therein. I hope to meet some of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians there and if so to talk over and settle matters with them on such a footing as may be very beneficial to His Majestys service in General, and the tranquility of the Southern Provinces in particular. Besides this General meeting appears to be necessary on account of the uneasinesses and jealousies which the Onondagas make mention of, and which I find more or less prevails at present amongst most of the Indians of the Six Nations. One cause of which is from the Deserters of General Shirleys and Sir W<sup>m</sup> Pepperils Regiments, in which are I apprehend a great number of Irish Papists and Transports who were enlisted from the back parts of Pennsylvania and Mary Land, they desert from Oswego and other Garrisons up the<sup>1</sup> River, shelter themselves among the

<sup>1</sup> this. *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, LXXXII. — Ed.

Indians of the six Nations or pass through their country in their way to the back parts of those provinces from whence they were enlisted, and where they have acquaintances and confederates, from Malice and Policy, they pretend a great affection for the Indians, and invent lying stories to justify their quitting the Service and ingratiate themselves with the Indians, who seeing they are surrounded by our present armaments, being naturally prone to suspicion, and the french continually working upon this their disposition by false and artful Representations of our views and measures, render these Reports of the Deserters more credible and pernicious. I am informed there are great numbers of them amongst the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians, who have done a world of prejudice to our Interest. I have represented this matter to General Shirley, and proposed to him to empower me to offer the Indians hand some Rewards for taking up and delivering such deserters, as may be, or may come, amongst them

Governor Morris has published a declaration of War against the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians and a small body of men are raised in that Government and marched to build a Fort at Shamokin a Branch of the Susquehanna Tho Mr Morris has worded this Declaration with Restrictions in favor of our Friend Indians, yet as it is published and this Fort building without previous notice & explanation given to our Indians it hath circulated amongst them, in a confused manner and put in a bad Light by the Ignorance and probably malice of the Reporters, and tho I am fully sensible that the horrible cruelties and Devastations which the Southern Provinces & Pennsylvania [in particular], have suffered call for their most united and vigorous Resentments, yet I can not but humbly be of opinion, that Mr Morris' declaration of War, backed with so small a Force as the 400 men he hath raised, was premature, and that it would have been more adviseable [if] he had allowed me first to have acquainted the six Nations and our friend Indians living on the Susquehanna with his Intentions especially as Mr Morris in behalf of Pennsylvania had applied to me to lay the hostile behavior of the Delawares and Shawanese before the Six Nations at the Meeting last winter and he was apprized of the deputation which the Six Nations had sent, yet before he knew the result of their Ambassy he published this Declaration of War which as a friendly meeting was agreed upon at Onondaga with a prospect of accommodating all matters with the Delawares and Shawanese at least such of them as had not left the Settlements and absolutely engaged themselves to the French I beg leave to observe to your Lordships that while affairs were thus circumstanced I think Mr Morris Declaration of War had better been postponed, till the Meeting at Onondaga had been over, when a better judgement might have been formed to regulate his Proceedings

By perusing the papers herewith, I conceive your Lordships will find there is a foundation for the observations I have made on Mr Morris's Conduct, my sentiments on this matter I have communicated to General Shirley & S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hardy who have transmitted them to Governor Morris

I have reason to beleive Mr Morris's Declaration of War by misrepresentations, has not only alarmed the Six Nations but will prevent the Southern Indians from coming to Onondaga & throw fresh difficultys in the way of bringing about an accommodation, with the remainder of those Indians, who were yet in a retrievable State

An other thing before I finish this interesting subject, seems to me of sufficient importance to mention to your Lordships

The half King and some other Indians of the Six Nations were lately at Philadelphia, Governor Morris had a conference with them, acquainted them with the<sup>1</sup> Declaration of War,

<sup>1</sup> his. *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, LXXXII. — Ed.

and gave them a War Belt to offer to the Six Nations in his name in order to join and assist. At the same time he allowed the heads of the Quakers, who he well knew violently opposed all his Warlike measures to have a meeting with the same Indians, they had sent me a copy of what passed and they gave the Half King a Belt of Peace to present to the Six Nations in their Name, telling them they were descendants of the peaceable Penn that there were great numbers of their Bretheren in that Province who were averse to War, and whose principles were to suffer Injuries and leave Heaven to protect and defend their Cause &c &c —

These contradictory measures, and these opposite Belts the Half King reported, and shewed a few days ago, at a small meeting of some of all the six Nations at my house the Indians could not conceal their surprise that one Province should produce such contradictions and your Lordships will I beleive be of opinion, that it would be no great honour to our Political Talents

My Lords

I am sensible that I am taking up a great deal of your Ldps time, but if I am not greatly mistaken the subjects I have and shall lay before you are of such importance to the British Indian Interest, as will I hope justify me in your Lordships opinion

In my last letter I gave it as my real Sentiments to your Ldps that the Indians of the 6 Nations had discovered at the then late Meeting the strongest Intimations of their sincerity and fidelity, & that nothing seemed to be wanting to cement and enlarge our Indian Alliance, but unanimous and vigorous efforts against the Common Enemy; I will from no motives, my Lords, misrepresent or conceal from your Lordships what appears to me the true state of our Indian Interest

I am sorry therefore to acquaint your Lordships that the six Nations in general, and the upper Nations more particularly. do not at present seem to be animated with so warm & active a Zeal in our Favour as I could wish, & which it has been, and shall be my unremitted endeavour to inspire them with, some of their chiefs have in private conversation with me complained of our want of vigour, and good management of our Military operations, they murmured at our inactivity last campaign at Oswego, they censured the weakness and knew the deplorable state of that important Garrison towards the latter end of last winter for want of Provisions, and told me they trembled for its Fate, they reproached us for laying up our vessels the beginning of last october, and that they do not yet appear on the Lake tho the French were sailing backwards and forwards the whole winter. They were surprized the great carrying place, an other, very important post was so poorly fortified particularly at one end, and such a handfull of Troops left to protect it, they told the officers there that the French would certainly attack them, and that it was not in a condition to make a good Defence. The event has shewn they judged rightly and complained justly. They reproach us with the two Regiments laying encampt at Albany, and Schenectady, and ask why they dont march against the French

These complaints and reproaches of the Indians, I mention to your Lordships as causes of discontent to them and of their forming unfavorable ideas of our military Proceedings, which tends to damp their spirits towards us, & nourish the awe of the French which hath & doth prevail too much amongst them. I have endeavoured by every method in my Power to remove their Prejudices, but as they form their judgments from appearances only, it is an extreem difficult Task to work upon their understandings



An other cause of the Six Nations standing in so much awe of the French is the great number of Western and Northern Indians in their alliance, and which hath been greatly strengthened since our unhappy Defeat at Ohio.

These Prejudices my Lords are not the only disadvantages we have to contend with in endeavoring to raise & keep up in their minds a respectable opinion of our Power & consequence. The Cayouga and Seneca Nations are near neighbours to Niagara, the Onondagas, and Oneidas, are in the neighbourhood of Swegachee a french settlement on the river St Lawrence, to which numbers of those two Nations have of late years been debauched and gone there to live. Tho our Indians do not now resort to those Places as frequent and familiarly as they formerly did, yet some among them do occasionally visit there, when the French and the Indians in their Interest poison the minds of ours with Stories not only to the disadvantage of our good Intentions towards them, but endeavor to frighten them with pompous accounts of the superior Prowess and martial abilities of the French. These things are propagated amongst them, and the truth really is they have had more reason to think highly of the French this way than of us

But, my Lords, notwithstanding all these drawbacks upon the Zeal & attachment of the Six Nations towards us, I am persuaded at this instant, and I hope I shall have when the approaching meeting at Onondaga is finished stronger reasons to be persuaded that if we were now ready to go upon Action from Oswego, and things wore a formidable and favorable appearance, that the six Nations would join us with a cheerfulness & vigour which at present does not so visibly appear. And I must beg leave to give it to your Lordships as my fixt opinion upon the most deliberate consideration, that the 6 Nations will never be thoroughly fixed to the British Interest and arms, untill we strike some grand stroke, and thereby convince them that we have ability to protect them and humble the French, without asserting our dignity & consequence in some such way as this; Presents and Treaties, a diligent & skillful management may keep the Six Nations friends & allies, but will not destroy the French Influence and attachment amongst them. Could we but give such a convinceing proof of our Prowess, I will take upon me to answer for the hearts & the hands of the Six Nations, and to turn them with such destructive Rage upon the French, as would soon give a new face to our affairs, for of this I am confident that the 6 Nations almost to a man wish we had the upper hand of the French when they would not only I am persuaded exert themselves, but bring over many great & powerful Nations to the Southward and Westward, which might be facilitated by our management that way

#### My Lords

It would not become me to animadvert upon our military conduct here, and to take upon me to advise therein might be going beyond my Tether, but what I have said I hope comes from me in Character, and permit me my Lords to say in general, that speedy spirited and active measures are absolutely necessary, to support strengthen and extend our Indian Interest provided the sword is to be kept drawn

I have in the former part of this letter mentioned to your Ldps that I am informed the Twightwees, the Jenundadies and some of the Chickasaw Indians have been obliged to submit themselves to the French, since our defeat at the Ohio, and your Lordships will see that the Missisagas, who were invited by & promised M<sup>r</sup> Shirley to meet at Oswego this summer, will not meet there, but will at any of the settlements of the 6 Nations. As the

former Indians I fear dare not and the Missasagas will not meet at Oswego, I suspect the intended meeting of the Western Indians there will not take effect

It happens very unluckily that by our ships from England not arriving in the usual time this Spring, a sufficient quantity of Indian Goods, and things proper for Presents are not to be purchased I have sent to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston for several things, but can not get them

Sir Charles Hardy has consented I shall give some of the arms 600lb of Powder, and Lead in his name out of His Majestys present, sent by him to the 6 Nations. I heartily wish I had the rest of it, I wrote him there would be scarce a more favorable opportunity of giving that Present than at this Meeting

I would humbly propose to your Lordships that if His Majesty is pleased to continue me in the superintendancy of Indian affairs that I may be allowed to order such assortments of Indian Goods from England as are proper for the Service I am convinced this will be a saving method to the Crown, and that the Indians will be much better supplied—The Presents which Governors have brought from England have been ill sorted, many articles bad in their kind, and some useless, particularly that essential article of arms

On my return from Onnondaga, I shall transmitt your Lordships Copy of my Proceedings there and give you such further intelligence as may occur

I am

My Lords

most respectfully y<sup>r</sup>

Lordships

most obedient most

humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

P S

Forts are now building in the Senecas country, at Onnondaga, Oneida, & Schohare The Cayuga Indians have not yet applied The Fort for the Oghuagees is upon the acc<sup>t</sup> of the disturbances to the Southward deferred till the meeting at Onondaga is over.

The words within brackets in the preceding letter, are from the copy in *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*. LXXXII. — Ed.

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*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Indian Transactions. March—May, 1756.*

[ New-York Papers, LI., No. 42. ]

March the 5<sup>th</sup> 1756

As the Bunt and several of the Onnondaga Nation returned from Albany they made the following short speech

Canadock Speaker

William Printup Interpreter

Brother Warraghiyagey

As you were so good the other day to promise we should have a Fort in our Country we were thankful to you for it, since that time we have considered the benefit it may be to us,

Wherefor we now earnestly request you would build such a one for us as may last many years, if we could have such a Fort as the Mohawks have it would give us great pleasure

We beg leave to repeat our desire of having our brother Otawandanawa (Lieut Mills) as officer there & Sagudderiaghta alias William Printup a smith & Interpreter between us and the officer. We also beg you would order some people to come up and plow our Corn Lands which are grown so stiff that our Women can scarce enter them with their Hoes, this is all we have at present to say

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Bretheren of Onnondaga

It is out of pure regard for your safety and Welfare Forts are offered to you, well knowing the great security they will be to you all against any design of your and our treacherous enemy. Wherefore as you desire a good strong & durable Fort you shall be indulged therein. As to the Officer who is to command there, General Shirley has it in his power to gratifie you therein, and I doubt not but he will as I shall in sending William Printup to serve you as smith & interpreter, I will write a letter by you to the Germans, who live nearest to you, to go up with some Plows to break up your stiff Ground and hope that will be the means of its yielding you good crops

A Belt

Bretheren

I have one thing to request of you, which is that you immediately send one of your Nation called Canadacta with a joint invitation to the Mississagae to meet at Oswego as soon as they can conveniently he is the fittest man I know to undertake it, as he speaks their language and is an honest sensible man, you may assure him of being well rewarded

A Belt

Brother Warraghiyagey

We agree to your desire and much approve of your choice, as the man you mention really deserves the good opinion you have of him. We will as soon as we get home prepare him for the journey and send him with a joint message and invitation

A Belt.

I returned them thanks & gave them cash to purchase provisions on their way home and then they parted

March 7<sup>th</sup> 1756

At a Meeting of the Seneca Sachems at their return from Albany Tagighsady, the greatest Sachem of their Nation, rose up and spoke

Brother Warraghiyagey

We hope you will as soon as the Season admits of it, send good men to build the Fort for us, for we are in a very dangerous situation at present, having such bad neighbours as the French near us

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Senecas

You may depend upon my sending men to build a Fort for your protection as soon as possible. I must desire that you Bretheren who live nearest to the Twightwees, and the Ottawawaes will send Kindarunta of Ganuskago<sup>1</sup> my great friend to invite them, and as many

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 57.—Ed.



other Nations as incline to speak with us, to the meeting which is to be held at Oswego, and that you join in the invitation as it will have more weight, and should we succeed in our designs, it will be for our mutual Interest  
A Belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We return you thanks for the assurance you give us of sending up workmen to build a Fort for our Protection

Agreeable to your desire we will as soon as we get home send the man you mention with your desire of seeing as many of them as possible and we will also send to them in our own name, and doubt not but they will come unless some unforeseen turn of affairs should happen  
A Belt

I returned them thanks for their compliance with my request gave them money to purchase Provisions by the road and so parted.

March 8.

Fitted out a Party of five Indians to harrass the Settlements about Crown Point  
A Chenundady Indian Cheif

March 9

Fitted out three more, Captain Dick the Chief, whom I ordered to go towards St Johns below Lake Champlain

March 10

Fitted out an other Party of five Mohawks and three White men, Mr Henry Marr cheif of the Whites, Petrus Daniels son cheif of the Indians, they were to go to Crown Point or further in case they could not succeed there. I had a letter from Marr dated at Fort William Henry the 14 Inst. they arrived safe there and were to sett off for Crown Point the next day

March 15<sup>th</sup> 1756.

An Express sent General Johnson by the Oneidas with a large Belt of Black Wampum assuring him some French & 400 of their Indians were seen marching towards their country they desired his immediate assistance or they must die.

The General received the News at 10 oclock at night at Albany and acquainted Coll Bourton<sup>1</sup> with it gave him the letter which he received from the Interpreter who took it from the Indian He then sett out for the German Flatts where he arrived the second day, the next day above 1000 of the militia whom he had ordered to follow arrived and some few Indians. The

<sup>1</sup> Major General RALPH BURTON, was Lieutenant Colonel of the 48th Regiment of Foot, 14th October, 1754, and accompanied Braddock to the Monongahela, where he was wounded. He was allowed the rank of Colonel in America, on 10th January, 1758, in which year he commanded the 3d Brigade in the expedition against Louisburgh. In 1759, he and his regiment accompanied General Wolfe to Quebec, and he was again wounded in the operations before that city, notwithstanding which, however, he was at his post in the memorable battle on the plains of Abraham, in command of the reserve. When Wolfe received his death wound, the last order he issued was to Colonel Burton, "to cut off the retreat of the fugitives;" "then turning on his side he expired." *Knox Campaigns*, II., 79. After the surrender of Quebec, Colonel Burton was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the city and its dependencies, and in 1760, being advanced to the rank of Brigadier, accompanied General Murray in his operations for the reduction of the district of Montreal. In this campaign he commanded the first, or right Brigade. On the 10th December, of that year, he was appointed Colonel of the 95th, then serving in America, and on the 10th July, 1762, was promoted to the rank of Major-General in the army. He became Colonel of the 3d Buffs, on the 22d November, 1764, and, as his name is not to be found in the Army list of 1869, it is presumed that he died in 1768. — Ed.

General sent an express immediately to the Oneidas several of whom were then at the Carrying place to let them know he was so near and ready to march instantly to their assistance or to that of any of our Bretheren if they thought it necessary, their answer was that several scouts they had sent out to discover the enemies motions were returned without seeing the enemy, that they beleive they had altered their scheme or course also let them know they were extreemly obliged to him for this convincing proof of his regard for them & that they never would forget it

General Johnson then sent them the following Message.

Bretheren of Oneida

I must advise you to keep some of your young men always towards the Borders of the French Country to watch their motions and if at any time you find they are marching towards your Country, let me know it immediately and I shall be with you before they can, for I am light and my men ready always in a moment to follow me

Bretheren

Be not dismayed at the sight or approach of five or six hundred of the enemy when you now see what a number I can bring to you in so short a time and at so bad a season of the year and were it necessary I would bring four times as many all of my own Regiment

A Belt.

March 23<sup>d</sup> 1756

At a meeting of the Mohawks at Fort Johnson

Sir William Johnson communicated to them the contents of a letter he had received from Coll Hardenburgh and several other Gent<sup>l</sup> of Kingston in Ulster County dated March 10, which was that a party of English had entered a Wigwam where about 14 River Indians men Women and children were, and that upon strong suspicion of their being concerned in the murder of some of their neighbours a few days before would make them Prisoners but the Indians resisting the Party killed several of them and some made their escape, further that those Gentlemen acquainted me that there were about 40 or 50 of the same Nation of Indians now in Kingston come there for Protection and were supported by the People of that Town that they would be glad to know what to do with them. I desired their advice and opinion thereon which the promised they would give as soon as they got home and consulted together

#### Instructions to Mr Albert Van Slike going to the six Nations

You are to proceed immediately to the Castle of the Cayougas and tell them you are come according to their request with goods which you are to supply them with as reasonably as you can, so that they may have no cause of complaint

You are to make the strictest inquiry possible when there what News is amongst them and send me the same by express if of any moment

You are to encourage them to keep the road open to Oswego that His Majestys Troops and Provisions may pass & repass unmolested. If any attempts should be made by the enemy to stop said communication or any Mischeif done at Oswego or any where thereabouts you are to tell them in my name that they must rise up & revenge it, otherwise they will break their

engagements entered into at the last Treaty held at my house, and if you can spare time to take a Scout with a number of them on such occasions I will pay you for the same eight shillings p<sup>r</sup> day, but you must keep an exact account of the number of days you may be on said service so as you may justly swear to it

You are also to employ some trusty Indian of that Nation to go as a spy to Cadaracqui & Swegatchie to see what the French and their Indians are about for which you are to pay them and I will make you an allowance for the same

Lastly You are to send Intelligence of any designs you find the French may have against Oswego immediately to the commanding officer there also to me and to endeavour to prevail on said Nation to have a Fort in their Country setting forth the advantage it will be to them

You may for the good of the Service advance £10 to such Sachems or others as you find deserving and I will repay you

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson this 23<sup>d</sup> day of March 1756.

WM JOHNSON

To Mr Albert Vanslike

#### Instructions for Myndert Wemp in the Senecas Country

As the Senecas have requested of me that you should stay there till their corn is a foot high in order to keep their Arms & Working Utensils in Repair

You are therefore hereby directed to remain there untill the latter end of May or beginning of June and do all the work for them they want

You are to send me by express any News of Moment you may hear there and also to the commanding officer at Oswego if it is necessary for him to know it or that it concerns the safety of that Garrison in any way

If the Senecas have not sent the Indian whom I desired to call the Twightees and others to Oswego before this reaches you, in that case you are to tell them it is my desire that they send either him or any other proper person immediately as a delay in that case will be attended with many ill consequences, & be a great disappointment and the blame must lye upon them

You are to encourage the Indians of that Nation all in your power to join our Troops at Oswego this spring, when sent for and tell them I expect they will not fail, having engaged they would be ready when called upon

You are to suffer no French Emissarys to come among them while you are there as it must greatly hurt His Majestys Interest with that Nation to have such come among them

You may besides what I have already allowed advance the sum of Ten pounds to such as you find deserving and in Want

As I hear there is a great scarcity of Indian Corn there, you may tell them I propose sending two Battoes loaded with Corn for their releif as soon as possible, and I hope that will be the means of keeping them at Home and in readiness to join His Majestys Forces at Oswego when called upon

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson this 26 day of March 1756.

To  
Mr Myndert Wemp  
of the Senecas Country

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON



Fort Johnson March 26 1756.

At a meeting of the Mohawks both Sachems &amp; Warriors

Abraham spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

You were so good the other day to let us know what had happened to some of our people lately at Goshen. We are thankful to you for acquainting us of it as well as of a number of them being now amongst the Inhabitants of Kingston. We have according to your desire taken this affair into our serious consideration, and come to this resolution which if you approve of we are determined immediately to put into execution viz: to go and bring those Indians living or left about that part of the Country to settle among us at the Mohawks, and we hope you will assist us in bringing them up all in your Power, also help to support and cloath them untill they are able to raise their own provision. As we are unacquainted with their language and strangers in that part of the Country, we should be glad you would send some proper person with us as Interpreter, then we will begin the journey as soon as you please

A Belt

Bretheren of the Mohawks

I very much approve the Resolution you have entered into relating to the River Indians. I will assist you in bringing them and their Familys up & untill they are able to provide for themselves I shall take care to supply them with the necessarys of Life, I shall order Jacobus Clement the Interpreter who understands their language to attend you and give him Instructions on that head

A Belt.

Instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Jacobus Clement

You are to provide a passage and Provisions for these Mohawk Chiefs & accompany them to Kingston in Ulster County. When there you are to see that they be well supplied with Provisions and but very little liquor, least they get intoxicated & by that means oversett the good ends they have in view. You are to Act as interpreter between them and the River Indians & assist them all in your power. Should they be able to prevail on the River Indians to come along with them, in that case you are to provide them with what Provisions you find necessary to support them along the Road hither using good economy & discretion. You are to keep a regular account of the expence so as it may be sworn to when delivered

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson the 8<sup>th</sup> day of April 1756.To Jac. Clement Interp<sup>r</sup>W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

Fort Johnson 21 April 1756

A Deputation from the Onnondagas of two Sachems &amp; 14 Warriors. A M

Peter Wraxall Secr<sup>y</sup>  
 Arent Stevens Interp<sup>tr</sup>  
 Tiogwanta Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are very sorry for your late loss at the carrying place<sup>1</sup> & as we doubt not you are oppressed with greif on this occasion we do with this Belt of Wampum wipe away the Tears from your eyes and clear your throat that you may speak to us with ease and Freedom, and we clean away the blood that hath been spilt, so that we may confer together with our usual confidence and satisfaction

Gave a large Belt of Black Wampum

Brother Warraghiyagey

At our late public meeting you put the five Nations in mind that the Delawares and Shawanese Indians were under their Government & direction & you enjoined us to send to them to express our disapprobation & Resentment for the bloody Hostilities which they had and were daily committing against our Bretheren the English in those parts and that we should order them to cease from their violences & live in that friendship and Harmony with our Bretheren the English as they were wont to do, and that they should turn the edge of their Hatchett along with you and us, against our common enemies the French and their Indians

We have been to them and delivered what you gave us in charge and we have succeeded by convincing them that they had acted very foolishly and unjustifiably, and they have promised & agreed to join their arms with us in conjunction with you against our common enemys but at the same time they earnestly desire that they may see and talk with you at Onnondaga the Fire Place of the five Nations and that if you will meet them there it will convince them of your desire to live with them in Harmony & Friendship and that you intend to behave to them as Friends & Allies, and the five Nations join with them in this request as they propose to have a very great meeting there and as the present times are so troublesome and the general Welfare so precarious, we desire you will fix upon as early a day as possible to meet us at Onnondaga. As this meeting will be of great importance to the common cause we must press upon you to be present at it and that with as little delay as possible, and that you will bring your neighbours the Mohawks of both castles along with you

We would willingly take you by the hand now along with us, but if this can not be done we must beg you will tell us what day you will be at Onnondaga that we may summons the Six Nations, the Delawares & Shawanese and our several Allies to come punctually at the time you shall fix upon

Delivered a Belt of Invitation.

Brother Warraghiyagey

With half of this Belt (holding one up) we put you in mind that as you have often told us we are as one people and one Family, we must now inform you that as this meeting at Onnondaga will be a very considerable one, and at which will be present a great number of Indians of several Nations, we are by reason of the present situation of affairs, which require

<sup>1</sup> See note *supra*, p. 82. — Ed.

our young men to be constantly in Arms attending the operations of our Bretheren the English, very short of Provisions, & by no means able to provide for such numbers as will come to this Meeting We therefore hope & desire you will bring along with you some Provisions to assist us to support the many Indians who will assemble at Onnondaga on this occasion

Brother Warraghiyagey

With the other half of this Belt we acquaint you that as you desir'd the Six Nations in general and we Onnondagas in particular would have our eyes constantly fixed upon Oswego our Trading Place and keep out Scouts in order to discover and make known the motions & designs of the enemy. This we have constantly done, and no sooner one scouting party comes in but we send out another, and upon gaining any intelligence immediately communicate it to the commanding officer at Oswego and this we shall continue to do with our utmost zeal & abilities, for brother we are determined to live and die with our Bretheren the English

Now Brother you know that arms and ammunition are not only the means of our Livelyhood and that by constant use they must be wearing out & expended, but more especially at this time when they are constantly in our hands not only for our Maintenance but to assist our Bretheren the English, we must therefore desire Brother that you will bring along with you to this meeting at Onnondaga, a good supply of arms powder & Ball as things absolutely needfull at this conjuncture. Don't think Brother we are so earnest on this point with a view of private advantage, for we propose to use our arms & ammunition in conjunction with our Bretheren the English against their and our Enemies— Then gave the whole Belt

Ed. Di. P. M.

Sir William Johnsons answer to the foregoing Speech

Bretheren of Onnondaga

The condolence of your Nation on our late misfortune at the Carrying place is friendly and acceptable these things are the natural consequences of War and I hope they will animate both you and us with a laudable spirit of Resentment

Bretheren

I am very glad to find that your Remonstrances to the Delaware & Shawanese Indians have had the desired effects and that they not only repent of their cruel and unjust behavior towards their Bretheren the English, but now perceive what is their true Interest and duty, and are disposed to join with you and us against the common enemy. Agreeable to their request & your urgent desire, I propose to come up to the intended meeting at Onondago and to be there in 20 Days from this day There are several reasons which prevent my being able to go with you now or to attend sooner, one of which is that I have been lately called three times to the German Flatts and Oneida carrying place by which means I have a great deal of business upon my hands which must be attended to before I can leave again. I shall give timely notice to the Mohawks of both Castles to be ready to go when I call upon them

Promised to return their Invitation Belt at Onnondaga



Bretheren

I am sensible that at this time more especially you will not be able to find Provisions for such a number of Indians as will probably be at this Meeting, and I shall therefore agreeable to your request take care to assist with a supply of Provisions

Bretheren

It gives me great pleasure to hear that you manifest that attention to your true Interest and my Exhortations as to be duely watchful over your trading place at Oswego by keeping constant scouting Parties round it. I hope you will in this and by every other Method continue to let your and our enemies the French and their Indians see that you look upon the preservation of Oswego not only as a security to your own Castles, but as a place which your honor and your Interest calls on you to protect from their encroaching attempts, and that you will to the utmost of your power keep the road to it free and open.

Bretheren.

I well know how necessary arms & ammunition are to you at all times and particularly so at this I shall do every thing in my power to obtain and bring with me as much and as good of the kind as I possibly can. but as several armaments are now making throughout this Continent these important Articles are thereby rendered scarce and difficult to be obtained, and that I may have time to get the best and as large a quantity of these as I can is an other reason why I cannot sooner meet you at Onnondaga

A. Belt.

To the foregoing their Speaker replied  
Brother Warraghiyagey

You have given us a very satisfactory answer to the several particulars which we had in charge from our Castle, we are extreemly obliged to you for it, and we shall punctually make our report thereof on our arrival at our Castle.

The friendship between our Bretheren the English and us hath been of an ancient date and a long continuance and we can not more effectually distress our enemies than by stedfastly uniting ourselves together against them.

Sir William then told them as he had promised their Nation at the late Meeting that when the weather would permit he would send People up to build them a Fort, this he now intended speedily to do and desired their people would agree upon a proper place to build it, and hoped when the Workmen came up they would use them well and avoid any Quarrels or disagreeem<sup>ts</sup> and that he would give a charge to the Workmen to behave well on their side.

Then the Conference broke up

Fort Johson 22<sup>d</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 1756. P. M.

The Mohawk Delegates who were sent down to the River Indians waited upon Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson & gave him the following account of their Negociation

Brother Warraghiyagey

Our Delegates are returned from our Nephews the River Indians and we are come to this our Fire place with them to give you a relation of our proceedings

### Brother Warraghiyagey

Our Nephews were extremely glad to see us and expressed their gratitude for our Invitation to them which they readily accepted of and promised as soon as they could gather their people together which they beleived would be next month they would remove hither & accept our offers. They said the had looked upon themselves as a people abandoned and were extremely glad to find their Uncles the Mohawks had not wholly forsaken them but had taken measures for their Welfare & establishment and that previous to their removal they would despatch some of their young men forwards & give us notice of their coming

Hereupon Sir W<sup>m</sup> answered

### Bretheren of the two Mohawk Castles

I thank you for the account you have given me of your proceedings with your Nephews the River Indians, I approve thereof & am glad to find they have so readily and gratefully embraced your kind & prudent Invitation. When they come & are incorporated with you I shall consider and treat them as Bretheren & assist them accordingly & I hope they will be an addition to your strength & Welfare

Fort Johnson 29 April 1756 A M.

The Report of Myndert Wemp who arrived this day with his son and a Seneca Warrior from the Senecas Country where he was sent by Sir William Johnson to reside as a Smith

That he was ordered to stay there untill the Corn was a foot high, the scarcity of Provisions was such amongst them that he could not subsist, and the Indians told him that he must leave them for they could not supply him for which reason he came away.

He says they are all determind to meet Sir William at Oswego agreeable to his late Invitation and to go out a fighting with him, that some of their Warriors were going out a fighting against the Flatt heads but the Sachems who were at the late meeting at Fort Johnson gave them a scalp & told them they must stay at home in order to attend their brother Warraghiyagey with which the said Warriors complied & laid aside their intended expedition, but said that when their brother Warraghiyagey came to Oswego they hoped he would not do as was done there last year, sit still eat drink & make excuses that now the wind was too high & such like things which do not become a Warrior, who when he is once engaged should not draw back, that the English begin but do not go through with any thing—that they plainly saw nothing would be done last year and for that Reason they left Oswego & returned home

That they were greatly pleased with Sir Williams promise of building a Fort for them & hoped he would not delay doing it and they desired that some of Myndert Wemps sons when the Fort was built might reside there as the understood their language, were known to them & were Smiths. They desire some Indian Corn may be speedily sent them, for their scarcity is such that without it they can't attend their Brother Warraghiyagey as they will have no bread to subsist them on the Road

As he passed through the Cayouga Country some of that Nation who had been at Niagra about three weeks before told him there were but 100 soldiers at that Fort but they were repairing and making it very strong that they got plenty of Provisions there

That the Senecas desired a little Rum might be brought to their castle for such Indians

He says that this last winter John Abeel brought so much Rum sold it amongst the Indians & caused so much Drunkenness that he was greatly molested & hindered in his work by it & when he threatened John Abeel that he would complain against him, he said he did not care, he would sell it & that for every quart of Rum he sold he got a Spanish Dollar, and that when the Senecas had heard Sir William had stopped his Goods from coming up they expressed great joy & approbation

He says Kindarunte the great Seneca Chief is gone with a very large Belt of Wampum to the Twighties to invite them & the Neighbouring Nations in Sir Williams & the Six Nations name to the intended meeting at Oswego

#### Instructions to Capt<sup>n</sup> Marcus Petry

You are immediately to go with twenty five or thirty men to the Oneida Nation with all necessary Tools for building a Fort there & to take with you four pair of good Horses & proper Harness for drawing timber for the same. On your arrival there you are to call a meeting of all the Oneidas & tell them you are sent to build a Fort for their security & that I desire they may immediately agree unanimously on a proper place, if they cannot then you are to tell them my opinion is that Onawaraghare<sup>1</sup> is the best situation by all accounts for a Fort—when that Point is settled you are to begin the work & make the Fort 120 feet square the Logs to be 16 feet long four of which to be set in the ground & well rammed, two Blockhouses to be built at the opposite corners each Blockhouse to be 24 Feet square below, the upper part above the beams to project a foot over so that men may Fire down upon the enemy. You are to floor them, shingle the Roof & build a Sentry Box on the Top of each house & two strong Gates to be made and set up in the properest places

You are also to keep an exact account how many days each man works and the Horses also and see that they work faithfully

Lastly you are to take care that none of your party use any of the Indians ill nor sell them any liquor at their Peril.

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson this 21 Apr<sup>l</sup> 1756

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

#### Instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Jacob Vroman head Carpenter going to Onondaga to build a Fort for the Indians

You are to repair with your best diligence with the men under your direction to Onondaga & there to consult with the Indians of that Nation on a proper spot to build a Fort which Fort is to be one hundred & fifty feet square, the Logs to be either Pine or Oak sixteen feet long, four feet of which to be set in the ground well rammed and pounded t[w]o sides of each Log to be square so as they may stand close to each other proper Loop holes to be cut at four feet distance the height from the Ground to be left to the Indians, two good Block Houses to be built at either Gate of the opposite Corners each Block House to be twenty four feet square below the upper part above the beams to project a foot so as men may fire down upon the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Oneida Castleton, in the town of Vernon, Oneida Co., N. Y. The name is written *Onawaraghare* in Sauthiers' Map of New-York. By converting the r into l, it became *Canowaloe*, in the Oneida dialect. *Jones' History of Oneida County*, 841.—*Ibid.*



You are to floor the Block Houses Shingle the Roofs & build a good sentry Box on the top of each house & two strong gates of oak Plank of three Inches thick to be set up in the properest places with strong Iron Hinges. You are to keep an exact account of the number of days each man works and of the Horses also and see that they work faithfully

Lastly you are to take care that none of your party quarrel with or use any of the Indians ill or sell them any liquor at their peril

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson this 30 day of April 1756

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

Fort Johnson Wednesday May 5. 1756

At a Meeting of several of the six Nations arrived here from Philadelphia to wit Oneidas, Senecas, Caiyougas, Tuskarora, & Schoharee Indians (among whom was Scharoyady or the half King) and several of their Women & Children

Sir William Johnsons speech Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

Bretheren

I heartily bid you welcome here to the fire place of the Six Nations & am extreemly glad to see you here at a time when your assistance in public affairs can be of great Service

Bretheren

The loss of our worthy friend Moses who accompanied you & died at Philadelphia gives me great concern and I with these Strings of Wampum sincerely condole the loss of him

Here the Ceremony of Condolence was performed agreeable to their Custom—

Gave three Strings

Bretheren

I yesterday received the News of the approach of a large body of French and Indians to the German Flatts upon which I immediately issued orders for the Militia marching there in order to meet them and prevent their wicked designs. The Militia of this River marched this morning early and will be there this night, those from Albany and Schenectady I minutely expect, when I purpose setting off for that place with them I have likewise acquainted both Mohawk Castles with the News & my design of marching without loss of time to meet the enemy and desired them to join me at the upper Castle I desire by these Strings of Wampum you will take it into consideration and let me know your Resolution

Three Strings of Wampum

They returned their thanks for the compliments of Condolence and promised to join Sir William with the Mohawk Indians

Fort Johnson 10 May 1756

At a Meeting of four Cheifs of the Oneida & Seneca Nations to wit Schoroyady or the half King, an Oneida, Tahwaghsaniunt alias Belt of Wampum & two other Sachems of the Seneca Nation also two Seneca Women

Scaroyady Speaker

Peter Wraxall Sécry

Interpreters M<sup>r</sup> Montour & Jacobus Clement

Brother Warraghiyagey

When I was here last winter you advised me to remove from the Place where I have been for some years past settled, as you thought I was there exposed to the ill designs of the French who knowing me to be a firm friend to the English might contrive to cut me & my people off and hereupon you gave me a Belt of Wampum to come and live this way amongst my countrymen where I should not only be safe but of use and Service. I have listened Brother to your advice & request and am now come here with my people whom you now see at your House. As women have a great influence on our young Warriors, I must desire that the women now present in particular may be acquainted with what news you may have and with all public affairs relating to the five Nations, for their Influence is a matter of no small consequence with our Fighters

Gave a String of Wampum

Brother Warraghiyagey

It is no new thing to take women into our councils particularly amongst the Senecas. The Seneca Nation took no care to call those of their Nation who lived with me near the Ohio to return to their National Castles, tis you have done this, and we are very much obliged to you for it

Sir Williams Answer

Bretheren

I am very glad that you have consulted your own security and the good of the common cause in quitting your late habitation and coming hither with your families, I am heartily glad to see you and shall contribute all in my power to make this removal agreeable to you

I am sensible your Women are of no small consequence in relation to public affairs and I shall be always disposed to consult & inform them of our public Business

Gave a String of Wampum

Fort Johnson 12 May 1756.

Several Sachems & cheif Warriors of Conaiyoharee or upper Mohawk Castle arrived here this morning and being seated Sir William Johnson first welcomed them in the usual manner with Pipes & Tobacco & a glass of Rum round, and then told them he expected them yesterday and that their Bretheren of the lower Mohawk Castle came here & waited in expectation of their arrival, that they had a burying to day of a Widdow Woman and when that was over they would attend at the meeting in the mean time, as they were probably

hungry & fatigued with travelling he had ordered some victualls to be dressed and they might repress themselves

To this Abraham their Cheif Sachem answered  
 Brother Warraghiyagey

We should have been here yesterday according to your appointment, but those young men you sent out as scouts when you were at our Castle returned and discovered some Tracks of the enemy which detained us from setting out as we intended

We are now come and glad to see you and when our Bretheren of the Mohawk Castle are present we shall be ready to proceed upon Business (They then returned the Strings of Wampum which Sir William gave them as a token of Invitation hither)

Sir William Johnson upon receiving Intelligence from Col Bradstreet that Oswego was besieged by the French, had despatched Messengers to the Aughquagey Indians to call upon them to join them at the German Flatts, but upon his arrival there Intelligence coming from Coll Mercer whereby it appeared the former was a false alarm, he dispatched some Indians from Conajoharry to Aughquagey to stop those Indians from proceeding in consequence of his former Message

The following is the relation which the Conajoharie Messengers gave of what passed on their arrival at Aughquagey

#### Conojoharee Abraham Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are to acquaint you that the Messengers from the Southward are returned and made the following report of their proceedings

When they arrived at Aughquagey they found all the Warriors there ready to join you upon the call you gave them by a Message you sent to them by some of our Bretheren the Scoharees upon the late alarm

But upon our Messengers acquainting them of its being a false alarm, they said it was very well and desired they would acquaint you that they would always keep their arms in their hands that if any future alarms should happen they might jump up at a call and join you instantly

Our Messengers likewise were informed by the Aughquageys that the Indians living at Tiyaga and thereabouts declared themselves in the following manner concerning the disputes between them and the English, "That they sincerely repented of what they had done and were determined to drop all Hostilities & live in friendship with the Indians as heretofore, and that they would come to all the meetings for the time to come which shall be appointed by their brother Warraghiyagey at the same time declared that their uncles (meaning the Six Nations) had not used them as they should have done in not informing them of every news they were acquainted with by the English which neglect contributed in a great measure to what had happened, and that for the future they should be glad to be called every meeting that they might hear every thing proposed by their Bretheren the English. They further added, that there was yet one man amongst them, who persisted in being ill minded against the English and was ready to go to Ohio. They concluded with desireing of their uncles not to give credit to every idle story they might be falsely informed of, and gave a large Belt thereupon



Fort Johnson 12 May P. M.

Speech of the Indians of the Lower Mohawk Castle

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are come here to our usual place of consultation not only to lay our private case & situation before you but likewise to consult about public affairs which in these troublesome times require almost constant attendance

Brother Warraghiyagey

As we are every day liable to be called from home to join you wherever you desire us, we must therefore propose to you that as now the planting time is coming on whereon our sustenance throughout the year depends that you would be pleased to see our Corn Land secured

We should be glad that you would appoint somebody that understands our Language to take care as well of our Castle as our planting Ground We propose to you Yellow's Funda to take that charge upon him, but if it does not suit you to appoint him we think John Wemp will be as fit a person for that purpose

It is true we have a Garrison of regulars but on them we can't depend in this Case, as they don't understand us, nor would be willing to assist us in those matters which we stand in need of. We therefore leave these Matters to your consideration as it concerns our own and our family subsistence

A Belt

Sir William told them he would take the subjects of their speech into consideration and give them an answer in due time

12 May P. M.

At a Meeting of the several Cheif Sachems & Warriors of the two Mohawk Castles, and sundry Indians belonging to the Schoharee Castle to the Seneca, Cayouga & Tuscarora Nations (amongst whom were Scharagady or the half King & Tawaghsaniut alias Belt of Wampum a great Seneca Sachem) Sir William opened the occasion of this meeting and addressed himself to them in the following manner.

Interpreters M<sup>r</sup> Montour M<sup>r</sup> Clause Jacobus Clement

Bretheren of Conajoharee

A few days ago when I called at your castle in my way to the German Flatts, you expressed in a very warm manner your disapprobation and uneasiness on my design of attending the proposed meeting at Onondaga and said that you had several reasons against my going thither at this juncture, our Bretheren of the lower Mohawk Castle have also expressed themselves in like manner, and I have received a Message from our Bretheren of Aughquagey desiring me not to go to the said Meeting

Bretheren of the Several Nations here present

As you are now agreeable to my request met here together & know that this meeting at Onondaga was appointed at the desire of the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians in conjunction

with our Bretheren of Onondaga and that in compliance with the earnest request of said Indians, I agreed to be present at it by the 10 day of this month, I have however upon the account of the late alarm and in consequence of your application to me delayed my journey, therefore desire you will now with the openness of Heart becoming Bretheren, give me your reasons against my attending at this meeting for without sound and justifiable argument I shall be very unwilling to break any promise given to our Bretheren of Onondaga, for in all matters either of more or less importance I am desirous of strictly observing my engagements You will therefore Bretheren take this matter into your serious consideration and explain yourselves to me with suitable candour

A Belt

Fort Johnson 13 May 1756 P M.

At a Conference with the sundry Indian [Sachems] as mentioned yesterday.

Same Interpreters

Abraham the Chief Sachem of the upper Mohawk Castle spoke as follows

Bretheren of the five Nations here present

You have referred it to our two Castles to deliver the general Sentiments of all here present on what our brother Warraghiyagey said to us last night, and I am now going to do so.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We were called here to give our opinion in relation to the intended meeting at Onondaga. We have all taken that affair into our serious consideration, the result whereof we will proceed to lay before you

Brother Warraghiyagey

When you were at Lake George we were told by the Governor of New York who was lately arrived from England, that early this Spring he proposed to call the five Nations together

After this you Brother had a Meeting with us in the winter in order to settle the differences between our Bretheren the English and the Delaware and Shawaneese Indians, at this meeting you put us in mind that we were the head or Masters of the Delaware & Shawanese Indians and desired that we would take the Hatchet out of their hands, upon which the five Nations took this affair into consideration and agreed to go and call a Council at Otseningo<sup>1</sup> and we sent some of the Scaniadaradighroonas forward to summons the aforesaid Indians to this meeting. The five Nations then appointed a Deputation to attend at the Council who set off without loss of time, instructed according to your earnest recommendation to exert themselves to the utmost of their power to bring affairs at this meeting to the desired effect

Brother Warraghiyagey

You notified to us at the aforementioned meeting last Winter, that as soon as the Ice was out of the Water you expected the Governors would call us again together. It appears very odd to us that after you had given us this notice of the Governors intention in which the Onondagas were included, they should take upon them to invite you to their meeting at Onondaga

<sup>1</sup> See note. *Supra*, p. 67. -- Fr.

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

We say it seems very strange to us and contrary to the Custom in force amongst us that the Onondagas who had notice of an intended [meeting] with the Governors of New York should ask you to come to their meeting & bring with you Provisions, Arms & Ammunition, surely they think you can move very easily with such a heavy load. don't they know likewise that you are soon to have a considerable meeting at Oswego.

These things look very oddly in our eyes, and we dont think it all proper for you to attend this Meeting proposed by the Onondagas

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

We of the two Mohawk Castles in particular are greatly alarmed at your thoughts of going to Onondaga at this critical juncture all you carried with you, and yourself also might fall into the enemies hands. At this time one dont know what place is safe, and whenever you move from your house we tremble for you, for if evill should befall you the whole Country will be open to our Enemies

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

If you do persist in going to Onondaga or ever leave home at this precarious and dangerous time we shall give ourselves over for lost and if any accident happens to you what will become of your own Bretheren the English as well as we, for we see nobody else who is any ways active but you who are ready to march on every alarm, and indeed with regard to us, when formerly you were not in power you were always ready to shew your love and care of us

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

An other reason why our hearts tremble about your going to Onondaga, is that if you should go the Mohawks of both Castles are all determind to attend you and leave our Castles empty, by which means all our familys would lye exposed to the enemy, and after all these reasons given we dont apprehend there can be any just blame laid upon you for breaking your word, with the Onondagas, who if they want to speak with you can easily step into their bark Canoes and come down here to you as the Bark now peels easily and they come down stream, whereas it will be a long & tedious journey for you loaded with the necessaries they ask for.

Gave a Belt

To the foregoing speech Sir William replied as follows

**Bretheren of the several Nations here present**

I have heard your reasons against my going to Onondaga according to my promise and I think they are not without their weight, and tho' I am sensible my going at this juncture would be attended with some risk, yet were I sure of meeting the Delaware & Shawanese Indians there, I would notwithstanding be inclined to go if you think they will not be there and as you are invited to this Meeting as well as I I desire you will advise me what message we shall both send to our Bretheren of Onondaga for not going there.



Friday May 14<sup>th</sup> P M.

At a Meeting, present as before

The Indians having sent notice to Sir William that they were now ready to answer what he had said to them yesterday evening Tawagsaniunt alias the old Belt a Chief Seneca Sachem who came with Scharoyady or the Half King spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

Yesterday you referred it to us to consider what it would be proper to do in relation to your going to Onondaga, We have seriously considered this affair and think it will be right to send forthwith a proper person to Onondaga to see if the Delaware and Shawanese Indians are met their according to their appointment, and we have fixed on two persons for this business namely Brant's son Thomas of the Lower Mohawk Castle and a Seneca Warrior called Silver heels

Here they held a small consultation after which the speaker went on & said

Brother Warraghiyagey

As you have desired our advice what to do with regard to our Bretheren of Onondaga, We think as you told us last Winter there was to be a meeting of the Six Nations with the Governor of New York this spring, it would not be amiss if you now by the Messengers that are going invite the six Nations down here and if the Delaware and Shawanese are at Onondaga, to desire the Onondagas to bring them also down when all affairs relating to those Indians might be adjusted here

To this Sir William answered  
Bretheren

From several accounts which I have lately received I have reason to doubt whether the Delaware & Shawanese Indians will come to the proposed meeting at Onondaga, I therefore approve of the method you propose of sending thither to see if they are there & I also much approve of the persons you have fixed on to go there, as I am determined to comply with my promise if these Indians should be at Onondaga, I hope you will send away these Messengers without any delay and if they find the Delawares & Shawanese there I shall give it them in charge to desire them to stop a few days & I will be up there, but if they are neither come nor expected then to tell the Onondagas I shall defer meeting the five Nations till I see them at Oswego

Bretheren

The meeting which I mentioned to you last Winter which might take place early this Spring, I did in the name of the Governor of New York, but the present disturbed state of affairs and the many urgent & important matters which require his attention at New York, have prevented his holding this meeting as intended, and you will likewise remember that I told you there was to be a great Meeting early this Summer at Oswego. for these reasons I can not take upon me to call the Six Nations down here at this time as I expect His Majestys Service will call me speedily to Oswego to attend the Meeting which is appointed there for the Western Indians

Hereupon the conference broke up and an end was put to this meeting

Saturday the 15<sup>th</sup> May A. M.

At a Meeting of several of the Sachems and others of the lower Mohawks Castle Sir William gave the following answer to their speech of the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant

Bretheren

I have considered what you mentioned to me about fencing in your corn and helping you to plant it and also of your request about the persons to command in your Fort

As to the first if you will look for proper persons who will undertake to repair your Fences & assist you in planting your Corn & send them to me, I will agree with them for it, I am sensible of the necessity & prudence of getting this done for you as it will otherwise be a much greater charge to the King your Father to buy & maintain you in Corn, without which you and your familys can not subsist.

But I am not Bretheren so well pleased or satisfied with your other request, and your naming Persons to me to command the Garrison for your Fort I do not think you are so well qualified to judge what Persons are proper for these Posts as I am. I know it has been and is the Custom for People with a view to their own private advantage to sooth and flatter you into solicitations for them but I must desire you will not fall into this Trap, but leave these appointments to me or to those to whom it more immediately belongs. At present you have a Garrison of His Majesties Troops & I think they will be a sufficient security for you as long as they remain when they are drawn off, I will then take care to provide you with a sufficient number of men and a proper officer in their Room

Gave a Belt.

Fort Johnson 20 May 1756

Canaghquiesa a Chief Sachem of Oneida, with two young Indians one an Oneida the other a Tuscarora arrived this afternoon & Canaghquiesa spoke as follows

Mr Clause Interpreter

Rudt a 'Tuscarora Chief also present

Brother Warraghiyagey

At the Meeting you had with the Six Nations this last Winter you pressed us so warmly to take into consideration the Hostilities committed against our Bretheren the English by the Delaware & Shawanese Indians and to interpose our influence and authority over those Indians to prevent any more blood from being shed, that we could not avoid takeing that matter upon us & accordingly a Deputation from the six Nations was appointed to hold a council with those Indians at Otseningo.<sup>1</sup> I was one who went there and those Indians were so much convinced by the arguments which we made use of that they repented what they had done & solemnly promised that they would not again hurt the Hair of the Head of any Englishmen. They told us they were thankful the five Nations had put them in mind of their former Engagements and that they would now throw every thing that was evil behind their backs. That they had been in darkness but now their eyes were opened and their minds made easy. The Indians who spoke to us in the foregoing manner were Shawanese Chickesaws & Mihikanders who further told us that they had at several times sent Belts of Wampum to the Delawares who live at

<sup>1</sup> See note. *Supra*, p. 67. — Ev.

Tiaoga with Messages to forward to the Six Nations which they neglected to do, that therefore for the future they were determined to address themselves to the Six Nations directly and would attend any Meeting which their Brother Warraghiyagey would call them to and be glad to take him by the hand

#### Brother Warraghiyagey

One of the Skaniadaradighroonas who lives near the aforesaid Indians had applied to the Delawares who live at Tyaoga to accompany them to the proposed meeting at Onondaga, which they refused to do saying that one Thos: McGee who lives upon the Susquehana and is married to a Shawanese Squa had told them that in ten days time an Army of the English would come & destroy them, and said to them further "You can not think that as you have "murdered the English from Conastoga to Esopus that they will put up with it quietly and "Warraghiyagey may pretend to make Peace with you but that is not in his power. The "Governor of Pennsylvania is master this way & will not listen to Peace." The Tyaoga Indians said they would not therefore leave home but prepare to defend themselves against the hostile Intentions of the English and that they had sent out ten Men as Scouts to observe the motions of the English

#### Brother

When we received this Intelligence at Oneida we immediately sent a Message to the Delawares at Tyaogo<sup>1</sup> insisting upon their attending the Meeting at Onondaga—I have now brother done with this piece of News and I shall proceed to tell you some thing else very bad

#### Brother.

Several Soldiers from Oswego and the Carrying Place have come amongst us at Oneida and among the Tuscaroras and told us that the Great King our Fathers son was arrived at Boston with a great army and was coming up to destroy all the Six Nations and to begin with the Mohawks and that all the Troops from Oswegoe and the carrying place were to surround and assist in cutting us off. these People told us they were come to live and die with us and advised us without delay for our own Preservation to cut off the communication with Oswegoe whilst it was short of Provisions. One of these soldiers who came from Oswegoe says he lived three years with the Governor of Philadelphia and there often heard of this design of cutting off all the Indians

#### Brother

You must not imagine I give credit to these things for I have brought no Wampum with me upon it, but I am come down to you in order to inform you & be able to satisfie our People who are greatly alarmed & disheartned by these stories.

Fort Johnson 21 May 1756.

There having for some time past a jealousy & disagreement subsisted between the Indians living at Schoharee who have been split into two parties at the head of which were *Seth* and *David* two of their cheif men Sir William Johnson had interposed and sent three strings of

<sup>1</sup> Now Athens, Bradford county, Penn. It was formerly known as Tioga point; from *Tyaogen*, an Interval, or anything in the middle of, or between two other things. *Brugae. Radices Verb. Iroqueorum*. Hence, *Teiohohogen*, the Forks of a River. *Galatin's Vocabulary*, 387; a much more appropriate name, it will be admitted, than that imported from Greece. — Ed.



Wampum to these Indians admonishing them to unanimity and brotherly love setting forth the inconsistency and danger of quarrels & divisions amongst them at this critical Juncture. during these animosities amongst them one party had applied for a Fort & the other was against having one. Sir William told them that if they would follow his admonitions and be reconciled together he would then comply with what they should unanimously request

This evening the aforesaid David arrived here with three strings of Wampum & made the following speech

**Brother Warraghiyagey**

Our People have listened to your good advice & we have had a general Meeting of all the Women & children belonging to our settlement together with the River Indians who were lately come to live amongst us and all former misunderstandings are now removed and an entire end put to every kind of quarrel amongst us

**Brother**

I am sent to you by our People in the first place to thank you for your good advice and to inform you that we have acted and are determined to act conformably to it, and in the next place to acquaint you that we are now unanimously desirous of having a Fort built for us as soon as possible the disturbances to the Southward alarm us and we have received information that those Indians who have fallen on the Southern parts threaten that they will by and by come against the part of the country where we live. We are besides in hopes that when we have a Fort it will be the means of drawing many Indians who now live dispersed on the Delaware & Susquehanna Rivers to come and live amongst us which will add to our strength and consequence

**Gave 3 Strings of Wampum**

**Brother**

After the foregoing Message to you was agreed upon, I had further in charge to tell you, that our People beg leave to advise you in return for your good advice to them, to take care of the great trust committed to you of having the affairs of so many Nations of Indians under your Direction, that you will be steady in your measures and continue to take the same friendly concern for our Welfare as you have hitherto done, and as an instance of it we hope you will supply the wants of those River Indians who are lately come to settle amongst us & our Neighbours the Mohawks—they are naked & destitute of ever thing—

**Gave 3 Strings of Wampum**

**To the Foregoing Sir William replied**

**Brother**

I am rejoiced to hear that all your late misunderstandings are at an end and that you are again united in mutual Love and Friendship you will certainly find the advantage & pleasure of such an union

I will immediately give orders for the building your Fort which I hope will be attended with the good consequences you mention

**Brother**

You may depend I shall continue my care of and attendance to your Welfare as I have always done, and I will supply the wants of those River Indians who have lately put themselves under your protection

**Gave 3 Strings of Wampum**

Fort Johnson May 22 1756 A. M.

Sir William Johnson's answer to Conaghquiesa and the other Indians who spoke  
the 20<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>d</sup>

Mr Clause Interpreter  
also present Paulus the Great Hendrick's Son & a Seneca Sachem

Bretheren

I thank you for the Intelligence you have given me concerning the Southern Indians, and heartily wish they may pay a due regard to the admonitions which have been given them by the Six Nations and myself in conjunction as it will be for their true Interest

Bretheren

I am not so much surprized at the wicked lies and the silly falsehoods which the English Soldiers who desert tell to your people, as at their readiness to beleive such groundless accusations against their Bretheren the English, whose love and Friendship you and your Forefathers have for so many Generations experienced and found us on every occasion so far from shewing any ill designs towards you that you have seen us always ready to venture our lives for your preservation as you know this last winter when I came running up with so many men to assist you and fight for you

You know that the Great King of England your Father has ever behaved to you as his children, and at your request appointed me to the management of your affairs and has given me money and his orders to take care of you as his children you know I have done so, therefore for you to give credit to idle reports to the prejudice of his your Fathers character and to be suspicious of your Bretheren the English is both highly ungrateful and very foolish—don't you know that these soldiers who desert are Traitors to their King & Country and think to secure themselves amongst you by telling these abominable Lyes to impose on you and make you beleive they are your Friends but Bretheren let not your people be so imposed on, but be assured that those who cowardly & treacherously desert from the Service of their King & country can be friends to none but deserve to be detested and abhorred by all Man kind. Such People are worse than the French themselves, and if your People had acted like wise men & faithful Bretheren, they would not either have beleived or harboured those villains but have brought them down to me, and you would have seen how like Traytors & Liars they would have appeared. And Bretheren I must insist upon it that whenever such Traytors come among you and stir up such discontents and suspicions against your Bretheren the English, that you bring them down prisoners to me, and by that means you will give a convincing proof that you are true and faithful Children to your Father the Great King & Bretheren the English. And by this Belt of Wampum I expect and desire that your Nation will not be so ready to listen to lyes & Stories against your Bretheren the English as you have been often apt to do and which but too clearly appears in this instance—

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Fort Johnson 22 May. 1756. P. M.

Sir William Johnsons speech to the River Indians who are come to live with  
the Indians of the Lower Mohawk Castle

Children

I am glad to see you here and am much pleased that you have accepted the offers of your  
uncles the Mohawks and are come to live near and put yourselves under their protection who  
I hope will be kind to you & ready to assist you as occasion may require & I must admonish  
you on your parts so to behave yourselves as to merit their protection and assistance

3 Strings of Wampum

Children

I shall at all times be disposed to consider & releive your necessary wants and I expect as  
you have now land allotted for your subsistence you will be diligent in improving the same  
and lead sober and industrious lives—You are to remember that what I now and may  
hereafter say to you or do for you is by order & in the name of our Sovereign the Great  
King of England who has determined to remove His & your enemies the French from their  
encroachments in these parts & it will be your duty and Interest to join with your Uncles the  
Mohawks in aiding His Majestys arms for that purpose, and I shall supply such as go out to  
war against the enemy with arms & Ammunition

A Belt

Children

As I understand you are destitute of Provisions and cloathing I will now give you 50 Skipple  
of Corn which I expect you will divide equally amongst you and make use of it with Frugality,  
I shall also give you a stock of Pipes & Tobacco. When I get some Goods up which I shortly  
expect I will give you cloathing for your people

To this they replied that they were not at present supplied with Wampum to make an  
answer which they would take an opportunity of soon doing.

Fort Johnson 23 May 1756 P M

Brandts son Thomas one of the Messengers who was sent the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst to Onondaga came  
this afternoon with several Sachems & Warriors of the Lower Mohawk Castle and the heads  
of the River Indians in order to give an account of the business he was sent about to Onondaga.  
at this Meeting was also present the old Belt a Great Seneca Sachem, his Son Arosa who went  
with Thomas, another Seneca Indian and a Tuscarora Sachem.

Canadagai Chief Sachem of the lower Mohawk Castle spoke as follows  
Bretheren

I am now going to give our Brother Warraghiyagey an account of what our Messengers,  
have reported concerning the affair they were sent upon & I shall begin with their arrival  
at Onondaga

Brother

When they came to Onondaga a Meeting was called but there were no Southern or any  
other Indians yet arrived

At this Meeting our messengers delivered what they had in charge.



The Onondagas when our Messengers had done spoke as follows

“Tell our Brother Warraghiyagey that we have for some time been in expectation of a message from him about his coming up, and till we knew his positive resolution, we have kept ourselves in readiness to act according as that might be. We are therefore glad he has now sent to us, in consequence of which we shall dispatch our young men into all quarters to the Southward as well as to our Bretheren of the Six Nations to give them notice to come without further delay to meet our Brother Warraghiyagey at this Fire place by the beginning of next month. We think he can not conveniently be here sooner as he must travel slowly loaded with the several necessaries which he is to bring with him

For some time past evil Reports against our Bretheren the English have been coming to us from all parts, so that if our confidence & Friendship were not firmly grounded it would have been sufficient to turn both our heads and our Hearts—but as soon as our Brother Warraghiyagey makes his appearance amongst us we doubt not at all these Clouds will be dispelled, and our young Fighters whose Hearts are zealously disposed towards their Bretheren the English will be thoroughly composed and settled

“Desire our Brother Warraghiyagey to be punctual to the time now fixed on for the sooner he comes all uneasiness & every effect of these evil Reports will be removed. Our Warriors are very desirous of seeing him, for they look upon him as their Cheif having great confidence in & dependance upon him, in these difficult times they want to consult with him and to have that assistance from him which their present circumstances require All our Bretheren and allies who are to be at this Meeting stand ready to sett off when they hear our Brother Warraghiyagey is on the Road

“The Oneidas were the first who proposed this Meeting at Onondaga the antient Fire place of the Six Nations, but as they dont seem to give that attention to it, which we think they ought to have done, we being sensible of the importance of this General Meeting at this critical juncture shall take upon us to summon all our Bretheren and allies to it

“Tell our Brother Warraghiyagey in answer to his string sent by you to know whether we had despatched the Messenger he desired to the Mississagas to invite them to meet him at Oswegoe that the Messenger went long ago and that the Mississagey Delegates are on their way to the five Nations but are determined they will not meet at Oswegoe, but will at any of the Castles of the five Nations for they say Oswegoe will be so full of People that there will no hearing each other speak

“Tell our Brother further that since we took the Hatchett out of the hands of the Delaware & Shawanese, they have told us there is an army of the English coming against them [it is supposed the 4 or 500 Men under Col Clapham which the Gov' of Pensilvania has raised and who are to build a Fort at Shamokin is here meant] and that they think it unreasonable and unnatural for us to hold them in our arms & prevent their defending themselves, when people are just on their Backs to destroy them

We are informed the English are building a Fort at Shamokin. we can't comprehend the method of makeing a War which is made use of by our Bretheren the English, when we go to war our manner is to destroy a Nation & theres and end of it but the English chiefly regard building Forts. which looks as if their only scheme was to take possession of the Lands”

Fort Johnson May 26. 1756 P M

Abraham the cheif Sachem of Conajoharee Castle young Abraham a cheif Sachem of the lower Mohawk castle, Sith chief Sachem of the Scoharee Indians and two Seneca Sachems called the old Belt & Seneca George desired to speak a few words with Sir William Johnson

Mr Clause Interpreter

Abraham of Conajoharee spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

At the Meeting which was held some days ago here at our fire place relating to your Journey to Onondaga, we advised you to send Messengers to learn whether that proposed meeting took effect. Those Messengers report that they found no meeting there as yet but brought you the earnest request of the Onondagas that you would come up without delay, and that as soon as they heard you were on the road, they would send expresses to all the Nations who kept themselves in readiness to sett of on the first notice Now, Brother, we that are hear have been seriously reconsidering this affair and are come to this opinion. That as the upper Nations seem to be in an unsettled and wavering temper, We think tho there is a Risk the French may attack you in your Journey there, which gives us a good deal of uneasiness yet that you cannot prudently decline going to this meeting and the two Mohawk Castles with the Seneca Sachems here present and their people are determined to go along with & be a guard to you

Brother

As you are now about setting out on this journey we beg leave to give you our further opinion & advice thereon which is that as the French are without doubt apprized of this meeting, & dread the consequences of it, they will certainly endeavor to prevent it & therefore we earnestly intreat you to take a good number of men with you, you have plenty of men [they here mean the militia of the Country] as for the two Mohawk Castles they are but a handful by taking this precaution you will probably defeat the attempts of the French & destroy many of them, whereas if you are cut off what a loss shall we sustain and how will the French glory in their success & your imprudence. Brother let us go strong and behave like men and then whatever be the event we shall not be ashamed

Brother

An other reason for our desiring this conference and that you will take up a good strong body of men, is that this Road which was formerly a Road of peace & security is now stained with blood and become very dangerous, and we would further advise you that when you come to the German Flatts you will send forward a message to the upper nations not to be surprized or allarmed that you are coming up with a large body of men, because as they informed you their young men were scattered about, some at Oswegoe and others out on the scout, they could not send you a sufficient number for your protection, & therefore you were obliged to bring your own people along with you

Brother

It was a charge we received from our wise Forefathers that we should in times of Danger take a special care to secure our wives & children & our Lands Now Brother in your & our

absence we know they will be exposed to the enemy and therefore we do by these four strings of Wampum intreat you will take care that a sufficient number of men are sent to reinforce our two Mohawk Castles. Don't be sparing Brother you have men enough we only want these reinforcements whilst we are out on this journey Gave 4 Strings of Wampum

Brother

Our Women of the two Mohawk Castles have given it as a solemn charge to us that we should use our utmost Interest that a strong guard be left to defend them in our absence and say if you don't, they never expect to see us again for that they will certainly [be] destroyed, by the enemy and our Brothers the Senecas here present join in the same request in behalf of their Familys who are now and will stay at your House. Brother our women are very dear to us & their request and opinions are always regarded by us in an especial manner & we press this matter upon you by these Strings of Wampum.— Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Brother

We have now finished what we had to say and only want to know the day you propose to set off.

Sir Williams answer

Bretheren

I join with you in opinion that my going up to Onondaga at this juncture is highly necessary. As to the Body of Men you so strongly advise me to take along & reinforcements for the two Mohawk Castles as well as a guard for my House I have already mentioned these matters to General Shirley who is His Matys Command<sup>r</sup> in Cheif, I will now send by express to him what you have said to me & when I have his answer will immediately communicate it to you and at the same time let you know the day I shall sett out for Onondaga

Fort Johnson 26 May 1756. P. M.

Sir William's Speech to Seth a Cheif Sachem of the Scoharee Indians

Brother

I am informed that the Indians who are lately come from different parts to settle at your Castle, dont act brotherly by the People at Scoharee, but kill their cattle & hogs & behave in a disorderly manner

Brother

These are unbecoming and very unjustifiable proceedings and as these Indians are now come to incorporate themselves with our castle I desire and expect that you and your people will interpose your authority and influence to prevent the repetition of any such irregularities

If these Indians are injured by the inhabitants let them apply to me and I will take care Justice shall be done them to the utmost of my Power Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

A true copy from the Records of Indian affairs  
examined by me

PETER WRAXALL

Sécry



*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 43.]

Fort George New York

19<sup>th</sup> June 1756

My Lords

From Coll Webb I received your Lordships two letters of the 17<sup>th</sup> february and 20<sup>th</sup> of March last

I am obliged to your Lordships for your approbation of my endeavours to promote His Matys Service

The appointment of Lord Louden to the Cheif Command of His Majestys forces can not fail of giving a very favorable turn to the military operations on this continent & your Lordships may be assured I shall not fail in giving his Lordship every assistance in my power Also to Sir William Johnson whose influence over the Indians will be greatly strengthened by the Commission his Maty has honored him with

The Assembly Meet Next week when I shall take the first leisure time to lay before them your Lordships commands respecting the extravagant Grants of Lands complained of by the Indians & urge them to pass proper Laws for annulling those exorbitant Patents

In my letter to your Lordships of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, I acquainted you with my having proposed to the Governors of New Jersey and Pensilvania joining with this Province to pass laws prohibiting the Exportation of Provisions, those Governments have since passed acts for this purpose, which I doubt not will fully answer the intention, for the Assembly of the Kings Countys would not prohibit for a longer time than three weeks, I am of opinion that we loose great advantage for want of the Provision Colonys uniting in this particular. The French Islands must be greatly distressed if we keep our Provisions at home perhaps under this expectation the French may have fallen on New Schemes for supplys. By a Master of a Sloop that arrived here two days ago from St Eustatia, I am informed that while he lay in the Port of that Island Five ships arrived there with Provisions from Ireland, if this Trade be suffered, I doubt prohibitory laws will be to little purpose, nor indeed will it be in the power of the Governors to bring their Assemblys to pass such, while they can use the Argument, if we do not trade with those Islands the Irish will. I judged proper to give your Lordships this information and have the honor to be

Your Lordships

To the Right Hônbles the Lords  
Commissioners for Trade and  
Plantations

Most obedient and  
most humble Servant  
CHAS: HARDY

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 45.]

Albany 17<sup>th</sup> July 1756

My Lords

I had the honor of writing your Lordships the latter end of May last and at the same time of transmitting a copy of my Proceedings from the last date to that time

My Proceedings at the late Onondaga Meeting and at the subsequent Treaty with the Shawanese, and Delaware Indians at my House, which ended two days ago, I can not possibly transmitt to your Lordships by this opportunity as they will require more time to copy than the stay of the Packet Boat here will admit of, they shall be got ready to transmit to your Lordships by the next man of War or Packet which sails for England

But I think it my duty to give to your Lordships the earliest intelligence in my Power of the cheif Points which have occurred at these meetings

In my last letter to your Lordships I mentioned the several causes of that uneasiness and coldness to our Interest which I had reason to suspect. prevailed amongst the Six Nations particularly the upper Nations.

The meeting at Onondaga confirmed my suspicions, and I found the French had made an advantage of this disposition as had so much infected the 6 Nations that it required a variety of Arguments, my utmost influence, and most vigorous endeavours to compose their Tempers to expell the French Poison and to reanimate them towards our Interest. All this however I was so happy as to succeed in and I can with great Truth assure your Lordships, that at the conclusion of this important meeting, the Six Nations appeared to me sincerely disposed to second any vigorous attempts which might be made on our Parts against the French They have engaged to put on foot amongst all their allies a Negotiation to join with them in our favor. They have promised to make the most vigorous efforts to draw off from the French Interest & Settlements those of their People, who have gone over that way; I have reason to beleive, they begin to be somewhat jealous of the French, a point I have long laboured to bring about, I am now in hopes, it may in some measure take Place, if it should operate to any highth it will be attended with favorable consequences to His Matys Service.

At this meeting I also obtained the consent of the 6 Nations to cut a Road to Oswego thro' their country, with their promise of assisting in laying it out, and also for building a Fort at Oswego fall 12 miles from Oswego, provided that upon an accommodation with france, it shall be either demolished, or put into the hands of the 6 Nations—The Enemy by the intelligence I received at Onondaga are determined to take post there with a considerable Force, and build a respectable Fort to cut off our communication with Oswego, and if they do, it will very much distress that Garrison and require our attempts to beat them off in order to preserve Oswego

These were the capital Points I negotiated at Onondaga some of the Shawanese & Delaware Indians were there, but untill the Congress was upon the Point of being closed, did not come in a sufficient number to enter upon business, and conclude affairs relating to them with proper authority

That Treaty was therefore adjourned to my house & those Indians with a Deputation of the Six Nations, came down to Fort Johnson where were present the said six Nations Deputies, the King or chief of the Shawanese, the King or chief of the Delawares, settled on the Susquehanna and its Branches, and a great number of the Mohikonders or River Indians whom I lately have drawn up from the Frontiers of this Province, & New Jersey to settle near to, and under the protection of our faithful allies the Mohawks—These Indians were originally Delawares, and are still regarded as Bretheren by them

At this Treaty the Shawanese Chief on behalf of his People, denied their having been concerned in any of the late hostilities committed on the Southern Provinces, that they have & shall continue, to observe in Conjunction with their Bretheren the 6 Nations, an inviolable attachment to their Bretheren the English

That the Shawanese who are settled on the Ohio, have been many of them seduced by the French, and their Indians, to join in their late hostilities upon the Southern Provinces, but he had and should continue to use his utmost influence to withdraw them from that Interest.

The Delaware King or Chief confessed that some of his people had been deceived & deluded by the French and the Delawares who live near to Fort Duquesne to join them in their late Hostilities. But that the Message I sent to them by the Six Nations Delegates last Winter & what passed in both our names at the Treaty held in Consequence of that Delegation at Otsiningo had opened their eyes, and that from that time his People had layed down the Hatchet and ceased from further Hostilities

He expressed his sorrow & repentance for what had passed, and asked pardon with all the marks of a sincere contrition

In the most solemn manner he renewed the Covenant Chain of Peace Friendship & Alliance in behalf of his People, he promised as a convincing proof of their returning to their duty and fidelity to his Majesty, and their sincere intentions to maintain the engagements now entered into, to return such English Prisoners, (which he said were but few) which had fallen to his Peoples share, during the late Hostilities

Both he and the Shawanese King accepted the War Belt, sung and danced to the War Song, with extraordinary fervor, and promised to follow the example of the Six Nations in our favor, and when ever I should call upon them to join me at any time or any where in conjunction with the 6 Nations

I concluded this Treaty by taking off the Petticoat, or that invidious name of Women from the Delaware Nation which hath been imposed on them by the 6 Nations from the time they conquered them, In the name of the Great King of England their father and on behalf of all their Bretheren the English on this continent, and promised them I would use my influence and best endeavors to prevail with the six Nations to follow my example, the Deputies of the Six Nations who were present approved of this measure but said they were not a sufficient number nor properly authorized to do it on behalf of their constituents, however they would make their report and press it upon them

If this point should succeed and our military operations strengthen our consequence, I am persuaded the French will not be able to keep scarcely one Delaware in their Interest

As my success in this Treaty with the Shawanese and Delawares will be I hope of most happy consequence to the tranquillity of His Majestys Southern Provinces in particular The Moment it was ended, I despatched an express with a general account of it to General Abercrombie at Albany, desireing he would transmit it forwards, especially as the Governor of New Jersey to my great surprize had at this very juncture published a Declaration of War against all the Delaware Nation, of which the first notice I had, or have since received, was from the public Prints, which as Gov<sup>r</sup> Morris had on my representations to M<sup>r</sup> Shirley & S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hardy suspended the execution of any Hostilities against them in consequence of his Declaration, till the issue of this Treaty was known, appeared to me a proceeding in Gov<sup>r</sup> Belcher of a very extraordinary kind. I wrote also Gen<sup>l</sup> Abercrombie, that in my opinion, if any Hostilities should be committed against the Delawares who had entered into the Treaty they not breaking through it, by any fresh Acts of Hostilities, it would I apprehended be of the most fatal consequences to his Majestys Indian Interests in general, and throw those affairs into a state of confusion from which I beleived no person could extricate them —



My Lords

Mr Secretary Pownalls letter to me of the 5<sup>th</sup> of March, with the Papers therein mentioned I have received, and when I have the honor of a conversation with my Lord Loudoun, I shall answer to the articles therein mentioned & I can not at present do it with that Distinctiveness with which I would always wish & endeavour to appear with to your Lordships

I have the honor to be

most respectfully

my Lords, Your Ldps

most obedient most humble

& faithful Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON



*Lords of Trade to Governor Hardy.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., p. 91. ]

To Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy Kn<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

We have received your letter to us dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of May last, and the papers transmitted with it.

The Shocking barbarities and cruelties committed by the Delawar and Shawonese Indians upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, N. Jersey and Virginia, called loudly for a vigorous pursuit of such measures as might be most effectual to induce them to lay down the hatchet against us; that of sending a deputation and message from the Six Nations, was certainly a very prudent step, and it gives us the greatest pleasure to find, it had been attended with success.

We hope that all the matters in dispute, and all the grievances complained of by these Indians, will be accommodated and settled at the general meeting at Onondaga, the result of which, we impatiently wait for.

We hope proper measures have been taken, that the assurances, which Sir William Johnson gave the Onondagas, that they should be supplied with provision, and that a Fort should be built in their country, have been faithfully complied with; and as to the supply of arms & ammunition which they desire, We have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the Earl of Loudoun has taken out with him a considerable quantity to be distributed in presents to the Indians.

The preventing the Enemy from being supplied with provisions from our own Colonys is of the utmost importance; We hope the rest will follow the example set by New York, in laying a total prohibition upon the exportation of them, which we are inclined to think will be found to be the only effectual method; and We greatly commend the zeal you have shewn for His

Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service in the method you have pursued, to induce the Legislature, to come into so salutary, and so necessary a measure. We are.

Sir

Your most obedient & most humble servants.

DUNK HALIFAX

ANDREW STONE

JAMES OSWALD

W. G. HAMILTON.

29 July 1756

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 44. ]

Albany the 2<sup>d</sup> of August 1756

My Lords

On Sir William Johnson's return here from Onondaga he delivered me your Lordships letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of March which had been enclosed in some Packet to him and was forwarded to him when on his journey. I shall in obedience to His Majestys directions contained therein recommend to the Assembly to pass a temporary Bill for the support of Government and trust they will make no difficulty in framing it conformable to His Matys Instructions

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month I received your Lordships letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of April by express from the Earl of Loudoun, my letter to your Lordships of the 23<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> last informed you that I had endeavoured to prevail on the Assembly to frame the Bill then depending for making Provisions for the Forces to be raised as the Quota of this Province conformable to His Majestys Instructions particularly in relation to the Emission of the Paper money to be struck for that Service The short residence I have made in this Country with the multiplicity & various kind of business I have been engaged in has not enabled me to make myself Master of the Argument used by the Assembly that they can not furnish Funds for sinking Bills in a shorter time, which obliged me then to have recourse to his Matys Council who concurred with the Assembly I shall still therefore hope, the necessity of the Service & the danger I apprehended of loseing the Bill by insisting on the term of five years will justify my conduct in giving my assent to that Law. I shall not fail of recommending again to the Assembly to make Provision for defraying the charges of His Majestys Commission for determining the Line in dispute between this Province & New Jersey but I can not flatter myself with much success. The like dispute subsisting between this Government and the Massachusetts is attended with greater evils & until settled, we can not expect to preserve Peace & good order upon our own Borders I have had a long conversation with Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley on this subject, & have often recommended to him to prevail on the General Court of that Province to make Provision for defraying there part of His Majestys Commission for settling the line between our two Provinces. M<sup>r</sup> Shirley has never been able to effect it with his Assembly who have always proposed expedients that could not answer the good end desired & to which I could not concur I shall endeavor to bring the Assembly of this Province into the measure and write to Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Phips on the subject

By the returns of the 26<sup>th</sup> July made me by General Winslow the Provincial Forces consist of 6905 officers included, since the have transported their artillery & Stores to Fort William Henry, & the Forces moving there. On my getting there I found Major General Abercrombie had proposed a junction of His Majestys Forces with them which they imprudently rejected, But as the Earl of Loudoun is here who will inform his Majestys Ministers of these matters, I shall only acquaint your Lordships, that on General Abercrombies arrival at New York the Forces in the pay of this Province were posted between Albany & Fort Edward

But in obedience to His Majestys directions contained in M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Fox's letter to me of the 13<sup>th</sup> March last, I gave the Colonel of the New York Forces orders to put himself under the command of his Majestys Commander in Cheif, and to follow all such directions as he could from time to time receive from him

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

most obedient and

most humble Servant

CHAS: HARDY

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 63.]

Albany Aug 2<sup>d</sup> 1756

My Lords

On receiving His Maty's Declaration of War against the French King which I proclaimed here the 25<sup>th</sup> of last month, I could not avoid turning my thoughts, to a service I have been brought up, and have passed the greatest part of my life in, and as I should be extreemly sorry to lose the opportunity which now offers of improving the knowledge I may have acquired by a long service in the Navy, I therefore beg your Lordships will be pleased, with my most humble Duty to His Majesty, to pray that I may have his royal leave to resign this Governm<sup>t</sup> and permission to return to England, that I may have the Honor to serve in His Matys Fleet

I have the honor to be

my lords, your Lordships

most obedient and

most humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY

To the Rt Honble

The Lds Com<sup>rs</sup> of Trade & Plantations



*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll. No. 53. ]

Fort George N York Sept 5<sup>th</sup> 1756

My Lords

The Packet that sailed, from hence the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month had been long detained for Lord Loudouns despatches which came to me the evening before and as the wind was then fair for the Packets putting to Sea, I must have detained her to have had time to write, and if I had I could only have informed you, that I had received at letter from Lord Loudoun with an account that he had reason to think His Majestys Fort & Garrison at Oswego, together with the naval Armament & Stores had fallen into the hands of the French: But then not attended with certainty or Circumstances, and it became necessary for me to send immediate Orders to the Militia of the upper Countys to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest warning, this found me full employment for that night. From some Souldiers & Sailors who have since made their escape after the surrender of that important Post, it is past all doubt I enclose for your Lordships information the Declaration sent to me from Albany of the Soldiers who were originally deserters from the French, and had taken on in Generals Shirley & Pepperells Regiments this paper did not come to me from any publick authority, as Lord Loudoun could not then have time to copy papers, one of the Sailors that belonged to the Ontario Capt<sup>n</sup> Laforey, I have seen he gives this information That to the best of his memory on the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup> of August a small Schooner was sent from Oswego to make discovery, that she returned off of the Harbour again in about two hours, informing them that they had discovered a large incampment of the enemy about three miles to the Eastward of Oswego, upon this information Capt<sup>n</sup> Laforey & Deane sailed in two Sloops to attempt cannonading the Camp, before they could reach the shore where the enemy lay they were fired upon with Cannon very briskly, that four shot struck the Ontario, three of them stuck in her side, which they cut out found them to be Ball of twelve pound weight with the Kings broad arrow on them, that they did not think it adviseable to make any further attempt, but returned to Oswego, and sail'd again the next morning as observed the encampment as before. By this time the enemy had marched Bodys of their Forces and attacked Fort Ontario with Musquetry which they continued for two days, when the English Garison abandoned it, first spiking their small Canon, threw their Powder into a well, and retired into the old Fort, soon after the enemy drew up their Canon to Fort Ontario in number eight or nine and cannonaded the old Fort, which continued for twenty four hours when Lieut Col Littlehales, who succeeded to the command upon Lieut<sup>t</sup> Coll Mercers being killed sent out an officer & Drum with a white Flag, soon after the surrend<sup>r</sup> took place, and the French possession of the Fort, that the Garison were made prisoners of War and well used, that the vessels which were all in Port, was soon after taken possession of by the French. during the Siege was killed Lieut<sup>t</sup> Coll Mercer Capt<sup>n</sup> Hind of the Train of Artillery and eight or nine private men, and one Engineer wounded, he further says that the enemys Forces was reported to be three thousand Regulars & a great number of Indians, These two accounts tho' not materialy different are greatly so from an account sent me from General Webbs Camp. An Onondaga Sachem came to them the 25<sup>th</sup> in the evening with Strings of Wampum and declared. That two of their young men that had been sent to Oswego returned to their Castle and reported that Oswego was not taken

till six days before, that the enemy had put the whole to the sword, except one hundred and fifty, sailors, Carpenters, and artificers included, That they had demolished the works & evacuated the place carrying away the shipping Guns ammunition &c, That they had laid the dead in Banks with their heads in the Water, and scattered a great quantity of Provisions about the Place. That they told the Indians upon their leaving the Place, You see we do not want to seize your Lands, only to drive the English away whom we are much obliged to for supplying us with Artillery & Tools which we were in want of to take their Forts, the Sachem added that those that gave us the former accounts were deserters who went away before the affair was decided

These are all the particulars I can furnish your Lordships with, with respect to the loss of Oswego, Its importance to the British Colonies your Lordships are too well acquainted with, for me to trouble you with. If any further accounts should come to my hands before the Packet sails which I have detained for Lord Loudouns despatches I keep my letters open to incert them

I fear a Defection of our Indian Interest must follow the loss of this Post and probably a change in measures in carrying on future operations, for distressing and annoying the enemy and for removing the French from their encroachments—Sir William Johnson in a letter to me from the German Flatts of the 29<sup>th</sup> Aug tells me he has two partys gone to Oswego one of Indians, the other Volunteers from the Militia, their return he expects in about a week, when I hope the contradictions in the accounts given by our people who made their escape, and that given by the Indians will be cleared up. He further says he has some reason to fear the loss of Oswego has struck such a Terror of the French upon the Six Nations at least upon the upper Nations, as will alienate them from our interest, and that he suspects some of them have behav<sup>d</sup> treacherously. He has sent a Message & a Belt of Wampum through all the Nations to desire they will send Delegates from each of their Castles to meet him, with all possible Despatch, if they obey his Summons we shall better Judge of their Temper & disposition towards us

Sir William Johnson who is Coll of the two Battallions of the Militia in the County of Albany, had my directions to move such Part or the whole of the Militia on any occasion the defence of the Country may require. Upon Lord Loudouns demanding assistance from him he ordered 500 of each Battalion to march immediately to the German Flatts and meet him there where my Lord desired him to post himself and cooperate with M. G. Webb as His Matys Service should require. Upon his Lordship advising me of the certainty of Oswego being taken and that he had wrote to the Southern & eastern Governments for an aid of men: I repeated my orders to Sir William Johnson and directed him to give General Webb all the assistance in his Power.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 6 I sent orders to all the Colonels of the Militia of Dutchess and Ulster Countys to warn their Regiments to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice and upon such being given them, and that a further reinforcement was necessary. I directed them to repair immediately with their Regiments to Albany, this I judged to be the surest and most ready aid I could give the common cause, which I advised Lord Loudoun of, acquainting him that if I could be of any assistance to him by going to Albany, I would immediately sett forward and if it became necessary to move large Bodys of the Militia, for his assistance in the defence of the Country, it would be highly proper for me to be among them

Sept 7<sup>th</sup> This day I received a letter from Lord Loudoun dated the 3<sup>d</sup> in which his Lordship says " Since I despatched my letter to you yesterday morning I have received one from M. G.

Webb of August 30<sup>th</sup> by which I learn that he has thought it proper to make the stand at the German Flatts rather than at the carrying Place and for that purpose is coming there

“In case the enemy should adventure to advance so far I have directed a strong Fort to be built immediately there and have sent up the quarter master Gen<sup>l</sup> to reconneitre that country, that we may be acquainted with it, and know where it is proper to make the stand

“On this alteration of affairs I thought it necessary to give you immediate notice but as I hope Sir William Johnson intelligence will very soon clear up this point, as to the danger of their making an attack that way I have desired Sir William Johnson to consult with Major G. Webb whether the Militia now in the Flatts will be necessary in whole or in part, and to keep or dismiss them as they shall judge most proper from the certain accounts they may receive. And as this is the situation at present I will not press your sending off the other militia till I hear further from them, with which I shall acquaint you the moment I receive it if there is any thing in it worth troubling you with”

My Assembly stands prorogued to the 21<sup>st</sup> I have warn'd them to meet at that time, that I may have them setting to pass any necessary Laws, for raising men or for any other Service our present circumstances may require.

Sept 26. Since writing the above my letters from Lord Loudoun advised me that some Indians and white men sent to Oswego are returned and report that the Fortifications are all destroyed, and the place burnt, that the enemy staid there six days and carried off all the Vessells & Boats that could swim and burnt the rest, that by the Graves found there there is no appearance of any great slaughter in the Saccage or any Massacre afterwards; the Intelligence of the Enemys motion or further intentions is very uncertain and imperfect, some Indians say they will make a push from Crown Point Lord Loudoun is making all the preparation for their reception, and throwing all the Force he can collect up to Fort Edward for it

On Tuesday the 22<sup>d</sup> of August Seventy eight French Neutrals with their Battoes landed upon Long Island, on the first notice of their being there, I ordered all their Boats to be seized and the people to be secured, on examining them I found they were a part of the French Neutrals sent by Gov<sup>r</sup> Lawrence to Georgia, the Governor there gave them a passport to go to South Carolina that Government not thinking it proper to receive them, gave them an other Passport to remove further Northward, from thence they coasted along shore till they Landed in this Province with an intention to get back to Nova Scotia, this I judged by no means proper to suffer them to do, and have therefor distributed them in the most remote & secure parts of this Colony, with directions to the Magistrates to employ those that are able in work and to bind out their children apprentices to Persons who will treat them well, this appeared to me, to be the surest method of making their young People useful good subjects

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

Most obedient & most  
humble Servant

CHAS HARDY



*Declaration of some Soldiers belonging to Shirley's Regiment.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 54.]

Albany Aug the 21. 1756 Past 8 oclock

The Following Account is given by 5 other men who had deserted from the French and were in Generals Shirley and Pepperels Regiment and escaped with the Declarant

Claude Frederick Huttenac of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirleys Regiment declares that on Monday the 9<sup>th</sup> of Aug a Prow Galley went out of the Harbour of Oswego, and discovered the French Camp about a mile from Fort Ontario, the next day two Sloops sailed out of the Harbour who were fired upon from that Camp and brought in two of the Bullets one of them an eighteenth & the other a twelve Pounder. That on Wednesday and Thursday the enemy continued to fire with Small Arms only from the tops of the Trees & behind bushes upon a rising ground which commands Fort Ontario, which is no more than stockaded with a ditch of 14 feet wide and 10 deep but not quite finished, That on Thursday night the enemy opened Trenches within Pistol shot of the Fort, and on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> between one and two in the afternoon, the whole Garison, consisting of 300 men of Pepperels commanded by Capt<sup>a</sup> Barford of that Regiment having first spiked their Cannon consisting of two Six Pounders & Six four Pounders abandoned that Fort & embarked aboard Whale Boats and got into the old Fort Oswego, without suffering any Loss, that during the time they remained in Fort Ontario, they had only 3 men killed and Ensign Ting of Major General Pepperels Regiment, wounded, that they neither wanted ammunition or Provisions, and that the enemy never fired any Cannon at this Fort That soon after they arrived in the old Fort Oswego, Lieut<sup>t</sup> Coll Mercer marched Pepperels Regiment with 100 of Shirleys to reinforce Coll Schuyler who with his men were posted at a small unfinished Redoubt upon a rising Ground about 600 yards to the Westward of old Fort Oswego, this Post had been deserted for some Months past, and made use of only in keeping Cattle. this detachment was employed that afternoon in cutting down the Bushes near that Post and making Fascines, That on Saturday morning early the 14<sup>th</sup> the French opened a Fascine Battery of 5 Pieces of Cannon before the Gate of Fort Ontario, and played upon the old Fort Oswego, across the mouth of the Harbour, that the Garison on their side continued to fire above 4 hours with 12 Guns & four mortars whereof one of the latter burst, that between 8 & 9 oclock that morning Coll Mercer was killed at the Battery, upon which the command devolving upon Lieut<sup>t</sup> Coll Littlehales, he sent for Coll Schuyler and the detachment from the Redoubt who on their marching to the old Oswego Fort had two men killed upon Coll Schuylers arrival a Council of War consisting of the Field officers and Captains was called and presently thereafter orders was given to cease Firing upon which Lieut<sup>t</sup> Montereif of Shirleys and an Officer of Pepperels with a Sergeant & Drum went out of the works with a White Flagg in order to cross over at the mouth of the Harbour, upon which this Declarant said to Coll Littlehales<sup>1</sup> that if you are to give up the Fort you must suffer me who am a deserter from the French to make the Best of my way, because they will have no mercy upon me, the

<sup>1</sup> JOHN LITTLEHALES, who had been previously on half pay, was, on the 5<sup>th</sup> October, 1754, appointed Major of the 50th Foot (or first American Regiment), of which Shirley was Colonel. He was afterwards promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, but fell into disgrace in consequence of the surrender of Oswego. He was placed on half pay in 1757, where he is still found in 1761. His name is not in the army list of 1765. — Ed.

Colonel replied that he expected to march out with the Honors of Warr and consequently he the Declarant would be safe, not trusting to this, he with seven more who had formerly deserted from the French had leave to make their escape, but before they got quite clear they saw the French from the opposite side of the Harbour getting into Boats, and amongst them some cloathed in Red faced with Green which he imagines belongs to the Irish Brigade, that about twenty of the Garison of old Fort Oswego were killed and wounded, and that no officer was killed except Lieut Coll Mercer, nor any wounded but Lieut<sup>e</sup> de la Cour<sup>1</sup> of the Artillery. That the enemys Battery was raised so high that their shott plunged in amongst them and the only cover they had towards the side of the Lake upon which the Enemys Battery chiefly pointed, were from Barrels of Pork they placed by way of Parapet, with embrasures to fire through. That one Saturday morning the 14<sup>th</sup> a Party of French forded the River about Cannon Shot from the old Fort who remained in the Woods without coming near the works. That there was no sortie made from any of the Forts and that all the vessels were in the Port when the place was given up. That from the report of the Seamen who saw the French Camp they judged them to be about 4000 Regulars besides Canadians & Indians. That the Garison of Oswego consisted of about 400 of Shirleys 300 of Pepperels, and 150 of Schuylers besides the Seamen Carpenters and other artificers who worked the Guns and did the other dutys in the works. The four men of Shirleys Regiment who are all deserters from the French declare that there was eight months pay due to them when the enemy appeared, they were then paid up six months. The two men of Pepperels who are also deserters from the French declare they have received no pay for nine months past. That last winter there was only 140 men fit for duty of both Regiments with 20 of the independant companys. That their Provisions was extreemly bad and only received half allowance, and that even at that they had resolved to quit the place without a supply had speedily arrived.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 59.]

Fort Johnson 10 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756.

My Lords,

My last to your Ldps bore date the 17<sup>th</sup> July, therein I gave a summary account of what had passed at my meeting with the Indians at Onondaga and the subsequent Treaty at my house, with the Shawanese and Delaware Indians

Herewith I have the Honor to transmit your Lordships an authenticated Copy of all my proceedings at the said two meetings

About the time the unhappy news of the Loss of Oswego arrived, I had fitted out several Parties of Indians some of which were already gone a fighting to Canada others were on the Point of their departure, these parties amounted to near 200 men of several Nations, many

<sup>1</sup> ANDREW DE LA COUR was a lieutenant in the 51st or Pepperell's regiment, which commission he received on the 3d October, 1755; he obtained a company 10th May, 1760, and was promoted to a Majority 21st April, 1769; on the 29th August, 1777, he became Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army, and on 18th June, 1778, of the 61st Regiment of foot, which commission he held until the fore part of 1780, when he retired from the army or died. *Army Lists.* — Ed.

others were coming down on the same account and there was the most favorable appearance of a general active spirit amongst them

The first accounts of Oswego, put my Lord Loudoun upon Designs of releiving it, and by his direction I gathered all the Indians I could get together with the Militia and took Post at the German Flatts in order to assist General Webb, who was at the carrying Place, in such operations as might be found necessary for His Majestys Service, and I had between two and three hundred Indians with me ready for service. The absolute loss of Oswego the Garison and every thing there was soon confirmed to us.

This unfortunate Revolution in our military affairs, entirely disconcerted all my measures, and overset the pleasing prospect I had of thoroughly engaging the Indians of all the Six Nations in actual Hostilities against the French and thereby throwing upon them the necessity of summoning all their allies and Dependants to take up the Hatchet in conjunction with them, which would have been the natural consequence, when they had entered themselves into the War.

Oswego in our hands fortified and secured by us, and our having a navigation on Lake Ontario, was not only a curb to the Power of the French that way, but esteemed by the Six Nations whenever they joined our arms as a secure Cover to them and their habitations against the resentment of the French which together with the Forts I had built in each of their Castles or Towns except at Cayuga and for which Garisons were promised them, left them to act for us in full security. This I am persuaded they were determined to do either in a body with our army, whenever that should march upon any enterprize, or go upon the scalping service in separte parties

But by our losing Oswego which I may call the Barrier of the 6 Nations and thereby the possession of that part of the Country, they were laid open to the Resentments of the French, who might at any time they were inclined to it, with facillity fall upon their Towns, and cut them and their families to pieces especially those of the upper Nations.

In this light I knew the Indians would view the loss of Oswego; I found they did so, and that the spirit they had recently shewn in our favour was sunk, and over awed by the success of the French and the accumulated Power which it gave them

Under these circumstances, I judged the most prudent step I could take, would be to summons a meeting of some of the cheifs of each nation as soon as possible at my house, in order to know their positive determinations and what part they proposed to act, My Lord Loudoun approved this measure, and I sent a Belt of Summons through the Nations, whether Delegates from all of them will come, I can not be positive and think it is doubtful, however I expect most will send, and in about a fortnight this important meeting will probably take place. The Speech I propose to make on the opening of the meeting, I shall first let my Lord Loudoun see, and take his opinion and directions thereon as I look upon it to be a delicate & interesting point.

Notwithstanding this ill Fate of our affairs some of almost every Nation are dayly coming down hither, and entering into scalping parties which I am sending out.

My Lord Loudoun has sent me specifical<sup>n</sup> of His Matys Indian Presents sent by him and was pleased to refer to me for the division, between the Northern and Southern proportions I have given my opinion in favor of  $\frac{2}{3}$  for the former and  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the latter which to the best of my judgment will be most advantageous to His Majestys Indian Service, I have also proposed to my Lord, that the Northern present may be given by me, at such times in such quantities, and to such



Persons as will actually distinguish themselves in our favor, and really go upon service. As circumstances now are I think this method quite necessary, and would in my opinion be always best in war time. The Indians are naturally a mercenary People, and Mr Shirley's conduct last year, gave a keener edge to this disposition and as it is now become necessary, to buy their assistance I apprehend it is best to make a sure bargain, and give to those Indians only, who will act with us, and for us which is the method I propose for the future. I despair of their now engaging nationally with a sincere and active zeal, and therefore I conceive giving presents in the old General way would be imprudent, and an ineffectual profusion

As soon as the proposed meeting is ended I will transmitt to your Lordships the Result of it, with my best judgment of the General Disposition views & inclinations of the 6 Nations

In my last letter, I acknowledged the receipt of Mr Secretary Pownalls favour to me of the 5<sup>th</sup> of March, but deferred answering some particulars therein, till I had the honor of conference with my Lord Loudoun

I have laid before his Lordships a List of such persons & officers with the establishm<sup>t</sup> I proposed for them, as would be necessary for carrying on his Matys Indian Service under my direction, but his Lordship at that time was so crowded with business that we could not wholly finish that affair, and indeed the alteration of circumstances since will admit of many particulars being suspended, till some more certain judgment can be formed of our Indian Interest than at present

I received the copy of Instructions given to Sir Charles Hardy, relative to those Patents or Grants of Lands in this Province of which the Indians complain, and also copy of your Lordships report to His Majesty, upon a memorial of the proprietors of Pensilvania both transmitted to me by Mr Secretary Pownall

As to the former, the effectual redressing those complaints, strikes at the Interest of some of the wealthiest, and most leading men in this Province, and I fear that influence, which may be necessary to succeed, will be employed to obstruct. I have I beleived before mentioned to your Lordships my humble opinion, that applications on this head on this side the water, would I immagined fall short of the desired end.

I have the honor perfectly to concur with your Lordships in opinion upon the Proprietors of Pensilvanias Memorial

In the papers I had the honor to transmit to your Lordships by Mr Thomas Pownall [now here]<sup>1</sup> —The jealousies of the Indians with regard to their Lands, their tenaciousness upon that article, their opinion of the present contests between the French and us our respective views & designs, and the influence these matters had on the conduct of the 6 Nations, was discussed, tho not in so ample a manner as the subject desired and would afford

I am every day more and more convinc<sup>d</sup> of the Truth of the observations contained in those papers upon this subject, and fully am assured the six Nations are sensible, that the deprivation of what they deem their property, will be the consequence of either we or the French prescribing Terms to each other, and hence the cheif cause of their indifference in our Quarrel The French have very politickly possessed themselves of important passes, we have openly claimed large Tracts of Country and attempted Settlements thereon—The Indians have not perhaps reach enough to foresee the consequences of the valuable morsels the French have pitched upon, whilst our indiscriminate avidity alarms them with jealousy and raises prejudices

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets are added from the letter in *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.—Ed.

against us, which are improved by the French, and by Professions only endeavour'd to be removed by us. After the French had taken Oswego, they destroyed all our Buildings and sent word to the Onondaga Indians that they had [now] drove the English from their Lands, and would not like them keep possession, but leave em free to them and their posterity for ever, The French in fact did not want that place, and so made their policy appear virtue to the Indians, and the plausability of it, will doubtless influence them in their favour

I think I have before now hinted to your Lordships my opinion that the hostilities which Pensilvania in particular had suffered from some of the Indians living on the Susquehana did in some measure arise from the large purchase made by that Government two years ago at Albany. I have more reason every day from talking with the Indians to be confirmed in this suspicion. I am inclined to beleive tho this purchase was publickly consented to at Albany, some of the six Nations are disgusted at it, and others repent their consenting to it, and that part of them do underhand connive at the Disturbances between the Susquehanna Indians, and the Province of Pensilvania, whose raising forces, and building Forts on Susquehanna River, tho it hath very plausible pretences, is at the Bottom bad Policy, and realy intended to secure Lands which it would be more for the true Interest of the Community to give up, at the least for the present. I conceive the most effectual method of producing tranquillity to that Province, would be a voluntary and open surrender of that Deed of Sale, fix with the Indians in the best manner they can the bounds for their settlements, and make them Guaranties to it

I know this Land was fairly & publickly paid for, and that the Indians are unjust and unreasonable to recant & keep the money but if the times & good Policy require it, to yield will be more advantageous than to contest, tho' on the side of Justice, besides the private Property, and the General welfare suffers by persisting in the title to it.

I proposed herewith to have transmitted your Lordships the account of the Disbursements of what moneys I have hitherto received, which is £10,000. Sterling, but as I have for some time past been obliged to be frequently absent from home upon His Majesty Service, it hath prevented their being closed and now ready, but they shall go by the next Packet, in the mean time I shall lay them before my Lord Loudoun for his perusal

I have y<sup>e</sup> Honor to be with the

Highest esteem My Lords

Your Lordships

most obedient and

most faithful Servant

To the Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> of Trade and Plantations

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 60.]

Fort Johnson 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1756

Sir William Johnson set out from his House for the Congress at Onondaga

N. B. Captn Peter Wraxel Secretary for Indian affairs, tho in an ill state of Health, attended Sir William Johnson part of the way to Onondaga, but on the road was taken so ill, as to be incapable of Proceeding, and

was carried back to the settlements. The following proceedings are therefore recorded by the said Secretary from the original minutes, examined by Sir Wm Johnson and the Interpreters

The 13<sup>th</sup> June Sir William arrived at Oneida

Oneida the 14 June 1756

At a Meeting of the Oneidas. Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Skaniadaradighroonas

Tesanonda Speaker

Brother

As it is an established Custom amongst us whenever we have a meeting with our Bretheren the English, or they enter our Fireplace to condole the Losses of their people. I by this String of Wampum wipe off your Tears, clear your Throat, and open your heart that you may speak without constraint, and also clear this Council place from all pollution of the Blood which hath been spilt by our common enemy —

Gave the String.

Then the Speaker shook hands with Sir William, and said that what he was going to speak, was in the name of the Nations present, and came from the Bottom of their Heart, and desired he might give his attention to it

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are sensibly affected, and very much troubled in our Minds, to hear that so many false Stories and Reports are spread about and brought to your Ears, which are that in your way, thro' our Country you was to be destroyed by some of our people

Brother

We heartily beg and desire that you will not give ear or credit to these things as they proceed only from evil Spirits, we do assure you and are fully convinced that your Fate and ours are wound together and that your fall would certainly be our destruction

Brother

Reports of this Nature are some times brought amongst us with regard to our Bretheren the English, as that they would fall upon the 6 Nations and cut them off, but we have not yet nor will for the future give ear or credit to any News whatsoever, unless it comes by a Message from you wherefore we hope that you will do the same and not beleive any reports brought before you in an improper manner and with this Belt we bury all such bad Stories under the Roots of the largest Tree in the woods that they never may come forth again.

Gave a Belt.

In the Evening Sr William returned the following Answer

Bretheren of all the Nations here present

I heartily return you thanks for your kindness in condoling the losses which your Bretheren the English have lately sustained, and by this String, I in return wipe away your Tears, clear your Throats and open your Hearts, that you may deliver every thing you have to say with candour and sincerity, I also sweep away the blood out of your council Room which hath been spilt by our common enemy the French

Three Strings

Bretheren

You must be sensible that my present journey to Onondaga concerns our mutual Interest and Welfare and I would not have you imagine, when that is at any time the case, that I am to be



deterred or alarmed by any idle stories which I may hear, my opinion is too well fixt to be biassed by improbable reports, and I exhort you in the Respect to imitate me, for these lies are propagated by your enemies to cause divisions and jealousies between you and us —

Gave a Belt

After this the Indians proceeded upon news they had received from Canada, by Tuscaroro Messengers, sent by the Oneidas there, after Bulls Fort was cut off<sup>1</sup> and made the following report

That when their said Messengers came to Swegachie, the Priest who manages Indian affairs there, took them down to Montreal to the Governor, to whom they delivered themselves after this manner

“That they were sent by the Oneidas in the name of the 6 Nations to tell their Father the Governor, that they did not at all approve of this manner of going to war, as it was not manly but deceitful and treacherous to send out Parties to destroy single Houses, cut off a few Battoes, to way lay and kill the English, in a base and cowardly manner, that they never knew their Brethren the English guilty of any such mean and foul Deeds, wherefore they must acquaint him, that the 6 Nations did not at all like his Behaviour. If he was inclined to make War upon the English, that he should draw his forces to Oswegoe or Lake George, where theirs was assembled, and face them in a man like way, and not lurk to take advantages of small parties  
And hereupon they threw down A Belt

That some Oswegatchie Indians formerly of Onondaga went to Montreal with them, and after the Tuskaroras had delivered the above message those Indians said “That it was now “three years since they were persuaded to live at Swegachie, that now they discovered their “error, and therefore must acquaint the Governor that they repented of having done so, and “were resolved to quit that place, and return to live amongst their own people in their native “country”  
And thereupon gave a Belt

The Governor then replied to both parties and said

“That he was sorry to find the 6 Nations so corrupted and blindfolded by the English and at the same time to see them so ungrateful in not accepting his good and fair offers which he had long ago and so frequently made to the 6 Nations, that he would take care of them, and defend their Lands against any enemy, that would encroach upon them but he foresaw they would be their own Ruin, for saith he, I have heard already that your Bretheren the English claim all your Land, as they say they have paid for it, and if once they get the upper hand of us, they will soon make you quit or destroy you

From the French you will never have reason to expect any such thing, but find them always steady to their engagements to your Interests and preservation, and should we be masters of the English, the 6 Nations would ever hereafter be treated as children by a loving Father” He proceeded and said “That he was now ready to build a Fort on Oswego Lake, a few miles off the Fort, and to march up 800 Soldiers & 100 Indians to beseige Oswegoe, and after he had taken it which he did not in the least doubt, he then would overset his War kettle, which was now boiling, and over flow the English with it at Lake George, and the whole continent. The English says he “tells you they have blocked up the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence but

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 82. — Ed.

to contradict that I can acquaint you that there are 6 men of War arrived at Quebec with Soldiers warlike Stores &c each Ship has 10,000 men on board [its supposed the Indians took 1 for 10] its true they have a few ships cruizing about Louisbourg, but our people laugh at them as they know how to pass them, without being seen, there are constantly vessels coming to Quebeck, with all sorts of Stores & supplies and you will see how the French will go on this summer"

The Oneidas then made several heavy complaints against Capt<sup>n</sup> Williams who commanded at the great carrying Place when this Meeting ended

Camp at Oneida 15<sup>th</sup> June 1756 A. M.

Sir William and the Sachems of every Nation prepared the several Speeches of Condolence to be made at Onondaga upon the Death of Kaghswoughtioony, alias Read Head, cheif Sachem of said Nation and chose the proper Belts for the Ceremony

The Canaghquayeson, shewed a French Belt, sent by the Governor of Canada, whereby he invited the Sachems of the following Nations to a treaty at Montreal viz

<i>Onondagas</i>	<i>Cayougas</i>	<i>Tuscaroras</i>
Sohihowane	Tcka-eāyon	Squareesere
Caghswoughtiooni	Kaghradodo alias	
alias Red Head Dec <sup>d</sup>	the English Man	and
Kotsinoghyâtà	<i>Oneidas</i>	
Squareesere	Tarehātsy	Thighrorotea
Tikeandunk	Otsikētā	" " "

The Messenger an Onondaga, who brought this Invitation was desired to join the Body that was ready to march as the meeting would be deferred till after the expedition against Oswego was executed he set off with the Party but coming where the Road turns off to Onondaga he left them, and made all the haste homewards he could to acquaint the English of the Design the French were upon

Before Sir William left Oneida he dispatched two Indians express to Susquehana to acquaint the several Nations living on that River, that he was on his way to Onondaga, and expected Deputies of every Nation would attend the Treaty agreeable to their promise made to the 6 Nations at Otsiningo

June 18—The Cayougas sent two Messengers from Onondaga, who met Sir William at the Place where formerly the Onondagas lived, about 5 Miles from their present habitation by whom they desired Sir William, would send them word what time he would enter the Town, in order that they might meet him, and join in his condolence to the Onondagas, on the late death of the great Onondaga Sachem Red Head

S<sup>r</sup> William answered, that he would come into the Town as this day, and so marched on about an English mile on this side the Castle, 3 Cayougas met him, and a halt was made of two hours, to settle the formalities of the condolence, agreeable to the ancient Custom of the 6 Nations Then S<sup>r</sup> William marched on at the Head of the Sachems singing the condoling song which contains the names laws & Customs of their renowned ancestors, and praying to god that their deceased Brother might be blessed with happiness in his other state, this

Ceremony was performed by Abraham the cheif Mohawk Sachem, Tesanunda, and Canaghquayeson cheif Sachems of Oneida. When they came within sight of the Castle the Head Sachems and Warriors met S<sup>r</sup> William, where he was stopped they having placed themselves in a Half Moon across the Road sitting in profound silence, there a Halt was made about an hour during which time the aforesaid Sachems sung the condoling song ; This being over Rozinoghyata, with several other councillors or Sachems rose up, and shook hand with S<sup>r</sup> William and bid him and his company wellcome to their Town or Castle

Then Sir William marched on at the Head of the Warriors the Sachems falling into the Rear and continued singing their condoling song. On entering the Castle Sir W<sup>m</sup> was saluted by all the Indians firing their Guns, which was returned by all the Whites and Indians who attended S<sup>r</sup> William The Sachems proceeded to a green Bower adjoining to the deceased Sachems House prepared on purpose, and after they were seated they sent for S<sup>r</sup> William when he came they addressed themselves to him, wiped away their Tears, cleaned the Throats, and opened the Heart according to their Customs

Thus ended his Introduction

19 June The full council of all the Nations met, with Sir William at their Head, to perform the grand solemnity of Condolence for the Death of Caghsawautioony cheif Sachem of Onondaga

Old Abraham the head Sachem of the Mohawks performed this ceremony in the following manner

- 1 He made a speech, and with a large Belt covered the Grave of the deceased
- 2 Gave a Belt to comfort the relations of the deceased
- 3 A Belt to the surviving councillors admonishing them that notwithstanding the loss they had sustained, they should continue to keep up the Friendship subsisting between them, and the English, and preserve the Covenant Chain of alliance from contracting any rust
- 4 A Belt, to dispel all dark clouds so that they might see the sun clearly, consult on all affairs, with chearfulness and carry on their Deliberations with their usual tranquillity
- 5 A Belt to dispel all dark clouds at Night, so that the moon and Stars, might appear bright, and no obstructions be given to their nightly consultations, that being the Time the Warriors of the 6 Nations hold their Councils

All these compliments of condolence were enforced, by 11 Belts and 3 Strings of Wampum, and a scalp of the Enemy to replace the deceased, and with a glass of Rum round to wash down all sorrow & grief

The whole Ceremony of Condolence ended

20 June. Being met in Council the Onondagas returned their thanks for the condolence, with as many Belts of Wampum as were given them yesterday

Then Sir William condoled the death of a little Boy, son of Teyohaueande, bit by a Raddle Snake the day before of which he died, and covered his grave with a strowd Blanket and Shirt

Then Sir William removed & encamped on the side of Onondaga Lake, about 5 miles from the Castle, for the conveniency of being near his Battoes, which brought the Presents and Provisions

At the Meeting at Fort Johnson last Summer, Thomas, alias Waadory an Oneida Warrior, a son of Monakaduto's or the Half King, came down with the rest of the Oneida Indians, and in a private conference with Sir William Johnson told him that tho' he had been deluded by the French, to go and live with his wife & family at Swegachie that his eyes were now opened,



and he was determined to leave that Place, and return to his Castle, he gave himself up to Sir William, and promised that he would hereafter turn a deaf ear to all the Solicitations of the French and remain stedfast and faithful to his Bretheren the English. Last Summer this said Indian in his return homewards being in liquor got into a quarrel with an Onondaga Indian, and murdered him dreading the consequences he fled to Swegachie and being known for a man of Influence, received great honors and Presents from the French to whom he attached himself & to prove his gratitude and sincerity headed several scalping parties against us this last Spring.

This Indian was at Oneida, when Sir William called there in his way to Onondaga, had a great deal of talk with his Father the Half King (who accompanied Sir William from his House up) and with several other well affected Indians of the Oneida Nation. By his Father he sent a String of black Wampum to S<sup>r</sup> William begging the favor of a private conference with him, which on his arrival at Onondaga he consented to when the said Indian spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

You are well acquainted with the occasion, which drove me to the necessity of returning to Swegachie and taking shelter there, I shall not therefore repeat the particulars of that unhappy affair, but tell you that by the extraordinary civilities, and distinguishing honors paid me by the French on my return, I was reduced not only to forfeit my engagements to you, but to take up & use the Hatchet against my Bretheren the English. I am now returned to better thoughts, I am sincerely sorry and ashamed of the Part I have acted, if you will be reconciled and receive me once more into your Favor and confidence, I do by this Belt [produced a very large Belt of black Wampum] most solemnly engage, absolutely to quit the French Interest, bring home my wife and family, and what moveables I can convey away from Swegachie, come and live at my native castle, and be ready on every occasion to sacrifice my life in the cause of my Bretheren the English

Gave the Belt of Black Wampum.

To which Sir William replied

Upon the Strength of your repentance, your solemn promises and your near relation to a Man who hath so zealously manifested his Fidelity to the Great King of England your Father and my Master, I will once more call you Brother, and if your future conduct be conformable to the solemn engagements you have now entered into, what is passed shall be forgotten, and you shall share that Protection and those Favors, which His Majesty hath ordered and empowered me to shew to all those Indians who preserve their Fidelity to him, and join their arms against his enemies and the invaders of your country and his Dominions And as a proof of your uprightness I expect as you have lately come from Canada, and must have heard some of the designs of the French, that you do now honestly and as fully as they have come to your knowledge, acquaint me with their Schemes against your Bretheren the English, and to confirm what I now say I give you this Belt in return for yours

hereupon he gave the following information

That the French had assembled in the neighbourhood of Cataraghqui and Swegachie about 800 Indians, Ottowawas & other nations, that when he and the other Swegachie Indians returned from Onondaga The French were determined to march 2000 men to the Oswego Falls (about 12 miles on this side Oswego:) there built a strong Fort, and prevent Provisions or reinforcements from going by Water to Oswego, that an other party were to march the new Road from Swegachie & build a Fort at the West End of the Oneida Lake. When the Posts

were secured a third Party were to make a descent upon the German Flatts destroy our Magazine there, cut off your Garison, and the Inhabitants and burn the settlements. A fourth party were to march to attack Sir William Johnsons House, kill or take him and ravage the Settlements on that part of the Mohawk River.

This account, he said he had received from the Priest & the command<sup>r</sup> officer at Swegachie alias la Galette

Sir William asked him how the French were as to Provisions, he says he saw great Plenty every where and that the King's Store houses at Montreal were full of all kinds, that the French had 3 Sloops on Lake Ontario, and had built two large vessels of 2 Masts, which were ready for navigation

Sir William then told him, that he would have him return to Swegachie as soon as possible, and gather all the intelligence he could, and bring it to him, that this would be a determinate Proof of his Fidelity and sincere Repentance for what had past, and if he would take Pains to make himself master of the Strength and intended operations of the French &<sup>ca</sup> he would reward him according to the consequence of his Intelligence, from 100 to 150 Ps of 8

He engaged himself for this service that he would return as soon as possible with the fullest & best accounts he could obtain

#### Camp at Onondaga Lake Thursday 24 June 1756

At a Meeting with the Sachems and Warriors of the 6 Nations the Skaunigadaradighroonas, The Thoderighroonas and Mohickanders or River Indians

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bart &<sup>ca</sup>

Capt<sup>n</sup> David Patton<sup>1</sup>

L<sup>t</sup> Mc'Kenna

L<sup>t</sup> Tinker with the Grenadier Company of the 50 Regiment

M<sup>r</sup> George Croghan & other Gentlemen who attended Sir William  
Interpreters

M<sup>r</sup> Arent Stevens

M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Montaur

M<sup>r</sup> Daniel Claus

Abraham the great Hendricks brother our chief Sachem of the upper Mohawks Castle addressed himself to the other Nations, in behalf of the Mohawks Onondages and Senecas, the elder brother of the confederacy and opened the congress with the following speech

Bretheren

It was at your request, that our Brother Warrahiyagey and we came to this fire Place, where we were in hopes of meeting your Nephews the Delawares and Shawanese, which you had promised to call to this meeting, but as they contrary to our expectations have not met, we are desirous to hear what was transacted between you and them at the meeting held at Otsiningo

<sup>1</sup> Belonged to the 50th Regiment. He went on half pay in 1757 and so continued until 1769, when his name is dropped from the Army List. — Ed.

Upon which the Oneidas &<sup>ca</sup> by Canaghquayeson their speaker replied as follows  
Bretheren

What passed at the Meeting at Otsiningo, we have already reported to you and our Brother Warraghiyagey who has every transaction at said Meeting committed to writing, to which we refer, but as you desire to have every thing repeated, over we will do it. And then the speaker repeated the several speeches over in Council

This being over Sir William applyed to the Onondagas and desired that they would let him know what news they had amongst them

Upon which Tyaworondo an Onondaga cheif produced a parcel of Belts & Strings which he said they had lately received from the French, and proceeded to explain them as follows

1 String of Wampum to condole the losses the five Nations had lately sustained among their People

2 A large Black Belt, by which the Governor of Canada invited several Sachems of the 5 Nations, to come speedily to Montreal in order to consult with him upon matters of consequence which he intended to lay before all his children the Indians, whom he had called to meet him there, and as he had already prepared the Subjects for their deliberation, the speedier they would come the more agreeable it would be to him, and more for the welfare of the 6 Nations

3 An other Black Belt, whereby the Governor of Canada invited two of the Cheif Warriors of every castle, to accompany and guard the Sachems and a few of their young women; That he did not invite many for fear he could not supply them sufficiently with Provisions as he was scarce at present that he hoped to see them by the Messengers whom he sent to bring them to him by the hand, and on their arrival they should meet with good lodgings and entertainment & he would come into any Measures the 5 Nations should propose

4 A White Belt, wherewith the Governor of Canada condoled the death of the Sachems who died lately

Then the said speaker moved his seat and placed himself among the Oneida Cheifs and produced a White Belt wherein a Chain of Friendship was wrought, the Belt was about a Fathom in length, and a Man worked upon it at each end, signifying the Governor of Canada, and the 5 Nations, holding each other by the hand in token of Friendship, which Belt the commander of the Party, which destroyed M<sup>r</sup> Bulls Fort and party at the great carrying place, gave to an Oneida Indian who was hunting, some distance from said Fort, just before it was destroyed, & told him, he was on his march to destroy that Fort for the good of the 5 Nations as well as for theirs, and that they ought not to think hard of it

Then he proceeded and said, that this said officer told them that the 5 Nations would bring on their own Ruin, in allowing the English to encroach so far within their settlements in their own Country, who in the end would cut them off. That the French were not culpable in that respect, as they from Catarakqui to the Ohio, had not made any encroachments but had only built Forts to defend their Lands

That the officer further said  
Childeren

“ Perhaps my destroying this Fort may be the occasion of your destruction and the English may revenge it on you, when they hear what I have done, as I know they will be very angry — I therefore give you this small Hatchet, which is very sharp to put in your bosom, that if they should be very angry, and attempt to hurt you, you may defend yourselves therewith, and I likewise put my hand on your head, that if they strike you I may feel it first, then I who am



your old Father, will take up my staff in my hand and come to your assistance as fast as I can, and as the English and we are both of one colour, I will fight them and drive them out of your country — To which he further added, that the Governor of Canada very well knew, their Bretheren the English were very parsimonious as they only now and then gave them a Gun or a Blanket they should find them quite otherwise as he would give them what they wanted in great Plenty

Then the Speaker addressed himself to Sir William and said  
 Brother

As you desired us to keep nothing hid from you, and to open our hearts and speak freely, you see we have acted accordingly, and told you every thing we know relating to the French, and we assure you sincerely that the Hatchet which the Governor of Canada has offered is not at all agreeable to us, nor will we keep it in our bosom, since we received it we kept it at arms length and assure you we will send it back from whence it came

Upon which the Speaker threw the French Belt upon the Ground with disdain

Lastly the Speaker took out a String of Wampum, which he said was sent from the Senecas upon the Ohio, to the Seneca Indians admonishing them, not to look upon the intelligence they now sent them as a trifling story as they had hitherto done with the news they had sent but that this was founded upon unquestionable evidence

“That they were informed their Brother Warraghiyagey was going to call the 6 Nations, their Women, children & allies to Oswego or Onondaga and that he would speak very fair to them at that meeting and make fine promises, would give them a handsome Present, and at Parting would drink their Healths, and treat them with a Dram, but that after they had drank it, it would throw them all into a sleep, from which they would never awake, as the liquor would be mixed with a poison which would immediately kill them all” That they might depend upon this, that the 6 Nations were to die first by the devices of the English and afterwards all their confederates on the Susquehana & Ohio

Thus ended the first days conference

#### Second days public conference

Camp at Onondaga Lake Saturday 26 June 1756

PRESENT — as before.

#### Sir William Johnsons Speech

##### Bretheren of Onondaga

Some time in last April, a Delegation of your People were sent to invite me to a Council to be held here, at the same time they told me it would be a very great one and that your Nephews the Shawanese & Delawares would be there that my presence would be indispensably necessary to ratify & confirm what the Delegates sent by me from the 5 Nations had said to them at the meeting at Otsiningo, having nothing more at heart than to bring that unhappy Breach, between your Nephews & the Southern Governments to a favorable issue, I did not hesitate about it, but prepared as soon as I could and began my journey tho' at a time, when I had a great deal of other business on hand, and many obstacles thrown in my way

In full expectation of meeting your said Nephews here, I brought up with me 30 of their Friends (River Indians) well cloathed and armed, to convince them that none of that Nation,

were made Prisoners by the English as was reported and beleived amongst the Delawares, had I met them here as I expected, I am persuaded I should be able to reconcile all these unhappy differences subsisting between them and the English and convince them of their errors, I am greatly surprized to find none of them here and desire you will give me the reason for their not attending at this meeting which was cheifly called at their request and upon their account, and I desire you will also acquaint me with the motives or causes as far as you know them of their late Villainous and unparralled Behaviour towards the English      Gave a Belt.

Bretheren of the confederate Nations present

In the name of the Great King of England your Father, and my Master I do by this Belt renew & brighten the ancient Covenant Chain, of mutual Peace, Friendship and firm alliance between you and your allies, and all His Majestys subjects your Bretheren upon this continent, exhorting you by the memory of your faithful wise and brave forefathers, and by the sacred engagements you yourselves have entered into that you do preserve your fidelity to the Great King of England your father, and your union with and attachment to all his subjects and your Bretheren, inviolable & lasting as the great lights of Heaven and the immoveable Mountains, and you may then most assuredly depend upon His Majestys fatherly love and Royal Protection, who is a monarch not less distinguished by every manly & princely virtue, than by the splendor of his kingly power and dignity, and I do at the same time assure you that all his great men and subjects your Bretheren will keep this Covenant Chain bright & unbroken

Gave the Covenant Chain Belt

Bretheren

I need not repeat to you the many justifiable reasons the great King your father and my Master hath, for now acting offensively against that restless and perfidious nation the French, as I have last year and Since in a full council of the 6 Nations amply explained them, and at the same time they met with your approbation, and you thought it your duty to take up the King your fathers Hatchet, and promised me you would zealously & sincerely make use of it against the French and their Indians his and your common enemy

It is with great reluctance, that I am under a necessity of charging some of you with not acting so heartily as I expected even when I headed you myself, I attribute this your Backwardness, to the corruption of some few leading men amongst you who are blind folded and led astray by the crafty and insidious Machinations of the French Preists and Emissaries from which if they do not speedily disengage themselves, it will be the ruin of them and your confederacy

To you therefore Warriors of the six Nations, who are my hearty friends and bretheren, I now address myself, and I expect that you who are the Guardians of your Country, and the Protectors of your families will make use of the Hatchet I gave you and which I now by this Belt sharpen up and make ready for use whenever I call upon you      Gave a War Belt

Bretheren Leaders & Warriors

With these Strings of Wampum I paint you as becomes Warriors

5 large Black Strings

Bretheren

With these Strings of White Wampum I feather your heads as is customary among you when engaged in war

4 Strings white Wampum

## Bretheren the Sachems of the 6 Nations

I do not mean by this War Belt which I have given to the Warriors to exclude you in the least from assisting and giving the leaders or cheiftains of your several Nations proper advice or encouragement<sup>s</sup> to act up to the engagements entered into by your whole body last year. But on the contrary by this Belt of Wampum I earnestly entreat and advise you, to exert yourselves becoming the character of wise men, and lovers of your country and of your Bretheren the English which will be your Interest—

A Belt

## Bretheren of the 6 Nations

You shewed me the day before yesterday a parcel of Belts which you received from the French, telling me the messages which accompanied them, one of them was an earnest invitation from the Governor of Canada, to meet him there as soon as possible, and I understand some of you have determined to accept the French Governors Invitation. I ask you, is this acting like Brothers or men of Honor or Spirit—no—should you not first have laid them before me, and the rest of your Bretheren and advised with us whether it would be prudent for you to take such a step at this critical time As your Resolutions on this Head have been imprudent and premature—I desire you will reconsider them and reflect seriously upon the consequences—

A Belt.

## Bretheren

I have often when I was in a private Station, advised you to use your utmost endeavours, to draw your Bretheren whom the French had seduced, to leave their native Habitations and live at Swegachie from thence, I have repeated this more forcibly, since I have acted in a public Character, and I have sent several Belts of Wampum to the 6 Nation Indians residing there with the warmest remonstrances to them, upon the unnatural Folly of thus breaking through the Tyes of Nature and sound Policy, but I am sorry to say and find I have been so unsuccessful, however as some of them are now here amongst you, I will by this Belt make one Tryal more and wish for their own sakes at least, that it may restore them to their understandings and awaken a sense of virtue in their Hearts

Gave a Belt

## Bretheren

Among the French Belts you shewed me yesterday I observed one with a Hatchet to it, which greatly surprized me as you had so heartily last year taken up, and engaged to use our Hatchet against the French our and your common enemy; had you acted as faithfull allies or Bretheren you would never have taken this French Hatchet in your hands; instead of that you have like faithless foolish people, concealed it untill now; This is such a conduct of yours, that were it known would reflect everlasting Infamy on your latest Generations, and could your brave & honest Forefathers look out of their Graves and see you with their enemys Hatchet in one hand and your Bretheren the English in the other, they would for ever be ashamed of and disown you. The French say they put their hand on your heads to send off the blow which the English had been long meditating, I think you must never reflect, or you would soon be convince how they impose on you. Look back and see whether the English ever attempted any thing of the kind; I therefore expect, and desire you will destroy said Belts before me, or deliver them to those of your people, who are here as emissaries from the French, which I am sorry to see, and must insist on your receiving no more messages from that deceitful and perfidious Nation

Gave a large Belt



Thus ended Sir Williams Speech when Kaghswaughtaniyonde alias the Belt a Seneca Cheif stood up and spoke as follows

Brother

Your words were very agreeable to us, as the reminded us of our long standing friendship, you may be assured we have taken proper notice of all you said, and shall agreeable to your desire, seriously consider your speech, and hope we may be able to answer you tomorrow

After which S<sup>r</sup> William drank their healths gave them Pipes Tobacco and some Rum to drink

Here ends the second days public Conference

Saturday evening 26 June

After the public Conference was ended, 6 Swegachie Indians originally Onondagas & one Oneida, came to S<sup>r</sup> Williams Tent and spoke as follows

Brother

That part of your speech relating to us gave us great satisfaction, as it convinces us you are one for our Interest; we have been often told, that you desired we should all return to our native places but we did not pay so much regard to it as there was no Belt sent to us with it, We beleive now your several Belts have been stopped, this one you may depend upon it, shall be delivered faithfully to our Indians there, and doubt not but it may have the desired effect

Sir William answered

As it is late now and I have a great deal of business upon my hands, I must defer saying any thing to you till morning gave them a Dram and parted

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> June 1756

The 6 Swegachie Indians with the half King and Kindarundie an Oneida Sachem came to Sir Williams Tent, when he spoke to the Swegachie Indians as follows

Bretheren—if I may call you so now I am sorry to hear my several Messages with Belts never reached you, I should be glad to know by whom and where they were stopped, it surprized me greatly to find no notice hitherto taken of the wholesom and friendly advice I gave you from time to time; I will please myself with the hopes that as you have now a Belt from me in your own Possession, that it may open your eyes to see, and your ears to hear my advice, and that affection to your Relations and the love of your country, may be strong enough to overcome the delusive acts of the French, and that you and your families will return and live at your respective Castles

Sunday evening 27<sup>th</sup> June

The two Messengers whom S<sup>r</sup> William sent from Oneida for the Shawanese, Delawares and other Indians on the Susquehana return<sup>d</sup> with the Death Shout, and after acquainting him with the death of the Nanticoke King at Otsiningo, which stopped them a day they told Sir William there were 26 Shawanese and Delawares, Nanticokes, and Aughquagey Indians by the way, who came at his call and would be with him this night; about sunset they all arrived and came

to his Tent, where they were received very kindly and treated handsomely with Rum, Bisquit, Pipes, Tobacco &c<sup>a</sup> which they were in great want of, and so parted for that evening

The next morning Sr William met them in conjunction with the 6 Nations at the Council House, where he performed the usual ceremony of Condolence with Strings of Wampum, and then covered the Graves of their dead with two black Strouds, which gave them great satisfaction they in return did the same for the losses we had lately sustained, so the ceremony ended, with drinking a glass to drown their sorrow

### The third public conference

Monday night 10 o'clock 28 June 1756

At a meeting of all the 6 Nations, Shawanese, Delawares, Nanticokes &c<sup>a</sup>

PRESENT — as formerly

A great Sachem & Warrior of the Seneca country named Kaghswoughtaniyonde alias Belt stood up & addressed himself to the whole body of Indians in the following speech

Bretheren here present

I have seriously considered all that our Brother Warraghiyagey, said to us two days ago, and for my part I am clear in it, that what he proposed is right, wherefore I am determined to comply with it, and shall as soon as I get home let all my nation know, what our brother said and my own opinion & resolution, in which if they should differ with me, I am determined to leave the country, and live amongst my Bretheren the English

After this an Onondaga Cheif, rose up & returned the following answer to that part of Sir Williams Speech in which he gave them the large Belt to sharpen the Hatchet, with that he put into the hands of the 6 Nations last year

After repeating what he had said to them on that article he proceeded thus

Brother

The Hatchet you gave us last year, proved in one part of it very bad and would not do any execution, for while we had it at Oswego, we could not kill a man with it. Brother, we have got a small axe of our own with which we have conquered many nations, but by lying so long without using it, tis become rusty which we attribute to your hindring us to use it against the Southern Indians, we agree to your request, and are determin'd unanimously to use this axe of our own, and return you our hearty thanks, for rubbing off the rust it hath contracted and giving it a keen edge, we will now hold it up in our hands, and only wait to know whether our people who are living at Swegachie, will return to us at your and our request, as soon as we know their Resolutions we will immediately make use of it with you against any Nation whatsoever

Brother

We can not help letting you know, that our Ears are very wide, we have often heard, that our Land is the cause of Quarrel between you and the French and you both tell us the same Story, that you mean only to secure it for us. We are ready to beleive that you our Bretheren have no other Design, & will do us strict justice, which leads us to join you now heartily

Gave a large Belt, & some Strings

After which Sir William ordered the Interpreter to sing the War song in which the Indians joined with zeal he then gave them some Rum, and promised them a roasted Ox and Some liquor the next day for the War Dance

Thus ended the third public Conference

Sir William Johnsons answer to the Speech of yesterday concerning y<sup>e</sup> Axe

Bretheren of the 6 Nations, and the other confederates here present —

It gives me great pleasure to hear you say you will now try your own Hatchet, which you say has always proved a good one, I am sensible it has been so, and I doubt not it will joined with ours, be successful, as I have now put it in good order, these arms & ammunitions, which I have here for you, are also very proper Instruments to make use of with your Hatchet against your and our common enemy as they will the sooner bring those bold Invaders, to proper Terms and make them give up those parts of your country, and His Majestys Dominions, which they have so unjustly taken possession of, provided you use them vigorously, as you now promise me you will in conjunction with the King your fathers Troops by which you will convince the world, you were the Friends all looked upon you to be, And I am convinced the King your Father will always esteem you and amply supply me with whatever may be necessary for you and your families support

Bretheren

As it is uncertain how long this war will continue and as our Bretheren the Senecas are so few here as are not sufficient to engage for their Nation I think proper to give you an other War Belt that you may send it to them with your Resolutions, by our friend and brother Kaghswoughtaniyonde of that Nation, and these Strings of Wampum to paint and feather their Warriors

Here one of the oldest Sachems of Onondaga, stood up took the Belt, & sung the War Song, and then old Abraham the head Mohawk Sachem and the great Hendricks brother, rose up and sung the War song with remarkable Fury

Tuesday the 29 of June P. M.

At a Meeting of the 6 Nations &c

Old Abraham was sent from his Seat to Sir William to ask his opinion what was the properest step to take in order to draw off the Swegachie Indians from the French, he advised that all the Nations should join with him in an invitation to them, and to be delivered to those of that place who were present, which Proposal was approved of and then Abraham stood up, mentioned it aloud, and desired it might be brought to an issue as soon as possible then the Belt of Invitation was delivered to the Swegachie Indians present

After this Tionighsarisis cheif speaker & Sachem of Onondaga, made the following answer in the name of the confederacy, to those parts of Sir William Johnsons Speech, of 26 Inst: which had not been replied to

Brother Warraghiyagey

We return you our hearty thanks for brightening and strengthening the Covenant Chain and promising to hold by it; We the 6 Nations and our allies sincerely promise to do the same on our part, and to adhere faithfully to all the obligations which it includes.

Gave the Covenant Belt



Brother

You insisted so much on our delivering up the French Hatchet which was given to the Oneidas some time ago, that we now here in your presence comply with your request, and deliver it to those Indians from Swegachie, to return it

Gave a large Belt

Brother,

We also return the Belt, by which the Governor of Canada said he laid his hand upon our head, to ward off the Blow which he said the English our Bretheren were threatening us with, we now in your Presence, send it back to him by these Swegachie Indians his emissaries

A Belt

Brother,

By this Belt (shewing a very large one, Sir William had given them) you insist on our sending back the Governor of Canada's Belt of Invitation by the Swegachie Indians, Brother, as we complied with every thing you requested us we also do to this, But we can't help thinking our sending a few Cheifs with those Swegachie Indians would contribute greatly to the speedy recovery or withdrawing of said Indians however we submit it to your consideration

A Black Belt

Brother

As we are resolved, to conceal nothing from you, we are now to let you know, that this very day we received 3 Invitations from the French, one from the Commandant of Niagara, one from Jean Ceur, and an other from his brother (the two cheif Indian Agents) desiring us to meet them at Niagara in 20 days, we shall be advised by you how to act in this as well as in every thing else

A Belt & Strings

#### The Fifth Public Conference

Wednesday 30 June 1756

PRESENT— as before

Sir William Johnsons Reply to the Speech of the Six Nations of yesterday

Bretheren of the 6 Nations and all your allies here present

It is a great satisfaction to me to find you so ready to comply with what I have desired, you may be assured, I have your Interest so much at Heart, that I shall never propose to, or desire any thing of you, but what will tend to your Welfare, and I shall as soon as possible acquaint your Father the Great King of England, and my Master of your good dispositions towards him and his subjects your Bretheren, which will I question not, induce him to extend his Generosity and fatherly care towards you & your Posterity. I conjure you Bretheren, as you regard your own welfare and my credit act up to your engagements, and don't let me write what is not

A Belt

Bretheren

As you have left it to me to judge what would be best to do concerning the French Invitations, and also your sending some of your People, with those French Emissaries to Swegachie, I have seriously considered both, and think it very improper you should pay any regard to the former, as I have now sharpened your axe for you against them, besides, the French hearing you are now determined to strike them, will lay hold of any opportunity to

hurt you, and would you may depend upon it keep any you might send, as Hostages. As to the latter I think if the Message we jointly send by these of that place, will not be sufficient to withdraw them from thence it would be to no purpose to send any of your people, So that upon the whole it would be both imprudent and impolitic to go to Canada at this Time, and I insist upon it by this Belt of Wampum, that none of you offer to look that way, but turn your eyes towards your Bretheren to the Southward and Westward who are very numerous and ready to join us provided you encourage them, which I expect you will now, as it will be our mutual Interest, by these means only, you will be able to recover those of your allies, who are now as it were lost to you, and you will then again become a powerful People which it shall be my duty to contribute to

A large Belt

Bretheren of the 6 Nations

You showed me the other day all the Belts and Strings of Wampum which I from time to time sent, requesting you all to keep the Road open to Oswego and guard the Battoes with Provisions &<sup>ca</sup> thither you acquainted me at the same time that you had complied with my desire, I am very glad you have, and I expect by this Belt of Wampum that all the Nations assist as much as is in their power to keep that Road open

A Belt

Bretheren

As the only way we have at present of getting Provisions to Oswego is by Water, which is not only dangerous, but so tedious that it is impossible to provide a sufficient quantity unless we can carry by Land also, for which I must desire your liberty & assistance to cut open a Road through your Country from the German Flatts to Oswego, and for your assistance in laying it out you will be well paid. This Road will be of great advantage to you as well as us as in Case of any alarm or Danger from the French, I can soon come to your assistance which at present would be very difficult from the Badness of the Road, I expect also, that you will allow us to throw up some works at Oswego Falls, to cover our people & Stores, while carrying over there

A Belt

Bretheren

At a general Meeting at my house this last winter, I proposed a Meeting of all your Nations and allies at Oswego as early as possible, you then told me you had proper persons ready to call the Twightwees, Mississagas &<sup>ca</sup> to said Meeting. I have ever since with impatience expected to hear what success they have had and whether those Nations would attend at said Meeting, I desire now to know what is done in that affair that I may act accordingly

Bretheren of the 6 Nations

As all matters are now happily settled between us and your ax is now sharpened & ready, I expect that you will hold yourselves in readiness to join his Majestys arms when and where I desire you

A Belt.

Bretheren of Onondaga

Since my arrival I find you are scarce of Indian Corn, which I am sorry for, and without it your families must suffer to prevent which, I desire you will send some of your young men to my House, & I will give you 100 Skipple of Corn which will be a releif untill your Crop is ripe, and all those who joined His Matys arms last year, are desired also to come down and receive new mounting &c

Upon this an Onondaga Cheif rose up & said

Brother

We have given all due attention to your words, and all the Nations here present return hearty thanks for the kind Notice you have taken of our Want of Provisions it is a mark of your regard & care of us

Sir William then added

Bretheren of the 6 Nations, and all your confederates here present

There is one thing more I most earnestly recommend to you all, which is necessary at all times, but indispensably so at this time, that is a strict *Union* among you all, and cast away all jealousies from amongst you, then you will be like the Bundle of Sticks I gave you last year which while together could not be broken, but if separated, has little strength; I by this Belt now bind you together & make you strong

A very large Belt.

A Seneca Cheif then stood up, and made the following Speech in behalf of that Nation

Bretheren of the 6 Nations

I have one thing to recommend to you now which is that you will take Care, and guard our Brother Warraghiyagey home from this Meeting to his own house, for I look upon the Road at this time to be very dangerous and the French are endeavouring all they can, to take or destroy him, they are a bloody minded People, & will stick at Nothing

Gave a String of Wampum

Old Abraham the Mohawk Speaker then rose up and said

Bretheren of the Senecas, we approve much of your advice, and for our parts we are determined, to accompany our brother Home, and share his fate, be it what it will, as we are inviolably attached to our Bretheren the English

The 6<sup>th</sup> days conference

Thursday the 1<sup>st</sup> of July

PRESENT — as before

The Six Nations being assembled Sir William Johnson made the following speech to the Shawanese and Delaware Indians [There were two young Warriors of the Delaware Nation then present]

Bretheren of the Shawanese & Delaware Nations

It gives me great Pleasure to find you so ready to attend here at this meeting upon my invitation, I expected indeed to have found you here before me, but when I came to the Oneida Castle I heard you were not arrived or sent for, which surprized me much, and made me dispatch Messengers to you, as my Meeting here in a great measure was to confirm what passed at Otsiningo, between the Delegates of the 6 Nations and you: now Bretheren as you are here, I desire to know by this Belt of Wampum, what is the reason the Delawares and Shawanese, who have committed Hostilities against us have not met here according to their promise at Otsiningo or what reason they had for striking the English without any provocation

A Belt of Wampum



Bretheren the Shawanese and Delawares

I am very glad you arrived here time enough to hear what I have said to the 6 Nations here in your presence as I make no doubt but you are firmly attached to the Interest of your Bretheren the English and the 6 Nations—  
A Belt

As soon as the above speech was delivered the Onondaga Speaker made the following answer to Sir Williams speech to the 6 Nations of yesterday

Brother Warraghiyagey

In the speech you made to us yesterday you charged us not to go to Canada, but to send the French Hatchet and all the Belts we received from the Governor of Canada back by the Swegachie Indians. Now Brother we have all seriously considered what you have said to us on that head, and we are unanimously of opinion, those People are not to be trusted with so weighty an affair, as they are as yet in the French Interest, so we have determined to send some Delegates of our own to return this Hatchet with all the French Belts we have received, & to see and hear what the French have to say to us, and at the same time to use all our influence, in bringing home all our people who are in the French Country  
A Belt.

Brother

Yesterday you told us you had sharpened our Hatchet and desired we might paint ourselves black, and put Feathers on our Heads which would make us look like Warriors, we assure you our Delegates that we send back with the French Hatchet shall do so, but we defer putting the Feathers on till they return; Brother, if any misfortune should happen to us we leave enough behind, to paint you in the same manner that you may revenge the wrong done us  
A String

Brother

You have now sharpened our Hatchet which hath always been successfull in War, we return you our hearty thanks for so doing, your request in desiring us to send this Belt, to all Nations in Alliance with us, to acquaint them that our Hatchet is sharpened, is very agreeable to us, as it has been the custom of the 6 Nations to do so, and by that means we were always able to conquer our enemys. Now Brother we assure you we will send this Belt through all Nations in Friendship with us on which the Speaker delivered the Belt to Kaghswaughtiooney a Seneca Sachem, and told him to take it to his Castle, and send it from thence to all Nations in alliance with them  
Gave a Belt

On which the Seneca Sachem got up with the Belt in his hand and sung the Warsong, and promised to send the Belt with all dispatch through all the Nations in their Alliance

The Speaker went on

Brother

You have often told us, that it would be very agreeable to you if the French and you were only to dispute the Quarrel now subsisting between you which is a great motive of our going to Canada, to see if we can't prevail on the French Indians to lay down the Hatchet

Brother

You told us to hold ourselves in readiness to join His Majestys Troops, when you would call on us now, Brother we assure you by this Belt of Wampum, that we will be ready and when you send for us it will be very pleasing News for our Warriors you may depend on it, that we will all rise up and go with the Messenger both Sachems & Warriors  
A Belt

Brother

Yesterday you desired us to continue keeping the Road clear and guarding the Battoes to Oswego, which we will do, you also told us, that there was but one Road to transport Provisions to Oswego and that very difficult as it was both dangerous and tedious, and that you wanted a Road by Land through our country and desired our assistance as we knew the best ground to cut and make a road through, and tho some may think it wrong to suffer a road thro our country we desire you may not give credit to any flying reports you may hear many lies have been carried between us for we freely consent that you shall have a Road and the Oneidas and Tuscaroras will assist you in opening it from the German Flatts to Canaghsaragy and the Onondagas will from that to Oswego and you may build a Fort or Magazine at Oswego Falls to Store the Provisions in, but we expect that Fort will be destroyed or given up to us as soon as the difference between you and the French is decided

A Belt

Brother

You tell us you have waited with Impatience to know what success our Messengers had, whom we promised to send to the Mississages and Twi'ghtwees last Winter we know nothing more about it, but we expect that the Seneca Chief & several more who have been gone a good while that way are about it, and on their return we will let you know what encouragements they have met with

A String

Monakadouto the half King, made the following reply in behalf of the Shawanese and Delaware Nations to Sir William Johnson's Speech to them of this day

Brother

You desire to know of us why those of our peple who have committed several murders upon the English have not appeared at this Meeting, and what were the reasons for their committing such Hostilities on their Bretheren without provocation. Brother we know the reason and will tell you here before the Six Nations, and all present for we are not afraid to tell the Truth before any Nation or People. Last year the French brought a powerful army into our country, and soon after the English marched an other army, which appeared to us like two clouds hanging over us; we looked on till the Battle was over, and there we found some of the 6 Nations with the French Hatchet in their hands, killing the English and as we were in strict alliance with the 6 Nations we thought it our duty to do the same and yet we did not immediately strike [This part relates to the Shawanese Indians, who live on the Ohio, and what follows is an intended justification for the Hostilities of the Delawares, who live on the Susquehanna] Some of our young men soon after killed some hogs belonging to the English, which exasperated the English so much, that they struck their Hatchet into our heads, and then we declared war against the English but we have found that we have acted wrong for which reason we hope our Bretheren the English will pardon us for what is passt, as we laid down our Hatchet as soon as we were convinced we were in the wrong

Gave a Belt

What follows was spoke in behalf the Shawanese settled on a Branch of the Susquehanna

Brother

You say that you were very glad that we arrived here time enough to hear what you said to the 6 Nations, and to see how cheerfully they have engaged themselves in the English Interest and that you expect we will do the same. Brother we are part of several Tribes, and

are chosen Delegates by them all to speak their minds to you; We have lived at a great distance from you and our Bretheren the 6 Nations so that what is transacted between you seldom reaches our ears, for which reason we are moving a little nearer to our said Bretheren, that we may the easier & sooner hear from you and them. Now Brother we inform you that we are not a heavy slothful people, and we assure you that we as cheerfully engage in the English Interest as the 6 Nations have done, and on the first notice we receive from you or them we will rise to a man and come to you or where you desire us, and act in conjunct<sup>n</sup> with [you] and our Uncles the 6 Nations

A Belt

Upon which their King or cheif took up the War Belt & Sung the War Song.

#### Seventh Days conference

Fryday 2 July

PRESENT — as before

As all matters of business were yesterday concluded Sir William this Morning had the Presents laid out, for them and before they were distributed made them the following speech

Bretheren

When your Delegates came to my House and invited me to this Meeting they told me you were in want of Arms & Ammunition at your several Castles to defend yourselves from the French whose Hatchet was hanging over your Heads. I promised to come to this Meeting and bring you those Necessaries, which I understood you were in need of which I have accordingly done as you now see, the Cheif of which the King your father sent for you by the New Governor of this Province and which I now present to you from him —

Bretheren — two days ago you returned me thanks for sharpening your own Hatchet and said you had found mine last year at Oswego was not good, I told you then that I had some weapons with me that were sharp likewise if properly made use of and I hope you will make use of them vigorously and our common enemy As your Hatchet is now sharp. I likewise sharpen your knife to cut our enemys throats or take their scalps off, and as I know it is an old custom amongst you to feast on your enemies flesh I present you those Kettles for that purpose [This is meant figuratively, and some Meat is boiled in the Kettles, which they eat and call it French Mens Flesh, so when drink is given it is called blood of their enemies]

The Onondaga Speaker then rose up and returned Sir William the thanks of the 6 Nations for this happy Meeting and mutual agreement Sir William then rose and put a medal about the Speakers neck and declared him a Sachem of that Council charging him to be steady to his Majestys Interest

Thus ended the Congress with the 6 Nations at Onondaga

#### Camp at Onondaga July 2<sup>d</sup> 1756

The Delaware King with three more of his Nation, who live at Tiyaogo on the Susquehanna River arrived in the evening after the present was delivered and all business ended, he came to Sir Williams Tent and was introduced by Mr Montour the Interpreter, who was acquainted with him Sir William bid him welcome and told him he was very glad to see him, drank his health gave him pipes and Tobacco, and then invited him to supper, with the other Gentlemen



who attended Sir William, after supper and drinking the Kings Health &c Sir William Johnson spoke to him as follows

Brother

It would have given me great satisfaction had you been here time enough to hear what passed at this Congress which was in a great measure convened on account of your Nation but as it has held a long time, and is now concluded, it will be impossible to settle matters still depending between you and us at this place, as among other things given to our friends here, there is a quantity of Liquor, which will prevent our doing business here, besides several Nations who live far off are going and some gone this afternoon; wherefore with these Strings of Wampum, I take you and the Shawanese by the hand, and invite you all as well as the Aughquages and other Indians living round you to the Southward to my House where the Council Fire of the 6 Nations always burns. I hope we shall there be able to put an end to all the unhappy differences, which have of late taken place between us

To which the King answered by M<sup>r</sup> Montour Interpreter

Brother

I am much obliged to you for the kind reception and hearty welcome you have given me and my people, and as I plainly see matters can not be so well settled here now as at your house I accept of your invitation and will accompany you thither, but as I expect more of my people tomorrow, I will stay here untill they come then will set off immediately and join you

3<sup>d</sup> July 1756 Sir William set out on his return home from Onondaga

4<sup>th</sup> July Sir William called at the Tuscarora castle and entered it with 2 French Scalps, which one of their young men very briskly laid hold of and sung the War Song with them in his hand round their Castle

Then he directed their Sachems & Warriors to assemble and when met spoke to them as follows

Bretheren of Tuscarora

It gives me great satisfaction to find you living in so compact a body, and as I well know your attachment to your Bretheren the English, I shall be inclined to do any thing which may contribute to your. safety and Welfare, you will be much safer here with a good outwork on the Hill than as you now are, wherefore if you incline to have one built there, I will order it to be done immediately and give you several Guns to mount in it, or any thing else for your defense and as you as well as the Onondagas complain of the want of Provisions, send some of your young men down to my house, and I will send you a sufficient quantity to serve you untill your crops come in. Bretheren I must strongly recommend unanimity to you in your Councils and actions and then you will be ready to join his Majestys arms whenever I call upon you, as I have now sharpened your Hatchet and given you all necessary complements of War—

A Belt

To which Sequareesera their Cheif spoke as follows

Brother

We are glad you approve of our situation and way of living we shall think ourselves much safer with such a House as you propose and hope you will not defer building it as soon as you

can, also to send us some Swiffl Guns and Ammunition in plenty, then you may depend upon it we will make the best defence we can should the French attempt to molest us there, we will also be ready to rise up at your call; we have neglected hunting this great while watching a call from you so that we are very poor and in want of many necessaries for our Families which we hope you will supply us with as our only dependance at these times is on you

Gave a Belt

Sir William desired some of their young men might go along with him, and that he would supply, their Wants and so parted from their castle

The same evening Sir William encamped near the Oneida Town when several of their Sachems came and bid them welcome and told him that they were under so much concern for the danger he apprehended they must go through in his way home, on account of a great number of the enemy whose Tracks they had discovered yesterday, that they had (on hearing of his approach) come to the following Resolution, to wit that 3 of their cheif men and some Warriors should attend him to the German Flatts, and bring him a Bye Road which the enemy knew nothing off as the looked upon the other to be besett with the enemy. He returned them thanks for the concern they shewed for his safety, and told them if they judged the enemy were superior in numbers he would accept their offer, if not he would choose to meet them, of which they disapproved adding that the loss of him would be to them irreparable &ca.

In the evening Sir William entered the Castle and called a Council of young and old when he condoled the death of the head Sachems Nephew who died that morning After which he exhorted them strongly to consider the engagements they had entered into with the rest of the Six Nations at the great council of Onondaga and that he expected they would solemnly adhere to them

Gave a Belt

They returned their hearty thanks for the ceremony of condolence he had performed adding it was a convincing proof of his regard for them, to find he did not neglect those necessary ceremonials at a time too when they knew he was much hurried and full of business they concluded with assurances of their inviolable attachm<sup>t</sup> to their Bretheren the English, and that they would adhere to all the engagements they had entered into

Gave a Belt

They then acquainted him they were in great want of Provisions Cloaths, Shoes &c. which they hoped he would supply them with as they had no other way now to help themselves, but by applying to him

He promised to gratifie them, and desired they would come to his House as soon as they pleased to which the returned many thanks

### Monday Morning 5 July

All the Oneida Sachems attended at Sir Williams Tent, with several requests and many complaints against Captain Williams (of the 51 Reg<sup>t</sup>)<sup>1</sup> posted at the carry<sup>g</sup> Place also against the Interpreter whom Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley had placed there, he complied with many of their requests and told them he would acquaint the new General with the latter articles—Then he sent for

<sup>1</sup> Captain WILLIAM WILLIAMS belonged to Sir W. Pepperell's regiment. He was in command of the fort which originally stood on the present site of Rome, Oneida Co., N. Y., and which was called Fort *Williams* after him. His regiment was disbanded on 25th December, 1756, when he went on half pay and so remained until his death, which occurred, it is supposed in 1787, as his name is omitted that year in the Army List. — Ed.

Gōwéahhe, the cheif Warrior of the Oneida Nation whom the Governor of Canada had lately invited and made great offers to him to come over to him; after talking to him a while of the Friendship so long subsisting between Sir William and him, and the many professions and brotherly love he had made to him, S<sup>r</sup> William prevailed on him to reject the invitation of the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada, and made him promise to come down as soon as he could to Mount Johnson with his Party whom he would take proper Notice of and use him and them as well as the Governor of Canada would do

Sir William also gave him a War Belt insisting (according to the Indian Custom) on his going to war, and bringing him either prisoners or scalps to give in the Room of some friends he had lost Goweahhe accepted of it and promised he would let Sir William know what he could do in it as soon as he came down to his house—

Sir William gave two Runlets of Rum to the Oneidas and a quarter of Beef, one for a merry making to the Warriors, and the other for the funeral of the young man whose death he had condoled; then he drank His Majestys Health and prosperity to their Nation which was returned with great civility—When he left the Castle

July 7 1756 Sir William Johnson arrived at his House Fort Johnson very much fatigued and in a bad state of Health

Fort Johnson July 9. 1756 A. M

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bart sole agent &c for Indian affairs

Mr Croghan & sundry other Gentlemen

Several Sachems & Warriors of the 6 Nations

Shawanese & Delaware Kings with their People

Peter Wraxal Sec<sup>y</sup> for Indian Affairs

Mr Montour & other Interpreters

Sir Williams Speech to the Mohikander or River Indians who arrived during his absence, and were sent for the 28 may last vide Records p: 210—with their wives and children they amounted to 196 Souls—

Bretheren

As some dark clouds are gathering over these parts the scattered condition in which I knew your Tribes lived, turned my thoughts towards you and as the great King of England your Father hath appointed me to take care of the affairs of all the Indians in alliance with his subjects in these Parts of his Dominions, I consulted with your uncles the Mohawks what steps would be most adviseable to take in relation to your Welfare upon which we agreed to send a Message, to invite you to come and live near them, and I am pleased that you have been so prudent to listen to the Invitation. I bid you heartily welcome and assure you in the Great King your Fathers name that I shall use the Power he hath committed to me, to promote the welfare of you, your wives and children, and according to his Royal pleasure, while you behave dutifully to him and conduct yourselves like Bretheren to all his subjects, I shall assist you in the articles of cloathing and Food, till you have time to establish yourselves and make some Provision for your families, which I hope and expect by this Belt you will use all expedition and diligence in doing

Gave the Belt



Bretheren

You know that the French who are a restless and quarrelsome people have obliged the King your Father to take up arms against them, and as your uncles the Mohawks and the rest of the 6 Nations, thouroughly convinced of the justness of our cause have joined His Majestys arms, it will be your Duty and Interest to be ready at all times to the utmost of your Power, to assist the Common cause and which by this Belt I expect from you

Gave a Belt of Wampum

In the afternoon Sir William armed and cloathed their men from head to foot, gave them ammunition Paint &c<sup>a</sup> in the Presence of the 6 Nations, Shawanese and Delaware Kings and their People with which they seemed extreemly pleased

Fort Johnson 10 July 1756. A. M.

PRESENT — as yesterday

M<sup>r</sup> Montour Interpreter

Sir William Johnson's Speech to the Shawanese and Delawares

[Sir William first read it in English as many of the Mohickanders or River Indians present understand that language]

Bretheren of the Shawanese & Delaware Nations

It gave me great satisfaction when the Delegates of the 6 Nations in conjunction with me, sent to the Meeting at Otsiningo this Spring returned, and acquainted me that you listned to their remonstrances with regard to the faithless and hostile Behaviour of SOME of your People against your Bretheren the English and that you had solemnly promised to turn the edge of your Hatchet in conjunction with the 6 Nations against our common enemy the French.

They also acquainted [me] with your earnest desire that I would meet you at Onondaga the ancient fire Place of the Six Nations that you would open there your minds fully to me, and that my compliance with this your request, would be a convincing Proof to you, that a Door of Reconciliation was yet open between the English & your people

Tho my going up to Onondaga at the time you mentioned was extreemly inconvenient, yet as you so warmly urged it, and from my desire of restoring [you] to the favor of the Great King of England your Father, and to renew the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship between you and his subjects your Bretheren the English I readily agreed to your Proposal. I set out and came to Onondaga according to my Promise, but I did not find you there neither did the Deputation from the Delawares come, till that meeting was so neer upon a conclusion, that I had not time enough left to enter into your affairs. I therefore desired you to accompany me to this house which is also the fire Place of the 6 Nations and where I now bid you heartily welcome with this string of Wampum

Gave a String

[N B. This Speech was cheifly addressed to the Deleware King and his people as they were most concerned]

Bretheren

The Blood which hath been spilt, the Barbarities which have been committed, the many english Prisoners which have been taken, and all the variety of Desolation, which some of

your people in conjunction with the French and their Indians have perpetrated upon the persons and properties of the Subjects of the King of England and my Master on the Frontiers of his Provinces of Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania, New Jersey, and New York, you can not be, you are not ignorant of.

These horrid murders, and barbarous Devastations committed upon an unsuspecting and defenceless People, who so far from suspecting such Treatment from your Tribes looked upon themselves as in some Measure, under your Protection and were disposed in all respects to behave towards you as Bretheren and neighbours

Bretheren

You are I am persuaded sensible that this perfidious Behaviour of SOME of your people is to the highest degree reproachful and unjustifiable, I shall not therefore add any more particulars to the General Facts I have just now mention<sup>d</sup> and I am inclining and willing to beleive that those of your people who have been guilty of this scandalous Breach of Faith and thereby violated the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship so often and so solemnly renewed between our Forefathers and yours, must have had their judgments confounded their Principals perverted and their hearts poisoned by the vile and Treacherous Delusions of the French, who are enemies to the happiness, of all who come near to them, and like the Devil practice every wicked method to debauch all who will listen to them from the Ties of honor truth and justice. They have imposed upon your Bretheren, and seduced them from the right Path and led them astray from their true Interest

As I am well acquainted with the infamous character and conduct of this restless Blood thirsty Nation the French I say to their iniquitous influence I impute the falling off of the deceived part of your people from their duty to the great King of England and their engagements with their ancient Bretheren the English

Bretheren

If there have been any other causes of this unhappy Breach, I expect and desire you will with Brotherly openness and candour acquaint me with them; I assure you in the name of the Great King of England your Father and of your Bretheren the English his subjects in these Parts, that every kind of satisfaction, which you can justly expect, or reasonably ask shall be given you

And by virtue of the Powers granted to me by His Majesty, if you are seriously disposed to continue his dutiful children and to maintain your fidelity towards him, and unbroken Peace and Friendship towards all his subjects and your Bretheren the English in these Parts and will exert your unfeigned zeal and best endeavors to reclaim those of your People who have been deluded made drunk and mad by the French. Upon these Conditions I am ready to renew strengthen and brighten the Covenant Chain of Peace Friendship and confidence, between you and all your Bretheren the English upon this continent, and engage mutually to aid and assist each other against all our enemies

Bretheren

By this Belt of Wampum, I desire you will take into serious consideration, what I have now said, and give me your deliberate and determined answer as soon as you conveniently can and by this Belt I also confirm all I have now said to you. Gave a Belt of Wampum

After the foregoing Speech was interpreted by Mr Montour to the six Nations present  
The Delaware King or Cheif spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

I have attended most carefully to all you have now said and it is very pleasing to me, but I can not take upon me at this time to give a determinate answer to you, but I shall punctually deliver your speech to all my Nation on my return home, and you shall have our fixt resolutions and positive answers as soon as possible which I confirm by this String of Wampum  
Gave a String of Wampum

Upon receiving this answer, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson summoned a Council of the Heads of the 6 Nations present, and acquainted them with the reply he intended to make to it, asked their opinion upon it and told them that he expected they should second him therein

Upon which they said

Brother Warraghiyagey

You have called a Meeting of some of every Nation here present, and acquainted us with the reply you intend to make to the Delaware King and desired our opinion upon it, and that we would join with you in concerting measures for your further Proceedings with regard to him and his People

Brother

Had we been apprized at Onondaga that you would have received such a kind of Answer as the Delaware cheif has made to you more of our Sachems and Warriors would have come down with us in order to have assisted at this meeting but we all apprehended at Onondaga that matters were in a fair way of being happily and speedily accomodated, and therefore but few of us came down, however we shall take upon us to speak to these People and prepare them for what you intend to say to them, at the same time pressing it upon them to declare their real Intentions

They did accordingly go to the Tent of the Delaware King, and after some time returned to Sir William and reported that they had fulfilled their promise and told the Delaware cheif that they expected he should tomorrow morning explain himself clearly upon what Sir William had and would further say to him

Thus ended the first days conference

Fort Johnson 11 July 1756 A M.

Sir William Johnsons Reply to the Delaware Kings answer of yesterday

PRESENT—as before and the same Forms observed as yesterday

Brother

From what passed at the meeting with the 6 Nations Delegates at Otsiningo, and in consequence of your Message to me by them, I did not in the least doubt when you came to Onondaga you were come with full Powers, and an impatient desire to accomodate all matters of difference between your People and the English, what you yesterday answered is somewhat surpriseing and appears mysterious to me As your nation have been the agressors and we the English the injured Party, a Delay at this time on your side does by no means look well,



and doth not carry with it that Face of Candour, which all His Majestys subjects in his injured Provinces expected from your Nation at this meeting.

I must tell you, that the present state of affairs, between us and your people, requires a speedy and determinate issue. I have received accounts that the late Hostilities are still continued by some of your people and it will be requisite that without delay, you do explain yourself in behalf of your Nation, in such an explicit and satisfactory Manner, that his Majestys injured Provinces may know what Part is proper for them to act, and you may depend upon it, that they will not continue tamely to bear the Bloody Injuries, which they have for some time past suffered

Gave a Belt

After some time recollecting himself the Delaware King replied as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

This Belt [holding up a large Belt] I received last Winter from the Oneida Delegates who at the same time called upon us to know what we meant by our hostile Behaviour to our Bretheren the English, and admonish<sup>d</sup> us to stop from committing any further hostilities on them; I and my people at Tiyaōgo did hereupon immediately lay down the Hatchet and have not made use of it since. The same Belt and Message we sent to our Bretheren, who live near Fort Duquesne the Returned the Belt without giving any answer, and brother I can only engage for myself and my own people who live at Tiyaōgo for we and those other are of different Tribes. As for me and my People we shall always keep our eyes fixed on our Uncles the 6 Nations and their example shall regulate our conduct

Brother

We shall preserve this said Belt, as a Testimony of the engagements we have now entered into, and as a constant restraint upon our Warriors against their violating them

Brother

You told us yesterday that you were inclined to beleive our people had been deluded and seduced by the French it is very true Brother, The French and the Delaware Indians, who now live among them did come and put the Devil into our Fighters, and it was then impossible for me and our old People, to restrain them from their rash and evil Deeds.

This is the truth and the chēif cause; besides as we knew several of the 6 Nations were engaged with the French on the Ohio against the English, we thought it had been agreed to by the 6 Nations in general till their Delegates last winter convinced us to the contrary; By this Belt in behalf of my people I confirm all I have now promised and told you—

Gave a Belt

Brother

Our Nation I have already said have complied to your remonstrances & the admonitions of our Uncles the 6 Nations and which I have confirmed with a Belt of Wampum

Brother

It gives me great pleasure to see so many of my Bretheren (meaning the Mohikanders or River Indians, who are originally the same Nation and speak the same language) here present and under your Protection

Brother

Our Uncles the 6 Nations fixt us at Tiaōga<sup>1</sup> and lighted a Council Fire there, and I and my People are determin'd to remain there and we will use our utmost endeavours, to draw back thither those of our People, who have strayed from thence; what passed in the days of our auncestors and since we have lost our ancient counsellors we are ignorant of and our Uncles the Six Nations have not taken due care to refresh our Memories nor to remind us properly of our several engagements. We are looked upon as Women, and therefore when the French come amongst us, is it to be wondered that they are able to seduce us. But now the 6 Nations begins to take notice of us and have put us in mind of our ancient engagements, we shall keep in the right Path, with this Belt I confirm what I have now said — Gave a large Belt

Brother

You have heard what I have already said, give attention to what I am now going to say.

I can not help repeating to you Brother the very sensible pleasure it gives me to see so many of my own Flesh and Blood here (: the River Indians :) you told them you would take care of them, and be their Friend. I have seen your promise faithfully & punctually fulfilled [Sir William had clothed & armed a number of these River Indians before he went to Onondaga, a party of which attended him thither and since his return had done the same to fifty more, who came to his house during his absence most of these were now present]

Brother as you have done this I think myself obliged, to return to you those few of your Flesh and blood (: meaning the English Prisoners taken from the Frontiers of the Provinces) who are amongst our people and given to us

Brother

I have told you that my people will follow the example of the 6 Nations and I now once more assure you of the Sincerity of my Intentions, and we once again take hold of the Covenant Chain which binds together our Bretheren the English and our Uncles the 6 Nations and at the same time I do now in behalf of myself and my people here in your presence throw out all the Poison, with which the French did infect us and we are very sorry and do unfeignedly repent of all past offences—By this Belt I solemnly confirm all I have now promised—Gave a Covenant Chain Belt which when Sir William had accepted the Delaware King rose up, came to him and shook hands with Sir William the Secretary and all the White Persons present

The Shawanese King then spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

I am exceedingly rejoiced to hear what the Delaware King hath now said to you

I and my people have always listned to our Bretheren the 5 Nations and conducted ourselves according to their advice we were first settled at Wyoming but upon our Brothers application we left that Place and came and settled on a Branch of the Susquehanna

Brother

You may naturally conclude, we could have no bad Intention towards our Bretheren the English by our removing nearer to them, and I assure you that we neither have been nor will be concern'd in any Hostilities against them, I have on the contrary always used my best

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 110.—Ed.

endeavours to dissuade such of the Shawanese who live on the Ohio, to refrain from all Hostile Acts against the English, and I shall continue to pursue the same endeavours

Gave 2 Strings of Wampum

EOD: DIE. P: M:

Sir William Johnson having this morning received his Majestys Patent creating him a Baronet of Great Britain together with his Commission as sole Agent and Superintendant of the affairs of the 6 Nations &<sup>a</sup> acquainted all the Indians present with it, and shewed them the said Patent and commission upon which they gave a loud & unanimous shout

After which he addressed himself to the 6 Nation cheifs & Warriors present He told them that as his appointment to the sole Managment of their affairs was in a great measure owing to their earnest repeated and united request he hoped their future conduct, would give his Majesty no cause to repent of his gracious compliance with their said request and that he should on his Part to the utmost of his abilities fulfill the great Trust reposed in him, to the advancement of his Majestys service and the real welfare of the Six Nations and their allies and which he should always consider as inseperable, whilst they behaved dutiful to the Great King their Father, and faithful to their engagements.

A Seneca Cheif then rose up and returned the hearty thanks of the 6 Nations to the Great King their father for granting their request; He then congratulated S<sup>r</sup> William on the honors conferred on him, and the great Trust reposed in him, and said they now looked upon themselves as a happy People, not doubting but Sir William would continue to be their faithful Brother and affectionate friend &c<sup>a</sup>

A Tub of Punch was then brought in, and Sir William drank His Majestys health, and success to his arms, afterwards Prosperity and Harmony to the 6 Nations and all their allies

When this ceremony was concluded Sir William made the following speech to the Shawanese and Delaware Nations which was cheifly directed to the Delaware King

Bretheren

The acknowledgements of your errors, the promises you have made, and the engagements you have this morning so publickly and so solemnly entered into have given me great Satisfaction—Your Resolutions of governing your future proceedings by the advice and example of your Bretheren & Uncles of the five Nations, is extreemly prudent and very pleasing to me

The promise which the Delaware King has made in behalf of his People to deliver up what Prisoners of your Bretheren the English have been given to them I look upon as a convincing proof of the sincerity of all he hath said, and the sooner this is done the better as it will be a demonstration to all your Bretheren the English that you are returned to your ancient peacable and friendly dispositions towards them

Bretheren

As I now look upon all affairs to be happily settled between us, and every Wound healed I do by this Belt in the name of the Great King of England your Father, and in the behalf of all his subjects on this continent, renew strengthen and brighten the Covenant Chain of Peace Friendship and alliance, and I hope that it will subsist between us with unbroken harmony to the latest ages; and I desire that you will send this Belt to your Bretheren on the Ohio and else where to invite them to put their hands into it Gave the Covenant Chain Belt



Bretheren

As I am sensible your hunting is impeded by the present troublesome times, and by that means you must be in want of many Necessaries. I do by virtue of the King your Fathers pleasure, signified to me in favor of all his dutiful and faithful children promise to assist your necessary wants and when any of your people come to me on that occasion I will supply them and when the 6 Nations are called down to receive any public present, which his Majesty may send for his good children the Indians, I shall take care to give you notice & invite you and this may perhaps speedily happen

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Bretheren

You have assured me, that you have determined to keep your eyes fixed on your Bretheren the 5 Nations and regulate your conduct by theirs; as you therefore know that they have taken up the Hatchet in conjunction with your Bretheren the English, and are determined to join His Matys arms against the French and all their adherents, I expect and doubt not, but you will cooperate with them and us in this necessary and just vindication of our common rights and Properties, against those treacherous and faithless invaders of them; I therefore now offer you the War Belt

Gave the War Belt

A Seneca cheif laid hold of it, sung the War song and danced. The Shawanese King did so next, and then the Delaware King with remarkable warmth; after that the cheif Warriors of the River Indians danced and sung, and so it went round through every nation at the Meeting, and at night there was a grand War dance at which were present above 150 Indians, Sachems and Warriors and they continued dancing till morning

Thus ended the second days conference

Fort Johnson 12<sup>th</sup> July 1756

PRESENT— as before

Interpreters M<sup>r</sup> Montour and M<sup>r</sup> Clement

The Answer of the Mohickanders or River Indians to S<sup>r</sup> Williams speech to them the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We return you our unfeigned thanks, that you turned your thoughts towards us, and took us as it were by the hand and brought us up hither, and that you sent a person on purpose to conduct and provide for us, we found no obstructions in our way but the road was smooth and pleasant. It gives us also great pleasure to see so many of our uncles of the 6 Nations here at this Fire Place and also our own cheifs (meaning the Delaware King &c) and—Bretheren we are sincerely rejoiced to see these our Relations acting together in so harmonious a manner and we do by this Belt assure you Brother, that we join in this Harmony and shall endeavour to secure & promote it by stedfastly acting in concert with them, and the longer we live the more firm we hope this happy union will subsist between us all—

Gave a large painted Belt.

S<sup>r</sup> William replied

Bretheren

What you now have said, is extreamly satisfactory to me and I doubt not it is so to your uncles the 6 Nations, I persuade myself you will always act up to your Professions, which will obtain the Great King your Fathers favor, and my care of you. and this assurance I now give you in the presence of your uncles the 6 Nations

Sir William then retired with some Sachems of the 6 Nations asked their opinion, and did with their concurrence on his return make the following Speech

**Bretheren of the Delaware & Mohickander Nations**

In consideration of the Promises you have made, and the solemn engagements you have now entered into, and in full confidence of your future suitable behavior I do in the name of the Great King of England your Father, declare, that henceforward you are to be considered as Men by all your Bretheren the English and no longer as women and I hope that your Bretheren of the Six Nations will take it into consideration follow my example and remove this invidious distinction, which I shall recommend to them        Gave a Belt hereupon and put Medals round the necks of the Shawanese and Delaware chiefs, and also to the chief Sachem of the River Indians accompanied with the usual exhortation, also gave silver Gorgets to some of their head Warriors

When this ceremony was ended Sr William acquainted them, that he had this morning sent an express, to General Abercrombie at Albany, desiring him to advertise the Southern Governments, that all matters were happily concluded and settled, with the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, and told them that if in their return home, or at any time they should meet or know of any parties of French or Indians going against any of the English Settlements, if they were not strong enough to hinder them, they should give the most speedy Notice possible to their Bretheren, to be on their Guard that this would be a convincing Proof of their brotherly affection & Friendship

This the faithfully promised to do

The fire was then covered and an end put to all public business

At night they had the War dance again at which all the Nations were present and assisted

So ended

A: M: Albany July 19. 1756

Some Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations, and of the River Indians who attended Sir William Johnson to this City, having desired to see Major General Abercrombie and Sir Charles Hardy, They appointed this morning for the interview, at which were

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson	Lieut Col: Page,	Major Haket,
Col Webb,	Lt Coll Burton	Capt <sup>n</sup> Abercrombie <sup>1</sup> &c &c.
Interpreters Mr Montour	Mr Stevens	Mr Clement
Peter Wraxal Secretary.		

Canadagaye chief Sachem of the Lower Mohawk Castle spoke for the Indians, and said as follows, addressing himself to General Abercrombie and Sir Charles Hardy

<sup>1</sup> JAMES ABERCROMBIE was promoted to a captaincy in the 42d, or first Battallion of Royal Highlanders, on the 16th February, 1756. On the 5th May, 1759, he was appointed aid-de-camp to Major-General Amherst, with whom he made the campaigns of that and the following year. On the 25th of July, 1760, he was appointed Major of the 78th or second Highland Battallion, and in September following, was employed by General Amherst in communicating to the Marquis de Vaudreuil the conditions preparatory to the surrender of Montreal and in obtaining the signature of that Governor to them. *Knox's Journal*. The 78th Regiment having been disbanded in 1763, Major Abercrombie retired on half pay. On 27th March, 1770, he again entered active service as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 22d Regiment, then serving in America under the command of Lieutenant-General Gage, and was killed in the memorable Battle of Bunker Hill, on the 17th June, 1775. — Ed.

## Bretheren

By these Strings of Wampum, we do in particular to you the General who is lately arrived in this country, after the Fatigues and dangers of a long voyage refresh you upon the same, clear your Throat and wipe away from this Place all sort of Defilement, which the Blood that hath been lately spilt, may have made and make it decent and comfortable to you The Governor we had a glympse of last fall, and we do again welcome him to this country —

Gave 4 Strings of Wampum

## Brother (addressing themselves to the Genl)

As it hath pleased God to bring you in health and safety hither, our Warriors here present were impatient to see you in order to tell you, that their Loins are girt, their Packs on their Backs, and only wait to be called upon in order to join His Majestys Troups against the enemy, They hope you will proceed with more vigor and show yourself in a more formidable Light, than has been hitherto done, and the 6 Nations hold themselves in readiness to join and assist his Majestys arms, in driving off the invaders of our country, and unless you do proceed with Vigor and despatch we are afraid more and more of our country, will fall into the enemys hands, and therefore by this Belt we desire you will exert yourself accordingly, and you may depend on the assistance of the 6 Nations

Gave a Broad Belt

The General then and S<sup>r</sup> Chas. Hardy returned the ceremony of welcome to them and gave

4 Strings of Wampum

Sir William then told them in the Generals Name, that he was glad to see so many of their Sachems and Warriors together, and obliged to them for this visit that their readiness and Declaration of joining His Majestys arms, was extreemly satisfactory to him — That they might depend every thing would be put in the greatest forwardness, and most formidable posture to reduce the common enemy to justice, and secure their country and His Majestys Dominions — That the King their Father had sent over an other General with a large body of Troops, who was hourly expected, and on his arrival would take on him the cheif command & they might assure themselves that the most prudent and vigorous measures would be taken against the enemy, and that no time would be lost in putting them into effect. And in confirmat<sup>n</sup> of this he gave them

A Belt of Wampum

The Indians during the Speech gave their Marks of approbation & seemed extreemly pleased & an Oneida Warrior took up the Generals Belt & danced the War dance which was followed by several more They General treated them all with Wine to drink the Kings Health

A true Copy from the Records of  
S<sup>r</sup> William Johnsons Indian Proceedings

Examined by me

PETER WRAXALL

Sec<sup>y</sup>.

Fort Johnson 10 Sep. 1756



*Lords of Trade to the Governors in America.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 44, p. 123. ]

## Circular letter to all the Governors in America

Sir

It having been represented to His Majesty, that the several Islands and Colonies belonging to the French in America have in times of War, been frequently supplied with Provisions of various kinds by means of the Trade carried on from his Majesty's Islands and Colonies to the Colonies and Settlements belonging to the Dutch and other neutral powers; It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do forthwith upon the receipt of this order, give immediate directions that an Embargo be laid during His Majesty's Pleasure upon all Ships and Vessels clearing out with provisions from any Port or Place within your Government, except those which shall be employ'd in carrying Provisions to any other of His Majestys Colonies or Plantations, which Ship or Vessels are to be allowed to sail from time to time, provided that the Masters or owners do before they are permitted to take any Provisions on Board enter into Bonds (with two sureties of known residence there and ability to answer the Penalty) with the Chief Officers of the Customs of the Ports or Places from whence such Ships or Vessels shall set sail, to the value of £1000 if the Ship be of less burthen than 100 tons and of the Sum of £2000 if above that burthen that the Cargos of such Ships or Vessels, the particulars of which are to be express'd in the Bonds, shall not be landed in any other Ports or places, than such as belong to his Majesty or are in possession of His Subjects and that they will within twelve months after the date thereof, the danger of the Seas excepted produce certificates under the hands and Seals of the principal Officers of the Customs at such ports or places, for which such Ships or Vessels cleared out, that the said Cargoes expressing the particulars thereof have actually been landed there and when there shall be cause to suspect that such certificates are false and counterfeit you shall take especial care that such security be not cancelled or vacated untill you shall have been informed from the said principal Officers of the Customs that the matter and contents thereof are just and true, and in case the Masters or owners of such ships or Vessels shall not produce the said certificates within the time limited, you are to attest the copies of such Bonds under your hand and Seal and to cause prosecution thereof; and you are also to give directions, that no person be admitted to be Security for another who has Bonds standing out undischarged, unless to be esteemed responsible for more than the value of such Bonds.

And in order the more fully to answer his Majesty's intention of distressing the enemy and to render his orders herein the more effectual you are to take care in case the Masters or Owners of any Ships or Vessels having cleared out from the Colony under your Government laden with provisions from any of his Majesty's other Colonies or Islands, shall be detected in causing Collusive Captures to be made of the cargoes that the severest penalties be inflicted upon the offenders which the laws will in such case allow of.

We are Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>

DUNK HALIFAX

ANDREW STONE

JAMES OSWALD

Whitehall

Oct<sup>r</sup> 9, 1756.

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 55.]

Fort George, New York, 13 October 1756

My Lords,

In my last to your Lordships of the 5<sup>th</sup> of September I acquainted you that the General Assembly was to meet the 21<sup>st</sup>. I now enclose you my speech upon the opening the Session, with the addresses of the Council and General Assembly. I was in hopes I should have been able by this Packet to have informed you how farr they have proceeded on the several points I have recommended to them, but find by the Minutes of the Assembly they are not so forward as to enable me to say with certainty what they will do. I find they have passed a Bill for quartering His Majesty's troops, but of such a Complexion that will require great amendment, which I shall endeavour to obtain. They have also brought in Bills for a Stamp duty, and Excise upon Tea, which I hope may raise a good fund for Cancelling Bills of Credit.

Your Lordships may observe I have pointed out to the General Assembly how inadequate the salaries are to His Majesty's Governor and other officers of Government, This I judged highly proper, and have given some of them to understand, in private Conversation, that I do expect they grant me the full salary, and make up the deficiency of £1560 this currency, which amounts to no more at the present exchange than £566 Sterling. How farr I shall be able to prevail with them in this particular I do not know, They have it now under consideration, and I shall not fail of urging them to a compliance, which if they refuse I hope I shall have your Lordships' Concurrence in refusing to assent to their Bill for the support of Government.

I have not yet laid before the General Assembly His Majesty's directions, (signified to me by Your Lordships' letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of April last,) for their making provision for determining the lines in dispute between this Province and that of the Massachusetts Bay, and New Jersey, as I judged the present business before them of more consequence to the public service, which when finished, I shall give all due attention to your Lordships' directions in this and every other particular.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> Instant, I received by the Generall Wall Packet, His Majesty's Additional Instructions bearing date the 5<sup>th</sup> of July last, to hinder all correspondence with the subjects of the French King, and to prevent any provisions or warlike Stores being carried from this Province to the French Colonies or Plantations. I shall strictly adhere to his Majesty's pleasure in these particulars, and your Lordships' letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> July. To prevent the French Islands being supplied with provisions by means of the Dutch and Danish Islands, I prevailed on the neighboring Provision Colonies to concur with this in passing Laws to prohibit the Exportation to any of those Islands. But I found great difficulty in getting them to continue those laws beyond a limited time. I then proposed to the severall Governors to continue the prohibition by orders of Governor and Council, and sent them a copy of such an order I made, which still continues in force, but could not prevail with them. And I must beg leave to observe to your Lordships that it is to no purpose for one Colony to lay a prohibition, if the others are not obliged to do the same, and that if some measures are not taken to compel them to it, the French will never want supplies by means of the Neutral Islands. As I took some pains on this point this spring, so I strictly examined some Masters of Vessels from S<sup>t</sup> Eustatia, from whom I learned that several vessels arrived at that Island, with

provisions from the Ports of Ireland. If this is not stopped, I am afraid Prohibitory laws in the Colonies will not answer this salutary purpose.

I this day received a letter from Lord Loudoun, dated the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, at Fort Edward, with nothing particular in it, but some letters from some of the Officers who were taken Prisoners, by which we learn they are well, and well treated, They are soon to be removed to Quebec. By these letters it appears that Lieut Colonel Mercer, and Delacour of the Artillery were killed, and about 12, or 14 men. These letters were brought from Montreal by an Indian, and hung upon a tree near Fort William Henry.

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

The Right Honorable,  
The Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations.

most obedient &

Most humble servant

CHAS<sup>r</sup> HARDY.

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 61.]

Fort George New York 27 Oct 1756

My Lords

In my letter to you of the 6<sup>th</sup> of January last I transmitted to your Ldps an account of the number of Cannon in this Province. Since that time the works then in hand in this city are compleated and the Cannon mounted as far as they will go, several burst in proving, which added to 6 eighteen Pounders I sent to Albany at General Abercrombies request, has greatly reduced our numbers, as the inclosed will more fully inform you

Fort George has gone through great repairs and is now compleated—Two side & three Bastions Command the Rivers leading to the City, and should properly have heavy Cannon mounted, for the defence of the Harbour. Your Lordships will please to observe, they are all but one 12 & 9 pounders, pour ordinance for such a defence In the spring other works are to be constructed in the east River for the defence of the Harbour, that will require twenty or twenty four, twenty four Pounders.

It will be highly proper to put this Province into a state of Defence from any attack by Sea, that some heavy Cannon should be mounted in the Narrows, and upon Nutten Island, a Ground, if the enemy should attempt this Country with a Fleet, they will make themselves Masters and from whence they can easily bombard this city, Twenty four Pieces of Cannon may be sufficient for those two Posts

Having now laid before your Lordships the state of this city with respect to its fortifications compleated and to be constructed the number of Cannon now mounted & wanted, I must beg leave in behalf of this Province, to beg your Lordships will please to take the same, into your consideration and to pray your Lordships intercession with His Majesty, that we may be furnisht with the Cannon wanted to compleat our Works when finished together with a proportion of Ball and impliments for the same I would beg leave to add, that we have not



one mortar or Cohorn, all which I hope your Lordships will judge necessary for the defence of this valuable Colony should any attempt be made upon it

I have not lately heard from Lord Loudoun, who I am informed is return<sup>d</sup> to Fort Edward from Fort William Henry where he stayed three or four days, every thing appears very quiet in that quarter

As many of the Gentlemen of His Majestys Council, are of the Bench, or advocates, and the Supreme Court sitting, the Council have not been able to meet, to consider and go through the several Bills, sent up from the General Assembly, so that I can not inform your Lordships of them

I have the honor to be  
Your Lordships

To the Rt Honorable  
The Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> for  
Trade & Plantations

most obedient and most  
humble servant  
CHAS HARDY



*Reverend William Smith to the Right Reverend Dr. Secker.*

[ " Americann Colonies MS." Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 105. ]

My Lord

The Misery and distress of this unhappy province, bleeding under the Murderous knives of a savage enemy, instigated and led on by popish cruelty, have been so unspeakably great, and the confusions arising from a Quaker Government, obstinately persevering in their absurd pacific Polity, while the sword of the enemy was at our throats, have so thoroughly engrossed my attention, and engaged my weak endeavours to defeat such wicked principles, and procure relief to a miserable people; that I hope to be excused for not having sooner returned my humble acknowledgements for the honour of Your Lordship's letter of February the first, 1755, by the Reverend M<sup>r</sup> Barton.

I am extremely rejoiced that the worthy Society are so well convinced of the importance of sending Missionaries to the Frontier of our Colonies; and that they took in good part my endeavours to set that matter in a true and striking point of view. The more I consider it, the more I see its importance to the Protestant interest. If the people of the Frontiers were duly sensible of our inestimable privileges, and animated with the true spirit of Protestantism, they would be as a wall of brass round these Colonies; and would rise with a noble ardour to oppose every attempt of a heathen or popish enemy against us. For none were ever brave without some principle or another to animate their conduct; and of all principles, surely a rational sense of British freedom and the purity of our holy religion, is the noblest. Indeed nothing but such a sense propagated and spread to the utmost verge of our Colonies, can keep our people from being drawn off and mixing with our popish enemies the French, who are still coming nearer and nearer to us and have lately planted a fine Colony of German and other Catholics on the Ohio, near where it falls into the Mississippi; from whence they now supply all their Garrisons on that river, and which will undoubtedly prove a drain or colluvies to receive many of our disaffected Germans and others.

It was from apprehensions of this kind, that I took the liberty to write so fully to the Society when Mr Barton went for holy orders; and since that we have still farther accounts of the growing state of the said French-German Colony. It was from the same apprehensions I so warmly pressed, and so earnestly engaged in, the scheme for planting English schools among our Germans. which now flourish as well as the distracted state of the Country permits; and Your Lordship may depend, that they shall always be conducted with "a due regard to the interests of the Church of England." For, in truth, it is but one part of the same noble scheme in which the venerable Society are engaged; and wherever there are Missionaries near any of the schools, they are either employed as Masters or named among the deputy trustees and Managers of the school. In short, till we can succeed in making our Germans speak English and become good Protestants, I doubt we shall never have a firm hold of them. For this reason, the extending the means of their instruction, as far as they extend their settlement is a matter that deserves our most attentive consideration. I am pleased therefore that your Lordship, and the Society, have given me leave to mention such other places on the frontiers as may be fit to place Missionaries in, so that the Kingdom of Christ may keep pace in its growth, with the growth of the English Colonies. This liberty I shall not fail to make due use of, and likewise to offer a scheme for uniting with the church, all the German Lutherans of this Country; which I am sure would easily take effect. But this is not the time for anything of that nature. Our frontiers at present are so far from extending themselves, or wanting the erection of New Missions, that I fear some of those already erected must fall. Poor Mr Barton<sup>1</sup> has stood it upwards of a year, at the risk of his life, like a good Soldier of Jesus Christ, sometimes heading his people in the character of a clergyman, and sometimes in that of a Captain, being often obliged when they should go to church, to gird on their swords and go against the enemy. If he and two worthy presbyterian Ministers, had not stood it out, I believe all the parts beyond Susquehanah, where his Mission lies, would have been long ago deserted. I ventured out three weeks ago to visit him and some of our German schools in his neighbourhood, and found him universally beloved by his people. But their love is the most they can give him in their present distress state; and therefore I wish your Lordship would move the honourable Society, to make him some gratuity above his Salary in these troublesome times. I am sure he both wants and deserves it.

I enclose a letter which I sent him after Braddock's defeat, and which he printed with a Sermon. I hope Your Lordship will think it worth perusal, as it agrees so nearly with the sentiments contained in the excellent instructions lately sent over from the Society— But alas! we are here in a sad situation. To meddle with the duty of defence, or paying taxes, or supporting our invaluable rights, will in this province infallibly expose us to party rage. The Quakers, although their own preachers dare publicly propagate notions of non-resistance, non-payment of taxes, and other rebellious doctrines, yet they are sure to wreak their utmost

<sup>1</sup> Reverend THOMAS BARTON was a native of Ireland and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. After coming to this country, he was employed as an assistant in the College of Philadelphia for more than two years. He married, in 1753, the sister of David Rittenhouse, the distinguished astronomer, and in 1754, went to England, where he received Holy Orders; was appointed a Missionary to the western part of Pennsylvania, and resided in Reading township, near York, from 1755 to 1759. He was chaplain to General Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1758, and afterwards removed to Lancaster, where he resided as Rector until 1778, when he was obliged, in consequence of his adherence to the Royal cause, to remove to the city of New-York, where he died on the 25th May, 1780, at the age of 50 years. William Barton, author of the *Memoirs of Rittenhouse* and Benjamin Smith Barton, M. D., the well known professor of the University of Pennsylvania, were sons of the rector of Lancaster.— Ed.

vengeance against us, if we venture, in consequence of our duty, to oppose such poisonous tenets. I have ever been exposed to the Martyrdom of my character on this account; but I remain yet unhurt; and were it otherwise, I should glory in suffering in so good a cause. It is true, I shall never meddle otherwise in such matters, than becomes a good subject, who is a friend to Government, yet at the same time I scorn to burn incense on the altar of popular folly, or to be a silent spectator of my country's ruin. To conceive Your Lordship, however, with what temper I have managed my part of the opposition to such destructive tenets, I enclose a paper called Plain Truth, which I hope your Lordship will also peruse, as it will give a most striking representation of the present state of the province, and the moderation as well as warmth of those arguments by which we are obliged to combat the doctrines that have so long most unnaturally tied up our hands, and exposed us to be passively slaughtered by a cruel foe.—

I had the honor to receive a letter lately from the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr Bearcroft<sup>1</sup> in name of the Society, relating to a plan for educating some Indian Children at the College and Academy of Philadelphia. This I think a most excellent proposal and perfectly agreeable to the great original design of the Society; namely—"The glorifying the name of *Jesus*, by the further enlargement of his church, and particularly the spreading his everlasting gospel among the heathen natives of America, as well by instructing and civilizing those of them that are grown up, as by laying a foundation for educating, clothing and training up their children in the knowledge of morality, true religion, the English tongue, and in some trade, mystery or lawful calling, should they be disposed to follow it." This the Society have been frequently attempting in various places, and though God has not yet been pleased to grant any remarkable degree of success, yet still the design is worthy of being persisted in. For if ever the savages are converted to Christianity, their conversion must begin among the rising generation by a more general education of their children, since the few that have been hitherto educated by us, are but as a drop of tincture thrown into a large collection of waters, and lost therein; being too inconsiderable to have any effect. It would be well, therefore, if in every Colony bordering on any Indian Nations, there were a provision for educating such of their Children as can be persuaded to accept of it, and the more publicly this is done, so much the better; who knows the time when, or the means by which, the Lord may be pleased to bless the great work. If but one savage should be truly illuminated with the true spirit of Christianity, it is worth all the expense—Perhaps even that *one* might convert thousands—and after all, if they should return, like the sow to her wallowing in the mire yet still their being publicly educated among us, will give them connections with us, and at least leave some impressions of humanity among them especially to such of us as they may have known at school

The great difficulty is to persuade them to accept of such an offer. The Government must be security for their good treatment; and none but the provincial interpreters with the credit of our Governors and great men, can prevail on them to trust us with their children. In this view, the College and Academy of Philadelphia has a fair chance. The province have never broke faith with the Indians, and the chief men in the province are engaged in the trust and direction of our Academy. We have now two Indian Children of a considerable family who have been at it these two years, and can now read and write English &c and if any body can engage more to come, it is Mr Weiser our interpreter and the credit of the Trustees of the

<sup>1</sup> REV. PHILIP BEARCROFT, D. D., succeeded Dr. Humphreys as Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, in 1739, and filled the office until 1761. — ED.



Academy. As I have the honor to be Provost of it, nothing shall be wanting on my part in so good a work. I have mentioned the terms to Dr Bearcroft more fully, to which I beg leave to refer Your Lordship for such points as are not here mentioned, and perhaps this letter may be of use with regard to some things I have not had time to mention in his. I enclose a view of the College-part of our institution by which your Lordship will see that our plan is an extensive and liberal one. The Academy is the lower part of it, confined to the English language, writing and the mechanic arts.

The bearer of this is the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Israel Acrelius, a learned Swede, who has been several years Commissary to the Swedish Congregations on Delaware, and now returns to considerable preferment in his own Country, as a reward of his faithful labours. He is well entitled to the honour of Your Lordship's Notice, and knows the state of all the Missions in this province perfectly well. There is a good deal of confusion in some of them, and as he is an impartial person, his account will no doubt be of weight should he be called upon. He has often preached in English, and made use of our service. His chief abode was near Newcastle, which now apply to have Mr Cleveland for a Missionary, as he could not find admittance at Lewes, whither he was sent by the Society, which deserves no further notice till they discharge the disorderly and worthless man who has excluded Mr Cleveland. The people of Newcastle are very fond of Mr Cleveland<sup>1</sup> and he is a worthy man, and will prevent the church from going to pieces, as I fear it otherwise will, if three or four removes are made in our Missions, which I hear proposed, without any good reason that I can learn. There are many other circumstances that deserve consideration before such removes are made, which I have no call to mention, as I am but little connected with what relates to Missionaries—I leave all to Mr Acrelius<sup>2</sup> who will be on the spot, and can have no interest in being partial, as he is never to return to this place.

I hope Your Lordship will excuse the length of this letter, and take in good part the freedom wherewith I speak my honest sentiments, relating to the weighty subjects it treats of. When Your Lordship can spare a few Moments from the important duties of your station, to favor me with any future commands in return to this (which I shall earnestly expect) the Honourable Mr Penn, at his house in spring Garden will find means to convey it. I have the honour to be

My Lord

Philadelphia

Nov<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1756

Your Lordship's most

dutiful Son & Servant

(signed) WILLIAM SMITH

My Lord of Oxford—

<sup>1</sup> Reverend Mr. CLEVELAND died at Newcastle, Del., of dropsy, in 1757. *Society's Abstract for 1758*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> REV. ISAAC ACRELIUS came to America in Nov. 1749, and resided in this country more than six years. On his return to Sweden, he resumed the pastoral duties at Fellingsbro, and died in 1800, at the advanced age of 86 years. In the year 1759, he published a work relating to the early history of the settlements on the Delaware river, entitled "Beskrifning om de Svenska Församlingars Form och Närvarande Tilstånd, utdet så kallade Nya Sverige, sedan Nya Nederland, men nu fortyden Pennsylvanien, saunt nastliggande orter wid Allwien Delaware, West Jersey och New Castle County uti Norra America. Utigfwen of Israel Acrelius, fordetta Probst ofwer Svenska Forsamlingar i America och Kyrkoherde uti, Fellingsbro, Stockholm: 1759." [Description of the present and former state of the Swedish Congregations in New Sweden so called, since New Netherland and now Pennsylvania, and in the neighbouring parts on Delaware Bay, West Jersey and New Castle county, in North America. Published by Israel Acrelius, late Provost of the Swedish churches in America, and Pastor at Fellingsbro, Stockholm: 1759.] Sm. 4to, pp. 534. This work is divided into eight books; the first three contain the civil and political history of the country under the Swedish, Dutch and English governments, to the time when the author wrote; the five last are devoted to the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedish congregations. 2 *Collections of New-York Historical Society*, I., 402; *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*, III., ix. — Ed.

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 84. ]

My Lords

The 10<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> last, I had the Honor to write your Lordships with a copy of my proceedings at the Congress held at Onondaga and the subsequent Treaty at my House with the Shawanese and Delaware Indians

Herewith I transmitt to your Ldps a copy of my Proceedings in Indian affairs from the 21<sup>st</sup> of July to 17 Sept<sup>r</sup> about which time as your Lordship may perceive by the last transaction I received my Lord Loudouns orders to collect as great a number of Indians as time and circumstances would permit in order to march with him to Fort Edward, and to join His Majestys Troops there—Capt<sup>n</sup> Wraxall offered himself to head a party of Indians then at my House, in order to escort Lord Loudoun, and marched accordingly with about 50 for Albany and from thence to Fort Edward a few days after M<sup>r</sup> Croghon marched through the woods with about 100 more to Fort Edward I followed the same Road with about 50 more, leaving orders at my House for a number of the upper Indians who were coming down on my summons to join me at Fort Edward, but as the Season was far advanced and the enemy leaving the field, I received my Lord Loudouns directions to send and stop any more Indians from coming, in order to save the consumption of Provisions at Fort Edward, and the other expences which would have attended their Proceeding

By these measures the meeting of the Deputies of the 6 Nations which I mentioned to your Lordships in my last letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> and which I expected would soon take place, was retarded The Deputies are now at my house and wait my return from hence to proceed upon business, so that I can not as I expected give your Lordships the intelligence I promised, it must therefore be deferred to my next letter which I shall write as soon as the depending congress is over

In my last letter I suggested to your Lordships the effects which the loss of Oswego had, and would probably have upon the Temper and dispositions of the 6 Nations They have indeed many of them of every Nation since that unfortunate surrender gone upon Service and joined His Matys Troops, but this hath been with evident reluctancy, with a kind of sullen reserve and void of that spirited Zeal which would have naturally animated them had they been heartily disposed towards us. This behaviour was too plainly manifested to escape the notice of persons of all Ranks in the army, and was by many in my humble opinion too severely and too publickly answered — Tho' I would be far from justifying their Behavior, yet I would wish our indignation to be tempered with Prudence and good Policy for those who may think their assistance a point of indiffe[re]nce, would I beleive were they absolutely to turn against us, find them a very consequential enemy. I drop these reflections my Lords because I have reason to suspect, that some Dablers in Indian Politicks will transmit to their correspondants in England, opinions & Prejudices which may have ill consequences

Tho' the defeat of Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock and the loss of Oswego have greatly contributed to confuse and weaken our Indian Interest, yet I am at the same time convinced these are not the only causes. I have frequently mentioned it to your Lordships, that the discontent of the Indians in general, and of the 6 Nations in particular on account of the Ohio and Pensilvania Grants and Patents and those which I have formerly named to your Lordships, are some of the

most considerable causes of the weakness of our Indian Interest and cheif obstructions to the revival and encrease of it. And with regard to the Northern Indians within my Department I am clearly of opinion, that unless we are able and so successful as totally to demolish the French Power in these Parts, we never shall be able to raise our Indian Interest on a solid and respectable Foundation, unless by breaking these Grants and Patents and thereby putting an end to the jealousies of the Indians on that account, and depriving the French of their only argument with the Indians for their retaining & building Forts in their country; were the Indians satisfied with us on this great Point, I am persuaded without the intervention of any considerable armament, they would soon put the French under the necessity of abandoning all the Forts they have built in the Indian Back Country, when by putting our Trade under proper regulations we might tie the Indians to us by such strong and natural Ligaments that we should have little to fear from the French and at the same time reap unmolested the Profits of an immense furr trade

All this may possibly be effected by Force and conquest, but which of the two measures is most eligible, I leave to be determined where it is my duty to leave it, at the same time I beg leave to assure your Lordships, that under our present circumstances I shall do my duty in the Department His Majesty hath honored and entrusted me with, to the utmost of my abilities, with unwearied diligence and strict integrity

I have my Lords reasons to suspect, that some matters of great importance are on the Tapis, between most of the Indians in these parts; not only those in alliance with us, but with the French also, & I have hopes it will turn out to our advantage. At the approaching meeting I shall endeavour to penetrate into this affair, and I hope at least to get hold of the clue.

From some parts of their late conduct, and hints dropped to me from them, I am persuaded our Six Nations have somewhat which if not yet ripe will soon be enough so to reveal to me and I imagine when this affair opens it will account for a great deal of their recent Behaviour which has I confess appeared very mysterious

Permit me my Lords before I enter upon a new subject to do so much justice to the Indians as to remark to your Ldps the services we might have, and have received from their intelligence since His Majestys sword has been drawn in North America

Had their intelligence been duly regarded and improved upon, Genl Braddock would not probably have been defeated this hath been acknowledged to me by several principal officers who were in that service and corroborated by the account I have received from the Indians

Their intelligence enabled us at Lake George to take those timely measures, to which may justly be imputed the Repulse the Baron Dieskau mett with

Had their intelligence been credited & their advice pursued, Bulls Fort at the Oneida carrying Place might have been saved, or at least the Garrison & stores preserved

From last January to the day before the French attacked Oswego the Indians gave repeated intelligence of the designs and motions of the enemy and when the French were but two miles from Oswego, they gave the first notice of it to the commanding officer there

After the surrender of Oswego, the Indians exhorted us to draw our Forces towards Lake George and assured us the French had determined to attack Fort William Henry. My Lord Loudoun did move the Troops up that way and by Prisoners and other intelligence it has appeared that an attack upon Fort William Henry was actually proposed and was prevented by my Lords marching the Troops to Fort Edward



These Facts in some measure appear from the Indian records which I have and do now transmitt to your Lordships and I have in my hands authentic papers which fully confirm them

Herewith I transmit your Lordships my account of Indian expences from the commencement of my present managem<sup>t</sup> My Lord Loudoun hath a copy of it, and I have told his Lordship that I have vouchers ready to produce for every article the nature of which would admit of one

I beg leave to assure your Lordships that I have acted on every occasion with all the Frugality which the good of the service would permit. The situation of our Indian affairs when the managem<sup>t</sup> of them was devolved upon me, and the circumstances of our public affairs since have in general raised the expence much higher, than I hope it will hereafter be as to the 6 Nations, besides which some particular circumstances have added no small sums to the amount these I have noted at the Bottom

Your Ldps may depend that while I have the management of Indian affairs I shall be as saving as Prudence & circumstances will allow, and I have and will act will all that integrity which is so justly expected of me.—I have the Honor to be &c

Albany Nov 10<sup>th</sup> 1756.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

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*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[New-York Papers, Li., No. 35.]

Fort Johnson 21 July. 1756

Several Onondaga Warriors & Cheifs arrived whom Sir William Johnson cloathed and armed 22 July. Several Schoharee & Aughquagey Indians arrived, whom Sir William also cloathed and armed

The Schoharee Indians acquainted him, their Fort was almost finished, and would be glad to have an officer with whom they were acquainted, and a party of men posted there, for the protection of their wives and children, whilst they went out to war with Sir William which they said they were waiting for every day— Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Sir William assured them they should have an officer and a party of Men there and thanked them for the readiness they expressed to join him; he told them he would shortly call all their People to his House and cloath and arm them, also the River Indians who were settled amongst them— 3 Strings

They returned many thanks and promised they would be always ready at a call

23 July Several Delawares from the Western Branches of the Susquehanna arrived at Fort Johnson, and acquainted S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> that there were about 100 Men of their People by the way, and would be here in two days, and that they were sent before to let him know it, that he might provide Provisions for them, both at his House and on the Road. He dispatched two of them with an order to John Wells at Cherry Valley and to Robert Flint to supply them by the way and to tell them he was ready to receive them and would be glad to see them at his House

The same day a son of Bunt an Onondaga Sachem, with Tagagedōra a Warrior, and 16 more Onondaga Indians arrived in order to be cloathed and armed which was accordingly

done to their satisfaction—Three sons of the Bunt<sup>s</sup> in particular had several fine things given them, together with laced Hatts as their Father is cheif of the Onondaga and a firm friend to the English Interest

The returned many thanks, and promised to be ready at any time to join our arms

The same day Sir William redeemed an English boy taken Prisoner some time last winter at Juniata, the Indian he bought him from, paid the Indian who took him £5, otherwise they would have carried him to the French at the Ohio, after paying the boys ransom, Sir William cloathed and armed the Indian, and gave his wife cloaths, and they parted greatly pleased and promised to remain freinds to the English

24 July. Cloathed & armed 10 onondagas more to whom S<sup>r</sup> William gave 10 Bags of Corn, a Battoe and cash to purchase sundry necessaries, the cheif mans name was Tekawaghsoweghte, Sir William also threw a large Black Belt, to go and get him a prisoner in the room of Capt<sup>n</sup> Stoddert, killed at the Lake and their great freind which they expected and promised to perform as soon as they got home

25 July Sir William called a Meeting of all the Nations present, viz : Senecas, Cayougas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Canajoharies, Mohawks Mohickanders, Delawares, Shawanese, Aughquages and Chucknutts, and after the usual complim<sup>ts</sup> and ceremonies he told them that as Lord Loudoun was not yet arrived he would have some of the Warriors of the 6 Nations go to Canada, and try, whether the Hatchet he lately sharpned for them at Onondaga would cut well, if not that he would give it a better edge (and thereupon delivered a large War Belt :) which Thomas an Aughquaga Cheif took and rose up singing the War song, and gave assurances he would go and muster his men, and make Trial of it in a very few days, after which he delivered it to an Onondaga Cheif to whom S<sup>r</sup> William had given a Belt the morning before. He answered that he had the Hatchett given by S<sup>r</sup> William and was going to use it as soon as he got to his Castle ; he deliver<sup>d</sup> it to the Oneidas and desired they together with the other Nations present would make use of it—Then Capt<sup>n</sup> Montour, whom S<sup>r</sup> William had appointed a Captain of a party of Indians rose up and sung his War Song, and told them all, he intended to set off for Canada in 3 or 4 days and hoped to be back time enough to join His Majestys forces. S<sup>r</sup> William order<sup>d</sup> an entertainment for all the Warriors then present at which they danced the War dance; and several joined M<sup>r</sup> Montours Party.

26 July. Sir William Cloathed and armed several Delaware and Shawanese Indians, who came from the Southward and told him there were many more by the Road

Several Indians arrived this day from different Parts, among which were some Tuscaroras, who said there were above 80 more of that Nation by the way and would be here the next day.

27 July. Six Seneca Warriors (who came with one Abeel an Albany Trader, to help him down with a Parcel of Skins, which he fraudulently got in the Seneca country) arrived here and told S<sup>r</sup> William they were very ill used by one Capt<sup>n</sup> Williams who was posted at the Oneida Carrying Place, that on their arrival there he told them he looked upon them to be in the French Interest, and so disarmed them on which they asked him if he looked upon them in that light why he did not confine them, he answered if their Nation were all there he would do so. They asked who he had it from he answered from Sir William Johnson by a letter—On which they desired some Onondagas who were there, to run with the News to their Nation and let them know the danger they were in

Sir William told them it was a villanous falsehood of William's own coining & at the same time let them know that he was a Prisoner now at Albany for using the Indians of Oneida & other Nations after the same manner and told them he would let the General know this, which when added to his crimes would sink him they said he deserved it & was a bad man

Gave them Pipes & Tobacco and a glass of Rum, also Tents to lodge in & Provisions telling them that the next day they should all be armed and cloathed—They were accordingly arm'd and cloathed for which they were very thankful

28<sup>th</sup> July In the afternoon 20 Mohawk Warriors of the Tribe of the Turtle, came to show themselves at S<sup>r</sup> Williams House and to receive their orders, also to know whether he would allow some young men from Albany to join them as a scalping design as Volunteers. After Sir William convinced them that the Albany men had acted wrong in not first applying to him, he told them they might take them along and to agree as brothers whilst they were together. S<sup>r</sup> William then ordered them to proceed directly to Canada, and take and destroy as many of the enemy as they could, also destroy and burn every thing belonging to the enemy in their Power After giving the white men the same lesson, he bid them farewell, assuring them if they behaved bravely, he would use them well on their return; which they promised to do and so parted—

The same day about 6 oclock P M

105 of the Delaware, Nantiokes and Aughquaga Indians arrived in a Body, when they came near the House they fired incessantly for a quarter of an hour. The compliment was returned by a Discharge of 3 small Canôn which gave them great Pleasure the Interpret<sup>r</sup> brought them into the Council Room where Sir William received them by shaking hands all round. Then M<sup>r</sup> Montour stood up and performed the ceremony of wiping the Tears from their eyes clearing their speech, and covering the bodies of all their friends, whom they had lately lost

with 6 Strings Wampum

Peter a Delaware Sachem stood up & said  
Brother Johnson

As it is now late, and our old People much fatigued after a long journey we shall defer saying any thing this Night, in the morning you may expect to hear us speak. The Interpreter was then ordered to shew them their Quarters and give Provisions—After drinking the Kings Health they had their Pipes & Tobacco and so parted for the night.

EOD. DIE. 8 oclock evening

Sir William had a meeting with the Senecas who came down with John Abeels Skins, and gave them 8 Strings of Wampum, desiring they would as soon as possible undeceive their Nation and the others with regard to the villanous falsehoods, which Capt<sup>n</sup> Williams told them at the carrying Place, and that they would let them all know he was now a Prisoner at Albany & would be tried for the several misdemeanors and crimes laid to his charge. This they promised to do immediately, and added that they were fully satisfied that what he said with regard to S<sup>r</sup> William was false, and so ended



At a Meeting of a number of the Mohawk Warriors of the Turtle Tribe, Aron one of their cheifs spoke as follows

PRESENT —

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan

Jacobus Clement Interp<sup>r</sup>

Brother Warraghiyagey

As we understood you were displeased with our late conduct, in taking some Albany People to go to War with us, we beg leave to acquaint you how we were brought into it. This young man (pointing to an Indian called Anias) was in Albany whilst we were at Onondaga, and passing by the Tavern, was called to by Lidius' son out of a window. after he put up his horse, he came to the Room where this son of Lydius was, with several other young men in company, after making him drink several glasses of Wine Lydius' son told him he had a mind to go a scalping to Canada, and asked whether he or any of the Mohawks would join him, the Indian answered he could not tell, upon which Lydius Son desired he would acquaint the Mohawks with his Resolutions, and that he would come up to their castle the next day. He arrived there the second day and called a meeting of the Warriors, when he told 'em his resolution of going to Canada and by 3000 of Wampum which he gave them, desired they would accompany thither, several of them being in liquor they accepted of it and promised to go with him, but Aron and some more of them being very drunk, and not remembering what had passed the night before, called a second Meeting in which it was agreed they would keep untill those of their people who attended Sir William to Onondaga returned and that then they would give him a determinate Answer. On the return of those from Onondaga they were called to Albany by said Lidius and his associates, where they were treated by said Party very generously and offered them money which they refused, except a young Lad who received a Dollar from Lidius son, and Anias some small matter of the rest they also say they were much pressed to go to Albany and took their departure from thence, which they refused This, said Aron is what past, and what you may depend upon for truth, if we have done wrong it is inadvertently, so hope you will think favorably of us, and let us know your pleasure — so ended

29 July Sir William called the Seneca Indians again together, and gave them a Black Belt of Wampum, to revenge the Death of Capt<sup>n</sup> Jonathan Stevens a great friend of theirs who was killed at Lake George in the action of the 8<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>

They received it willingly and said they were concerned for his Death he being a particular friend of theirs, they would as soon as they got home where their men were take it into consideration and comply with his desire—Then S<sup>r</sup> William gave them 4 Strings of Wampum to deliver to Saghawano and Tarrawariax and the head Warriors of that Nation, and desired they would come down to him as soon as possible with their young Warriors, they took the Strings and promised to deliver the same faithfully

Then gave them a present for their father Tageghsādo the cheif Sachem of that Nation, also money to buy them provisions along the road and Skins for shoes and so parted. also a kettle

At a Meeting of the 6 Nations, Delawares Shawanese, and other Indians from the Southward

PRESENT— Sir William Johnson  
Mr Croghan  
Mr McClean  
Mr Johnson  
Interpreters  
Capt Montour  
Jacobus Clement

The Southern Indians said

Brother Warraghiyagey

Your kind reception of us yesterday and the care you took of condoling our losses, gives us the greatest pleasure

We in return, (well knowing the many losses you daily sustain) sincerely condole with you for yours

Gave 6 Strings of Wampum

Sir William said

Bretheren of the Shawanese and Delaware Nation and you of the other Nations now come who were not present to hear what passed here the 11 Instant—the reason of my calling this meeting is to let you all know what was then agreed upon between me in behalf of the English and your Deputies in behalf of your Nation, and as those of your People to whom I then spoke in behalf of your Nations are now present they can repeat to you the whole of what was then transacted and I hope and doubt not from the hearty professions they then made on their and your behalf but you will approve and readily ratify, the same being for our mutual Interest

The Delaware and Shawanese King desired Sir William would repeat it, to Mr Montour and he deliver it which was done

Sir William then said

Bretheren

As the engagements you have now entered into are recorded here in your presence, and not to be altered but remain an everlasting Testimony and Tie upon us who are remarkable for adhering to our engagements, I therefore desire and expect that you will on your Parts keep it in your memories and imprint it in the minds of all your young people, and then you will not be again bewildered

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

After the whole was repeated in public the Shawanese King stood up and thanked Mr Montour for delivering it so well and asked the Assembly whether they thoroughly understood all that was said, on being ans<sup>d</sup> in the affirmative, the Delaware King stood up and strongly recommended to them all to keep in their minds what was said as it would be their Interest; then rose up the cheif of the Delawares who arrived yesterday and expressed his satisfaction at what he and his people had heard, and to have it from Sir William's own mouth, assuring him it was very agreeable to them all, and that they approved of, and would strictly abide by what had been agreed to by those of their nation, who came before them.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum

Sir William then told them he was sorry to see them so destitute of necessaries, and that he would immediately order them cloathing arms and ammunition &c<sup>a</sup> for which they returned many thanks and shewed visible satisfaction in their looks—They drank the Kings health and so ended this meeting

After which there were above 80 cloathed and fitted out with necessaries

About 2 oclock the Tuscaroras arrived with their colours flying, they fired 3 volleys by the house, which was returned by 3 small Cannon. Sr William ordered the Interpreter to bring them into the Council Room, where he bid them welcome and perform<sup>d</sup> the usual ceremony of drying their eyes, clearing their Throats &c they returned many thanks and did the same on their Parts; then they had Pipes Tobacco and some Rum with which they drank the Kings health—Then provisions was ordered to their quarters and business adjourned till tomorrow morning

30 July. Sir William sent to the Tuscaroras and told them that as he expected Lord Loudoun was now arrived at Albany he was under a necessity of going there to wait on him, so desired they would excuse his leaving matters unsettled till he returned which he hoped would be in 4 or 5 days, that in the mean time they should be supplied with Provisions and every other necessary as well as if he was at home—

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

They answered

Brother

We are sensible you would not leave home at this Time, if something extraordinary did not require it, therefore we are thoroughly satisfied with what you say and thankful for the care you promised shall be taken of us in your absence

Brother

Our young men and Women have brought down many things to have mended by the smith, and want some new to be made, viz Hoes, axes, Guns, Kettles &c<sup>a</sup> which we wish you would leave orders to have done against your return, and we shall remain contented here

Sir William replied

Bretheren

I will order your axes Guns & to be mended, and some new to be made immediately, and when I return shall cloath and arm all your people and send them home well equipped—For which they returned hearty thanks & so broke up

Fort Johnson 5 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1756

On Sir Williams return from Albany several Onondagas who arrived in his absence came in and spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are a Deputation sent by our Nation, to acquaint you that we are in great want of Provision Amunition & arms, which we earnestly entreat you to send us as soon as possible

Sir William said

Bretheren

I am sorry to hear you are in such distress, I sent by some of your people last week 30 Skiples of Corn, they would have had 100 Skiples, but they would not carry more at that



time, since which the great number of Indians come here have made use of that and a great deal more, however I shall order up here immediately a sufficient quantity for you all, and as soon as it comes I shall distribute it amongst you I will also give you a Barrel of Powder to take to your Castle and lead equivalent, I hope you will make good use of it against our common enemy, you shall also have 4 Swivels for your Fort; for all which they returned their most hearty thanks and promised to make good use of all the received drank the Kings health, gave Pipes and Tobacco and so ended the Meeting

EOD: DIE: 12 oclock Noon

Kindaruntie the great Seneca Warrior arrived here with 8 men more of said Nation, and after the usual ceremony of meeting was over on Sir Williams side

with 3 Strings Wampum

He desired time untill to morrow to return the compliment for him and his party, he mentioned that the Senecas had desired that he and the party with him would guard the workmen hither whom Sr William had sent up to build their fort, and returned him their thanks for making choice of such good men.

Sir William said

Bretheren of the Senecas,

I approve much of your Sachems Prudence and care of their Bretheren in sending some of their Warriors to guard them home, and more particularly for making so good a choice as of you and your party. I hope the Fort is made to their liking, and that it may be a security to you all your Wives and children against any designs or attempts of your and our common enemy the French, which was the only view in building it

Kindaruntie answered it was to their liking, and he did not doubt but it would be the means of preserving the lives of their old men Women and children, which assurance gave them great pleasure

After drinking the Kings Health & Pipes and Tobacco, they were supplied with Provisions and a Tent, & so broke up

The same day at 7 in the evening, some Indians who came from Albany arrived in camp crying their murder shout, which immediately drew all the Indians together before the Gate. Sir W<sup>m</sup> enquired what the news was, they told him, that one of their People named Jerry a Tuscarora was killed and his Head cut off and set on a stake in the camp at Skonactady, by some of the officers and soldiers, while the account was giving several of the Indians were gnashing their teeth and in a prodigious passion. To cool which Sir William called several Sachems and cheifs of that Nation into a Room in order to settle their minds a little, which by several arguments he made use of, and telling them he proposed replacing of him in the morning by giving a scalp, Belt of Wampum &<sup>ca</sup> had some effect, but still out of doors they were very warm, in short one of them went round their camp, calling to them to prepare their arms &<sup>ca</sup> and be ready in the morning

Friday morning the 6<sup>th</sup> of August Mr Croghan and others reported to Sir William, that almost all the Indians left their camp round His House last night and went into the woods with all their goods arms &<sup>ca</sup> and returned this morn<sup>g</sup>, Sir William finding this to be true

called a Meeting of all the Nations here viz Mohawks Conajoharees, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cayougas Onondagas Senecas Delawares, Shawanese and Monseys

PRESENT —

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan  
Capt. Butler

D<sup>r</sup> Catherwood  
M<sup>r</sup> Butler & ōr geñts

Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

Kindarundie a Seneca Cheif stood up and performed all the ceremony of delivering over three Scalps, and a bundle of goods by itself — One scalp Belt and Bundle was in the room of the Tuscarora murdered at Schonactady by the officers and soldiers of the 44 Regiment named Jerry alias Showonidous, an other scalp Belt and Bundle for Karanaske a Tuscarora who was killed at the engagement at Lake George, an other Skalp Belt and Bundle in the room of a Seneca a great friend of Sir Williams — The bund[le] of goods was to cover the grave of Swegewy a Tuscarora who was drowned here a few days ago

They received all this with great signs of satisfaction returned thanks and parted for that time

The same evening at a Meeting with the Senecas, Kinderundie their cheif spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

On our arrival here it being late and we being much fatigued we desired time to return your kind compliment and thank you for the freindly reception you gave us, we now take this opportunity of doing it with the greatest gratitude and sincerity, for you have remov<sup>d</sup> all our troubles and sorrows (: meaning by the scalp &c<sup>a</sup>) which we must own we were loaded with, when we came here for the several losses we had suffered since we saw you last particularly in that of your and our great friend who was unfortunately killed by the fall of a Bear Trap some time ago

He then desired Sir William would relate to him and his warriors present what he had proposed to the Six Nations in the late Meeting at Onondaga, that he might acquaint the rest of his people with it. Sir William mentioned some of the most material Points particularly his sharpening the Hatchett which he knew was the cheif point he wanted to hear; he returned his hearty thanks & said he now knew what was to be done, but before he could not tell how to act as the Sachems sometimes keep them in the dark by misrepresentations. An other private meeting was agreed upon, and so parted for the present

Saturday morning 7 August, Sir William dispatched two Tuscarora Indians to the carrying Place and Oswego with Packetts of letters, and gave them a letter to the commanding officers of the several Posts to Oswego to supply them with Provisions

EOD: DIE. At a Meeting of the 6 Nations &c<sup>a</sup>

Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

An Onnondaga Indian stood up and spoke as follows.

Brother Warraghiyagey

The early and prudent measures which you yesterday took, to quiet our minds and repair our late losses has had so great an effect upon us that we now assure you we will pull up a

large Pine Tree, and bury under its Roots this unhappy affair so that it may never give either of us any more uneasiness; you may well think we were not firmly fixed in our Resolutions to live and die with you and our Bretheren the English such unheard of usage to one of our People might have turned our heads and hearts, but we are determined nothing shall.

The only ill consequence we now apprehend from this unhappy affair is that the many Indians whom you have and are still drawing to you from the Ohio and all about there, may be discouraged and prevent others coming to you, lest they should be treated in the same manner, for there are not many in those parts who have not assisted the French

Gave a Belt

Brother

As you have often advised and desired us, not to go to Canada, but look this way to our Bretheren, we will now tell you the reason we had for going that way so often. The French used us very kindly and supplied all our wants, both young and old with the best of things but as you have assured us some time ago, that if we would leave off going to Canada, our Father the King would let us want for nothing. We now assure you we are determined to follow your advice, and we expect as you have stopped up that road, and also keep us from hunting that you will supply our necessary wants for which end we have brought now our old and young here

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Brother

There are some of us who have great occasion for a little Rum, therefore beg you will let us have some to carry home.

3 Strings

Sir Williams answer

Bretheren of the Tuscarora Nation

The satisfaction you express at the measures I have taken, and the assurances you give me of your having buried in oblivion, the sorrow & anger occasioned by the loss of one of your People being killed lately near Schonectady by some of our rash young men, gives me the greatest pleasure, as it will appear to all our Bretheren and the General in particular (by whose letter to me which I shewed you all yesterday you see he is your friend and determined that all the justice possible should be done you:) a convincing proof of your wisdom and attachment to the King your father & them

As this affair is now settled, I must by this Belt of Wampum desire you will let all the Nations know it, and prevent its having any ill effects as far as is in your power, and I do also by this said Belt in behalf of the General, and all the great men here assure you it gave them as much concern as it did me or could you, and you may depend upon it, that for the Future the greatest care will be taken, to prevent any thing of the kind happening or any difference whatsoever arising between us or your receiving any ill treatment from our People, and I doubt not you will be as careful on your Parts to keep up a good harmony with all your Bretheren which is the only way to be strong and live happy

a large Belt.

Bretheren

I am glad you have listened to my advice as it will be our mutual Interest. You must be sensible of the impropriety and prejudice of your going to Canada at any time but especially at this time, when you have the Hatchet in your hands against the French, their opinion as well as ours of you in this case could not be favorable wherefore I shall not say any thing further



on that head and proceed to the point you have in view which is my supplying you with the necessaries your People want In answer to which I am to tell you that I am empowered by the King my Master to take care of and supply the wants of all those who are his dutiful children, and will by their actions now shew that they are such, with what necessaries they may want, and you will find me allways ready to fulfil his orders and your expectations therein.

I shall give orders immediately for the cloathing your People, give you arms ammunition and Provisions also, as you say you are in great want of them and while you continue his Mätys faithful allies, you may depend upon his protection and assistance which I confirm with these strings of Wampum

3 Large Strings

Bretheren

As you say you have great occasion for a few Caggs of Rum, I will order them for you and hope you will not make a bad use of them

For all which they returned their hearty thanks and went to the Store to receive their cloathing

After which Sir William called 4 of their cheifs and gave them a private Present

Sunday 8 August 1756 Nine warriors from Aughquagey and Schoharee with about 20 others accompanying them arrived here, firing their pieces and singing their war Song. Sr William sent the Interpreter to bring them into a room where he met them and bid them welcome

They returned thanks for the entertainm<sup>t</sup> he had ordered for them the night before as the Mohawks Castle and told him they were now come to let him know their resolutions, and to receive his directions

At this time several Oneida Sachems with others of their Nation arrived and were brought into the council Room, which prevented any further conference at that time with the foregoing Indians

The Oneidas said there were many more of their Nation by the way, and would be here tomorrow, so that they should say nothing till they were all mett

Skanonyade or the Half King with 6 Seneca Warriors, came into the Room and spoke as follows.

Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

Brother

When you was last at Onondaga amongst other things you desired the 6 Nations would prepare themselves and be ready at a call to join you and the army, altho' we were not present at that meeting, yet hearing that the 6 Nations had promised to comply with your request we resolved immediately to come down and offer our service to you we doubt not from what you promised and what we have seen, but you will consider our wants, and supply us with every thing necessary for warriors

Gave 3 Strings Wampum

Brother

We were told last year by General Shirley that he would build large Canoes (: meaning vessels:) and with them take all that passed between Cadaracqui and Niagara, and by that means starve them at Niagara we see the vessels have been a long time built, and yet we see Provisions &<sup>ca</sup> dayly carried to Niagara without any more interception than before you had big Canoes

Brother

We now beg you will make better use of your large vessels, and don't suffer the French to pass and repass unmolested as they now dayly do Gave hereupon 3 Strings Wampum

Brother

The Senecas of the next Seneca Castle to ours charged us to tell you that they were in such want of Provisions as must oblige them to leave it and seek in the woods for Roots & Herbs unless you send them some releif very soon

Sir Williams answer to the foregoing

Bretheren of the Senecas

I am glad to find your Nation so well inclined and ready to comply with my earnest request you may depend on my being as ready to supply the wants of all those who are His Majestys faithful allies, and as a Testimony of it, I shall give orders that as many of you as are here be immediately supplied with the necessaries you have occasion for, and shall do the same to as many of your people as come to me

3 Strings of Wampum

Bretheren

As to what you say concerning our big Canoes there is some reason may be assigned for their not being as yet so useful as might be expected, when you consider that our people are not acquainted with the Lake so well as the French, who have used it so long, and know every harbor fit to run into, which is a great advantage

In the next place the French had vessels built before us and can build more in several places, we can only build them in one place which is Oswego however as we have now an experienced General, I dare say there will be better use made of the Big Canoes than heretofore and that every thing under his direction and command will be carried on with the greatest Prudence and expedition possible.

Bretheren

I am sorry to hear that your people are so scarce of Provisions, I have Indian Corn which you can come for when you please, or if you can not bring it up with your people I will order it up for them

For which they returned many thanks and parted

In the evening (S<sup>th</sup> August:) above 50 Oneidas arrived whom Sir William kindly received and treated with Pipes Tobacco and Rum, and ordered them quarters and Provisions telling them he would confer with them when he had gone through the business in hand

Monday Morning 9<sup>th</sup> Aug: The Oneidas came for an order to the Smith for mending their arms kettles &<sup>ca</sup> which was given them.

Same morning 84 of the Delawares arrived, when they came near the House the kept a constant firing for a quarter of an hour which was returned by a discharge of 3 Pattereres

They were ordered to be quartered & provisions given to them Sir William could not then speak to them as he was engaged in council with the Cheifs of the Mohawk Castles who spoke as follows

Brother

As you have drained both our castles of most of our young men to go out a fighting we expect you will reinforce us by getting us a sufficient number of Soldiers to protect our wives

and children in their absence otherways we think ourselves exposed to any attempts of the enemy—This is what was promised us and we think reasonable therefore can not think you will deny our request  
A Belt

Sir William replied

Bretheren of both Mohawk Castles

I am sensible of your readiness & attachment to his Mätys service and shall never forget it: I am also sensible of the promises made you, and as I think it reasonable your castles should be secured I shall let the General know your desire  
A Belt

This day Sir William ordered a list to be taken of all the Indians, they amounted to men, Women & children 926, several went away yesterday and the day before

9 August P: M. The Seneca Indians received a handsome present, cash to buy provisions on their way home &ca

Tuesday 10 August Sir William called the Senecas again and gave them a Belt of Wampum, inviting the four leading warriors of that Nation to come down to him immediately with their parties, they were much pleased with the Invitation, and promised faithfully to deliver the Belt

EOD DIE. A great number of Delaware, Monseys, and some Aughguagey Indians who arrived yesterday came into the Council Room and spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have long since heard of you & your regard for the Indians but never had an opportunity of meeting you before this day, we thank the great Being above who has allowed us to meet each other, we by this String of Wampum open up your ears that you may hear somewhat we shall tomorrow say, for we see you are now full of business  
3 Strings Wampum

Bretheren of the Monsey & Delaware Nations

When I heard some time ago of your people settling amongst the six Nations it gave me great satisfaction and now much more to see you here at this meeting place of the Six Nations and their allies, My ears shall be open to what you have to say tomorrow or at any time, and I do with these Strings of Wampum clear your ears and understanding, that you may also hear and understand distinctly what I have to say to you  
3 Strings Wampum

They were ordered Pipes Tobacco and Beer and Rum—and took their leave for that time—

EOD: DIE. In the evening the Sachems of the Tuscarora Nation met to whom Sir William spoke as follows

Bretheren of Tuscarora

As I understand you are to sett off tomorrow, I have prepared every thing for your People and journey as you desired viz: Indian Corn for the support of your families untill your crops are ripe, Swivel Guns for your Fort, Cloathing for your People and men to build a good Block House on the eminence which commands your Fort. As your Father the King takes care of you and as you see all the Nations are turning out some of their young men to war against our common enemy the French: I now expect by this Belt of Wampum that you will encourage your young men to turn out also which will induce me to supply your further wants

A Belt of Wampum



## Their Answer

Brother

We of the Tuscarora Nation are very thankful to our father the King and you, for supplying our wants so far and building a place of security for us, you may be assured we the sachems will acquaint the young men of our Nation with your desire, and encourage them to comply with it. At the same time we must tell you we did not expect you would call upon us till you were ready to move with your army, when we all promised to join you when ever you went as our hunting is entirely impeded by this quarrel between you and the French, and as none of our Nation ever go to Canada we have no way to supply our Families but by applying to you, what you have now given us is very considerable and satisfactory yet it is far short of what we really want

A Belt.

Brother

As we have rejected all the great offers of the French Governor lately made us and of the Preist at Swegachie, and as we have been and are now firm friends of yours, we are now under some apprehensions that the French may attempt destroying us especially when our young men turn out to war against them, wherefore we should be glad you would send some men to our Castle to protect our families, and in that case we beg you may chuse a good discreet officer and sober Party

Sir Williams answer

Bretheren of Tuscarore

I shall let Lord Loudoun know your desire, and when I know his Pleasure shall acquaint you with it.

Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> August 1756.

The Oneidas being met spoke as follows

Canaghquayèsou Speaker  
Arent Stevens Interpreter

After going through the usual Ceremonies on those occasions said

Brother Warraghiyagey

As we understand you have now the sole management of our affairs and the care of us and our families put into your hands by the King our common Father, who you have often told us would protect and assist us for these Reasons we are come to let you know our wants in hopes you will supply them. In the first place we are in want of cloathing, Provisions some arms & ammunition which (as our hunting is prevented by you desiring us to hold ourselves in Readiness:) we can not get but from you—

A Belt

In the next Place as you have built a Fort in our country, for the Protection of our old People wives and children &<sup>a</sup> we now beg we may have a good officer and a sufficient Party of good men to garrison it, and that the officer may have some Powder Lead &<sup>ca</sup> to give us. The French officers all have in plenty, and you may depend upon it we shall be ready to go with you to War when you call upon us

A Belt

## Sir Williams Answer

Bretheren of Oneida

The Great King your Father & my master has been pleased to appoint me to the sole management and care of you and your affairs, and as I told you and the rest of the 6 Nations before, has ordered me to acquaint you all that he is determined to protect you and all his faithful allies, against our and your perfidious enemies the French or any others, and as to supplying your wants he has enabled me to do it, and you may depend upon my obeying his Royal commands on all necessary occasions as far as in my power

A Belt

As to garrisoning your Fort I approve of it and shall acquaint my Lord Loudoun with your desire, and when I know his Lordships Pleasure, I will acquaint you with it: As to Arms, ammunition &c which you desire the officer may have to supply you with as occasion may require, I doubt not but he may be enabled to do it. I must tell you your acting vigorously with His Majestys Troops in defence of his and your Rights here will be the greatest inducement to him to continue his fatherly care over you, and mine also.

A Belt

Sir William then ordered of them to be cloathed and some armed, and 50 Skipples of corn to be given them to carry them home, and promised them when he could get arms which he dayly expected that they should have more

For all which they returned many thanks and so the meeting broke up

Sir William gave Capt<sup>n</sup> Butler orders to make out a Party of 6 Indians to escort Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Webb and the Troops under his command to Oswego, and some of them to guard Major Eyres while building a Fort at Oswego falls

Fryday morning 13 Aug 1756.

At a meeting of the Onondagas Oneidas Tuscaroras, Sir William spoke to them as follows

## Arent Stevens Interpreter

Bretheren of the 3 Nations here present

As Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Webb is now marching to Oswego with a Number of his Majestys Troops and a considerable quantity of Provision for that Garrison, and as it will be necessary for the safety of the Troops and stores to have a number of your people to join them I expect & desire you will furnish a sufficient number of your young men for that Service, and as I lately desired they may be ready at the German Flatts to join the General

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Bretheren

I can not help taking notice of a very wrong Custom introduced amongst you last year and still continued which is that of paying your people at the rate of 4 shillings p<sup>r</sup> day when upon Service, I must say I think it was a bad precedent and wrong in you to accept it considering the vast quantity of Goods, Arms, and ammunition dayly given to you, and the great expence of building Forts garrisoning them &<sup>ca</sup> in your country, and maintaining your families chiefly here and in your Country, besides the service you were employed in by General Shirley was for your security & protection as well as for ours

Bretheren

In former times when we went to war together against the French your ancestors never even thought of Pay and that you should now expect it at a time when His Majesty assures you

of his Protection & assistance when you see such convincing proofs of our readiness to defend you from any attempts of the enemy as you experienced last spring when I march<sup>d</sup> a considerable number of men from distant parts of the country four several times on your acquainting me of the Danger you imagined you were then in—This I did cheerfully as did the men whom I command<sup>d</sup> without any regard to pay, and are ready and willing to do the same whenever necessary; for those several weighty reasons I must again say; I think you should not insist on any pay, but if pay is insisted upon I think it should be much less, which I desire you will seriously consider

A Belt.

Upon which Canaghquayeson the head Sachem of the Oneida spoke—viz.

Brother Warraghiyagey

As soon as we heard, which was a few days ago, of your wanting some of our young men to go to Oswego with Capt<sup>n</sup> Butler as a guard for the Battoes, we got them ready and hold them still in readiness to march when called upon

A Belt

Brother

As to the Custom which you complain of being introduced last year amongst us we are not to blame for. When General Shirley went to Oswego last summer and wanted some young men to go with him, he told us *we should have whatever we asked for* that he had money enough and that our young men should be well paid, which they have accordingly been, and several of them had great sums given to them besides their days pay, and others commissions for which they had a great deal of money—Skeānoh meaning Capt<sup>n</sup> Broadstreet also told us that we should have 10*f*. Pr Day, the next time he wanted us to go to Oswego with him, From all this it appears to us that it must be the Great mans (meaning Lord Loudoun:) or your doings, to upset what has been so wisely thought necessary for as we are now debarred from going to Canada where our wants used to be supplied and our hunting hindered by your dayly orders to hold ourselves in readiness to join the army we think it not unreasonable that those who go on such fatiguing and dangerous service should be well paid, and we must say that if we are not, as they are now used to it we are of opinion they will be very backward to move and should you insist on lowering the pay, they will imagine that in a little time you will bring it to nothing, wherefore we desire you may pay them as they have been paid by others

A Belt.

Sir William replied

Bretheren of the 3 different Nations

I have heard what you have said concerning the extravagant pay, which has been given to your young men last year and this, when employed in our service, and think it not sufficient for keeping up so bad a custom however if nothing less will do it must be complied with at present.

To Mr Jacob Vroman Cheif Carpenter

You are to proceed with your party to the Tuscarora Nation with all possible Despatch, and there build a good Block House of the best Timber you can get 24 feet square below, to project 18 inches or two feet above the beams, so as they may fire down upon the Enemy. you are to cover it well with good shingles, and build a good Centry Box at the Top of the House—The door is to be made of oak Plank 3 Inches thick and well hung



You are to build it where the chiefs of that Nation direct, keep an exact account of the number of days you your people and horses work at said house

If the Sachems desire to have any alteration made to the fort they have built themselves you are to do it for them as well as you can, and as expeditious as possible for all which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson this 12<sup>th</sup> day of August 1756

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

Saturday Morning 14<sup>th</sup> Aug 1756. The half King and Capt<sup>n</sup> Montour came into the Council Room with 48 Warriors of the 6 Nations & Delawares whom Sir William almost wholly fitted out a second time, occasioned by a quantity of Rum, brought from Schonactady and sold to the Indians in camp privately by the River Indians Tuscaroras &<sup>ca</sup> for which they sold their arms Cloaths &ca.

Sir William wrote to the Magistrates of said Town several times but to no purpose. after furnishing them with every thing necessary for their expedition Sir William drank their healths & success then rose up the leader of the Schoharee Indians named John and sung his War Song as did several others after him

The same day 3 Mohawks were fitted out for war, and set off for Canada the same day commanded by Seth's Hans

The Tuscaroras set off for their Country the same day, and several Onondagas & Oneidas

Sunday the 15<sup>th</sup> August The chiefs of the Onondagas came to take their leave, when Sir William gave them a Handsome private Present in cloathing and money and a quantity of Corn for their families who were in great want.

EOD DIE 6 oclock P. M. The Indians arrived here from the carrying place, with an account that the French designed to attack one of the Forts there or both, which if they could not succeed in then they were to attack the Provision Battoes, as one of the French Indians told the man who brought the News, desiring him at the same time to tell all the Indians he saw to keep from thence

Sir William immediately sent Lord Loudoun an account hereof by express also to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Webb, who was then on his march to Oswego, but not yet at the German Flatts

About an hour after an Oneida Indian who lives on the West Branches of Susquehanna arrived here who says that he spoke with a Cayauga Indian who had left Niagara 13 days ago, and says that they then were preparing to muster a number of French and Indians to march towards Oswego, in order to revenge the loss of some of their people who were killed there some time last month by the Battoe men. This Cayauga Indian further said, that the small Pox began to rage amongst the French and Indians who assembled there from different Parts at the request of the French, so much that several had left Niagara before the Meeting began which intelligence Sir William transmitted by the same expresses to Lord Loudoun and General Webb

Monday the 16<sup>th</sup> August Seventeen Conajoharee Warriors and eight Mohawks arrived here and acquainted Sir William that they intended to comply with his desire and go fighting to Canada on which he cloathed some and armed all After which they said they would return to their Castles in order to finish some work they had in hand and would be here in 10 days and then set off—Sir William gave them 10 Dollars to buy an ox for a Treat and money in lieu of several articles which they had of their own, so parted

Tuesday 17 August Thomas a young Sachem of the Oneida Nation from Aughquaga arrived here in the afternoon with 54 Men Women & Children he came upon a promise made Sir William at the last meeting that he would go out to War as soon as he had been home and settled some affairs for that he could no longer bear to see his Bretheren the English knocked in the head every day without revenge

The 20 August Sir William Johnson being in Albany my Lord Loudoun received intelligence that Oswego was attacked by the French and reason to suspect they had succeeded, upon which Sir William immediately sett off Post for the German Flatts ordering 1000 of the Militia of this County to follow him there as soon as possible, at the same time summoning all the Indians in his way to attend him there likewise he was directed by my Lord Loudoun to take Post at the German Flatts, and follow such measures as might appear necessary to him and Gen<sup>l</sup> Webb who advanced to the Oneida carrying Place, and had with him an Indian officer and sixty odd Indians of several Nations

German Flatts 24<sup>th</sup> Aug 1756 A M.

Sir William Johnson yesterday upon his arrival here meeting a number of Oneida and Tuscarora Indians who were returning homewards from his House spoke to their cheifs, and desired they would collect those of their Nations, who were dispersed in this Neighbourhood and not leave it till he had spoke to them, which he said he would do, as soon as some other Indians he expected here were arrived

This morning several of their Sachems and warriors assembled and told Sir William by Canaghquayeson their speaker that they had complied with his request of yesterday and that all their People Sachems and Warriors who were in this Neighbourhood to the number of about 50. were now waiting to attend to what he proposed to say to them

Hereupon they gave 3 Strings Wampum

German Flatts Thursday Morning 26 Aug 1756.

Sir William spoke to two parties of warriors [one party of several Nations under Capt<sup>n</sup> Montour, and the half King, the other a party of Aughquageys and Mohikanders, under Thomas an Aughquagey Cheif] whom he had fitted out at his House in order to go a fighting to Canada, as follows

Peter Wraxall Secretary  
Jacobus Clement Interp<sup>r</sup>

Bretheren

Since I called upon you and you agreed to go to Canada, in order to anoy the enemy in those Parts we have received the disagreeable News of the loss of Oswego, and as Major General Webb is marched to the Oneida carrying Place with a considerable body of his Majestys Troops in order to take the proper measures in the present circumstance of affairs and has some Indians with him, I would have you go thither and make that your place of Rendezvous, and join your Bretheren now there in scouting and such other duty as the General shall think necessary for the good of His Majestys service

Bretheren

I would myself have gone with you to the carrying place but my present indisposition [Sir William was then confined in his bed, with a fever and bloody Flux] will not permit me to

do it I shall therefore send your Brother M<sup>r</sup> Croghan with you, who is well known to you all and acquainted with your customs and manners, he will take care of you, and see that you want for nothing that is needful

Bretheren

If any of your young men are inclined to go out scalping they may go from thence, I shall leave that matter to their own discretion and choice

To which the cheifs of the aforesaid parties answered as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have heard what you have now said to us, and much approve of your desiring us to join Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Webb at the carrying place, and making that pass our rendezvous, as we know not as yet what further steps the French may take on their conquest of Oswēgo, and we are also pleased to see, you have called the militia here in order to secure this Post, we also much obliged to you for leaving it in our own option to go out a scalping or not from thence, as some of our young men are determined not to return to their castles till they have fulfilled their intentions on that head

Brother

As those of us who belong to these two parties are determined to accompany our Brother Croghan to the carrying place, and on our arrival there to assist our Bretheren in such duties as may be requested of us and you may assure yourself that we are all determined to live and die with our Bretheren the English

In the afternoon Sir William being confined to his Bed, and unable to appear himself made the following speech to all the Sachems and warriors of the several Nations who were here assembled by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan.

After repeating what he had said to the two parties in the morning he proceeded thus

Bretheren

I doubt not but you will approve what I said to your Bretheren this morning and have now repeated to you, and I expect that you will also join those parties and attend our Brother M<sup>r</sup> Croghan to the carrying place, and there give all the assistance in your Power to forward his Majestys service, and aid our common cause

Gave a string of Wampum

Canaghquayeson answered in behalf of all present

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have heard what you have now said with attention. Your desire is very reasonable and what we expected from you and we will comply with it, but brother as you are unwell, and some of our People have discovered Tracks on the other side of the River, which they judge to be a party of the enemy, we don't think it prudent to leave you untill we have sent out scouts which we intend to do immediately and therefore we can not set off till the day after tomorrow when we will be ready to attend our Brother Croghan to the Carrying Place and our Sachems will also attend to see that our young men behave themselves properly and do the duty which is expected from them

Hereupon they returned a String of Wampum



German Flatts 27 Aug<sup>t</sup>

At a Meeting of Sachems and Warriors of several Nations Sir William spoke to them as follows

Bretheren

The present situation of affairs makes it necessary for me to call a meeting of some of the chiefs of each Nation, I do therefore by this Belt desire that you will send to each Nation notice that I shall expect so many of their heads down at my house as will be sufficient and fully empowered to determine upon business with me and this as speedy as possible

Bretheren

What I have to say relates more immediately to the security & welfare of the 6 Nations then to any other concern. I do not invite many of your people to this meeting, because at this juncture I think it would be dangerous for you to leave your habitations defenceless as you may be assured however fair the French may speak to you they are meditating your Ruin in the first place

Gave a Belt of Wampum which was taken by a Cayouga Sachem who engaged to transmit it thro' the other Nations

German Flatts 28<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1756

Several Sachems and Warriors of the Oneida Nation having desired a conference with Sir William, Canaghquayeson chief speaker spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

I have desired this meeting upon our receiving certain News of the loss of Oswego. We have often told you to be strong at that place, and to be careful of keeping it but it is now gone the French have been too cunning for you & burnt it to ashes

Brother

You are now sending us all to the Carrying place what good can we do there, at most we can only pluck off a hair from the enemy—We exhort you now Brother to look towards Lake George, and keep the Forts there which may preserve us alive until to morrow—

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Brother

We are at a loss to know how and from whence the French get Provisions enough for such numbers of Troops & how they get these Troops from Europe to Quebec

You have often told us the River was shut up and the French could not get to Quebec

Brother The English often tell us things which we dont find true; Pray take care and hinder the French from getting men and Provisions up the River St Lawrence

Brother We are in want of Food, and beg you will give us two oxen and some ammunition for our young men

EOD: DIE. P. M.

Sir Williams Answer to the foregoing speech

Bretheren

Two days ago I spoke to two parties of Warriors of the 6 Nations who were going out a fighting, and told them that the present situation of affairs made it necessary for me to desire

they would go to the Oneida Carrying Place and join their Bretheren who were already there and assist his Majestys Troops in the scouting service, that I would not urge them to go out a scalping but leave it to their own choice & inclination with this they promised to comply and were well pleased. The same day in the afternoon I acquainted the Sachems & other Warriors here present with what I had said in the morning—They likewise approved of this measure, and all promised to accompany Mr Croghan

Bretheren—I am surprized you should so soon have changed your minds, and now object against this scheme, such unsteadiness is not becoming wise men and is somewhat unaccountable. I am suspicious the French may soon pay a visit to the carrying Place, and as it is now our Barrier to all this country, it is necessary to keep out good and sufficient Scouts to give us notice of the enemys approach that they may not surprise us—This is a duty you are better acquainted with and more qualified for than your Bretheren the English. I expect therefore that you go thither according as was agreed on two days ago As to Lake George we have a good Fort there and a great number of Men, and if the French come there they may find a warmer reception, than those did at Oswego

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren

As to preventing the French from bringing men and Provisions up the River St Lawrence tis not in our power wholly to do it, the sea is too large to be entirely covered by our Ships—We have taken many of their ships this year who were attempting to go up that River you will find in the end the English do not tell you falsehoods but truth

The Oxen & Ammunition you shall have and I hope you will make a better use of the latter than you have hitherto done

German Flatts Sunday 29 Aug A M

Sir William Johnson having this morning told Canaghquayeson cheif Sachem of Oneida that he was displeased with the conduct of his Nation in general and dissatisfied with him in particular and that from many late circumstances he suspected they were acting a treacherous and deceitful part—Canaghquayeson having reported the conversation to all his Nation present they came in a Body to Sir William, and desired he would explain to them the causes of his uneasiness and what reason he had for suspecting their fidelity and attachment to the English Interest

He thereupon told them that at the meeting he proposed speedily to have at his house he intended to lay all these matters before the 5 Nations, and to speak his mind very plainly to them but as the Oneidas now applied to him he would tell them in general that notwithstanding their many solemn assurances given him of their resolutions to stand by their Bretheren the English and assist His Matys arms and measures against the French their actions had by no means supported their professions. That at this juncture when a small cloud hung over the English by the loss of Oswego their nation as well as the upper Nations appeared perfectly indifferent about it, no ways anxious or alert in bringing us intelligence nay the Onondagas even hindered our Messengers from going to Oswego, and tho' they the Oneidas had promised to accompany Mr Croghan to the carrying Place in order to assist his Matys Service in scouting or such other duties, as Indians were best capable of doing; they had put off going thither with trifling excuses and in all respects manifested a Backwardness and indifference to the Interests & welfare of their Bretheren the English, which gave just grounds for jealousy and Resentment; and a great deal more to this purpose which, Sir William added.

When he had concluded Canaghquayeson told him to make himself easy till they had consulted together, and given him their answer which they would speedily do —

Sunday afternoon The Oneidas left three of their Sachems to Sir William with their answer to what he had said to them this morning who spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

What you said to us this morning has given to us the utmost concern we have made an enquiry and suspect some of our own people have been prejudicing you with stories against us and informed you of the behaviour you hinted with regard to the Onondagas

Brother

We beg you wont entertain hard thoughts of us we assure you we have not the least intentions to withdraw our hands from the Covenant Chain or quitt the interests of our Bretheren the English, as to the behavior of the Onondagas we are noways concerned in it, nor are we guilty of any treacherous conduct with respect to the late loss of Oswego

German Flatts 30 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1756 P. M.

The information of Nickas a cheif Warrior of Oneida who came to Sir William Johnson in company with another Indian of the same Nation —

Peter Wraxall Sécry

Jacobus Clement Interp<sup>r</sup>

That Saquahōndonde an Oneida Indian who has for some years past lived among the French at Swegachie told Nickas that he was employed by Coll Mercer at Oswego as a Scout, and that he gave the Colonel notice that a very considerable body of French were encampt between Oswego and Cadaraghqui; and advised him to be on his guard, and send down for more troops as the French would otherwise be too strong for him — That Coll Mercer said he did not beleive it and took no notice of the said intelligence —

That some time after this the said Indian was sent out again on a scout, when he discovered the French about a mile from Oswego, and returned with the account to Coll Mercer, who said *Well, let them come I shall be glad to see them* and that the next day Oswego was attacked

That Saquahundonde further told him that when he saw the attack upon Oswego begun, he was making the best of his way off, but was taken Prisoner and carried to the French General who said. *Child you shant die; I want you to carry a Message for me thro' the Castle of the 5 Nations* upon which he gave him a large Belt of Black Wampum, desiring him to tell his children of the 6 Nations not to come with the English Battoes further than the North end of the Oneida Lake, but if Rum should prevail on them to go further, by no means to go beyond the three Rivers<sup>1</sup> for his People were out there waiting for Capt<sup>ns</sup> Bradstreet and Butler whom they expected with our Battoes, and that if any of the 6 Nations should proceed with them they would certainly be destroyed along with the English, whom his army were waiting for — That the French General told said Indian that he was now going to take Oswego from the English and he would give it again to the 6 Nations who were the right owners of it, and after he had done that he would go up the River and look for the English Battoes with the

<sup>1</sup> The junction of the Oneida, Seneca and Oswego rivers, in Onondaga county, N. Y. — Ed.



Provisions and destroy the people who came with them after which he would proceed to the Oneida carrying place and destroy what he had left standing there since last spring and therefore he warned all his children of the 6 Nations to keep away from the carrying Place or they would be hurt and they did not want to hurt them, After he had finished at the carrying Place he would proceed down the Mohawk River and destroy every thing as he went along as far as Sir William Johnson's where he would strike off thro' the woods to Lake George, and there meet another General in conjunction with whom he would destroy Fort William Henry & then he knew the English would beg Peace

German Flatts 31 Aug 1756 — A. M.

Several Onondaga Sachems & Warriors came to Sir William & spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

With this String of Wampum we condole you for the loss of Oswego and wipe away your Tears &ca

Gave 2 Strings of Wampum

Brother

We understand you have some ill thoughts of our Nation on this occasion and that some Stories have been brought you to their Prejudice; we desire and hope Brother that you will not bear hard thoughts of our People or listen to the many lies which may be told you of them, we assure you they are utterly innocent of any Treachery & were no ways concerned in the taking of Oswego, and we think after the assurances you had from us and our engagements at the late Meeting at Onondaga you ought not to harbour suspicions to our disadvantage We confirm what we now have said to you with these two strings of Wampum —

Gave 2 Strings Wampum

Sir William told them he would answer to what they had now said by and by

German Flatts 31 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1756. P. M.

Sir Williams answer to the foregoing speech

Bretheren,

I wish you were as sensible of the loss of Oswego to your own Interest and security as we are to what we have suffered by it. If I had reason to suppose things appeared to you in this light, my returning the Ceremony of Condolence would appear with greater propriety, however I hereupon return you your compliment

Gave two Strings Wampum

Bretheren

It is true I have heard some things since the Loss of Oswego to the disadvantage of your Nation and as I have received no Message from Onondaga upon this unhappy occasion according to the antient custom and terms of friendship and Alliance subsisting between us and it gives too much Room for suspicions however as I have called a Meeting of some of the Cheifs of each of the 6 Nations at my house as speedily as possible, I shall rest my opinion of your Nation as well as of the others upon the Result of that Meeting—

Gave 2 Strings Wampum

German Flatts 1 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756 P. M.

At a meeting of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras

'Tesaunde Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Oneidas, Onondagas and Tuscaroras enter this your present place of consultation to remove some thing from your Breast which we are convinced oppresses you

Brother At our last Meeting you spoke to us very passionately & warm about the loss of oswégo and you seemed to be very dissatisfied with us on that head Brother, The loss is a great on our side as yours, and we have both reason to be uneasy about it, but what shall we do we can not redress it at present the only recourse we can have is to the advice of our wise forefathers, which was when any general accident or loss should befall us, we should comfort one another drive away the Spirit of Anger & discord from our hearts and bury it under a large Pine Tree according to their Custom, in order that we might deliberate maturely upon public matters and not be disturbed by that evil Spirit in our consultations

Brother—

You have sent a Message to the 6 Nations to meet you shortly, if they should be informed that you were still in the same passion and bad humour you spoke to them with here it might be the means of stopping their coming down to meet you We therefore With this Belt and in the name of all the 6 Nations take away that anger & dissatisfaction from your Breast so that we may consider of future measures with mutual friendship and calmness—

Gave a Belt

German Flatts 3 Sep 1756 A. M.

At a Meeting of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras

Jacobus Clement Interp<sup>r</sup>

Akonyōda the oldest Oneida Sachem Speak<sup>r</sup>

Brother Warraghiyagey

We informed you yesterday that we had something yet left in our hearts which we wanted to lay before you ere we parted from one another

We are now met, and must now tell you in the name of all the 6 Nations that we are quite surprised to find ourselves deceived in our opinion of the English, we took them to be a more steady People but we see that this Defeat at Oswego discourages them entirely, and you seem as it were to give up all hopes [This was said upon account of Gen<sup>l</sup> Webb's destroying all the Forts abandoning the carrying Place and marching back to the German Flatts]

Brother We entreat you not to be dispirited, go on in your measures and try again, you often boated of the numbers of the English that they were like an inexhaustible Stream—Do your best call all your People from the Sea Side and bring them to Lake George as our common enemy will now attack you there, pray go on vigorously and you may still overcome them

Gave a Belt

Sir Williams answer

Bretheren

You are mistaken in your opinion of the English if you think the loss of Oswego has affected them in any such degree as will deter them from making War upon the Common enemy with a firmness & Resolution equal to the Provocations they have received At the same time that we are not insensible to what we have suffered by the loss of that Place, we think the security & welfare of the 6 Nations to be more essentially affected by it than our own

Bretheren

The Great King your Father has sent over the Earl of Loudoun to command all the Warriors in North America, and to order and direct all Warlike Measures upon this continent to him I shall communicate what you have now said, he is an experienced Warrior and you may be assured will take every measure becoming a brave and prudent cheif

Gave a Belt

Fort Johnson 9<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756 P. M.

PRESENT— Sir William Johnson Bart  
Peter Wraxall Secretary

Thomas Harris who went in company with James Conner & a party of Indians to make discoveries at Oswego says. That they found Fort Ontario entirely demolished and nothing left in it, that about 150 yards to the North Eastward, there was a French [entrenchment] about 200 yards long near 7 feet high and 8 feet wide with a breastwork of Gabions and fascines, but could discover no signs of any Cannon having been mounted there

That the old Fort and Wall is also demolished with the Traders houses and every thing of Wood being burnt down

That Fort Rascal was still burning and almost consumed

That there were yet remaining near 100 Barrels of Pork which seemed to be in good order, and that a great deal had been burnt; that a vast quantity of Bread lay on the Ground some rotten and some burnt; as black as a Coal

That they discovered no dead bodies nor Marks of blood but saw three graves one pretty large the other two smaller

That they made no discovery of any enemy, that two long Poles were set up near Fort Ontario, the one near the enemys intrenchment the other near the Rivers side with several figures and words upon them which he did not understand but saw upon one of them 1756

That he saw the remains of a considerable number of whale Boats & Battoes which had been burnt

That they could discover nothing of any kind of Provisions Stores or Ammunition or other things but the Barrels of Pork, except Ball in cartridges with the Powder taken out

That they saw a large shell in the Road the enemy had made



PRESENT—

Sir William Johnson

Peter Wraxall Sécry

Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>Fort Johnson Sept<sup>r</sup> 9 at Night

The Relation of two Oneida Indians sent by Sir William Johnson upon discovery to Oswego  
That the Walls of the old Fort are all pulled down which seems to have been done with hands and the house within burnt down to the first story—All the Traders houses are pulled down & burnt to the ground

That they were informed before they went there that there were great numbers of dead bodies, but that they searched very diligently but could find none nor any marks of slaughter  
That they saw (according to their description) a Marter left behind in the old Fort

That they saw no arms of any kind or any other warlike implement left there

That they did not go up to Fort Rascal but saw some of the Pickets standing and the Fire still burning there

That the Stockadoes round Fort Ontario appeared to them to have been cut down and afterwards burnt

That by the Balls they discovered round Fort Ontario and near the Enemys entrenchm<sup>t</sup> they imagine that Garrison made a brisk Resistance, and saw by two Canon Balls which were lodged, that they had fired Canon at the enemy. In this Fort they found no kind of Arms or any thing left. By some holes they observed in the Ground they are of opinion several shells were thrown from this Fort against the enemy but they all fell short of their entrenchment

That they went along the road which the French had made, and found it was about 15<sup>o</sup> wide and well beaten that at some distance from the entrenchment they saw a great number of Biers, which they apprehended the enemy had provided to carry off their dead and wounded, but they did not seem to have been used at all that they found a great number of Gabions and Fascines scattered about in the woods, besides those made use of in the enemys works

That within a mans call of Fort Ontario they discovered the enemys encampment which appeared to be only one Street or Row of about half a mile in length chiefly of Bark hutts and in their judgment the enemy was not very numerous

That they observed the Track of Carriages not Iron shod whose wheels were not very broad one of which they saw broke in the Road—They observed in the entrenchment that two Cannon had been mounted and do not know but there might have been more

In the woods they found a large Parcel of Wadds made of Straw, In the Road they saw a large shell which by their description must have been 11 inches

They saw two Poles one very high and up near Fort Ontario which latter had a cross and writing upon it

They saw the Barrels of Pork sunk in the River, and great quantities scattered along the sides of it and a great quantity of Bread spoiled by the Rains which fell just before they got there, and also of Flour They met 7 Battoes loaded with Bread and Pork and Pease, which the Onondaga Indians were carrying from Oswego to their Castle

They saw a good deal of Musket Ball laying about in Cartridges, but the Powder taken out. They were informed by the Onondaga Indians in their return that when the Forts were taken the Indians all went off disgusted because the French would not give them any Prisoners, and that the French remained there by themselves 4 days after the Indians left them

Fort Johnson 10 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1756 A. M.

PRESENT—

Sir William Johnson

Mr Croghan

Peter Wraxall Sécry

Interpreters Capt Montour

Arent Stevens

Coll Clapham who commands the Pensilvania Levies on the Susquehanna having sent a letter and some papers relative to Indian matters to Sir William Johnson by a Cayouga Indian, who was charged with several Belts and Strings of Wampum to the 5 Nations—The said Indian gave the following relation of Indian Transactions which had lately passed in the Government of Pensilvania and which he was now going to lay before the five Nations

“That an old Onondaga Indian sent last Spring by Sir William Johnson with a Belt and Message to the Delaware Indians living on the Susquehanna to admonish them to cease from all Hostilities against their Bretheren the English, and who was also charged with several Messages from the Half King and M<sup>r</sup> Montour to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Pensilvania the said Indian in his way called at Coll Claphams encampment on the Susquehanna who gave him a friendly and kind reception and told him he was glad to see any one of the 6 Nations and welcomed him with a string of Wampum which this Cayauga Indian now showed.”

That Coll Clapham sent an express to acquaint Gov<sup>r</sup> Morris of the aforesaid Onondaga Indians being in his camp. That Governour Morris invited him to Philadelphia; that he went thither and was very friendly received and that Gov<sup>r</sup> Morris spoke to him with a string of Wampum after this manner “I find myself as a person sitting in darkness and my feet in blood however as I have the welfare of the country at heart and am inclined to keep up a good correspondence with the 6 Nations I am always glad to see any of them and ready to transact business with them” That Coll Clapham repeated the same speech over when the Onondaga Indian returned to his camp with an other String of Wampum (: these two Strings of Wampum the present speaker produced)

Gov Morris further said

“Brother

I desire the 5 Nations will speak to the Indians living on the Susquehanna to forbear all further hostilities against my people and return to their former friendship and Alliance” and hereupon gave a string. Coll Clapham repeated the same with an other String at his camp (: both these strings the present speaker produced:)

Gov Morris continued and said

“Brother

We are destitute of any Indians to assist us this way and I confess we do not ourselves understand fighting in the woods, if we had a number of your Warriors to assist us, we would try to take Fort Du quesne; I therefore desire you will speak to the 5 Nations and also to the Mohawks to send me a party of their young men to help me” and hereupon gave a string which the present speaker produced

That Coll Clapham upon the Onondaga Indians return to his Camp spoke to him with a Belt (: which the present speaker shewed:) as follows

“Brother

Pray take this Belt with you to Onondaga and tell the 6 Nations to hold fast the Covenant Chain of Friendship between them and us & the Inhabitants of Pensilvania for if they let it go

it will be the Death of us both, and tho some of the 6 Nations are joined with our enemies against us, yet I am no ways inclined to break our alliance with them on that account"

Brother—With this Belt also acquaint the 6 Nations, that I have built a Fort at Juniata [Fort Granville<sup>1</sup> since taken and destroyed by the enemy] and another here at Shamokin and I proposed building an other at Wyoming if the 6 Nations will consent to it, and there to plant some corn and Provisions to support my people and the Indians which may come that way; but let not the 6 Nations imagine my building a Fort and planting there is to make a property of it, if the 6 Nations approve this proposal I expect a considerable number of them will speedily come down to a Meeting at Philadelphia and there we will settle all matters"

"Brother We have never denied any request of the 6 Nations, and we hope they will not refuse us the liberty we now ask of building this Fort and cultivating the Land round it, and be assured whatever Indians be poor or in want, If they come to me I will relieve them, as I am resolved to take care of all the Indians living on the waters of the Susquehanna" and hereupon gave a string which the speaker shewed

That Governor Morris told the Onondaga Indian at Philadelphia. *That as he found by woeful experience, that making purchases of Lands was the cause of much blood having been shed he was determined to buy no more*" but if there should any great man come and want to buy your Lands (said he) refuse him the first time, but if he presses it and offers a great deal of money, take it but the Land you must not let him have" and hereupon gave him a string of Wampum which the speaker produced

And thus ended the Cayouga Indians relation

After which Monakadook or the half King (who had been present during the foregoing as had been several other Indians of the 6 Nations:) acquainted S<sup>r</sup> William with what Newcastle an Indian lately come from Philadelphia:) was charged with from that Government to him and M<sup>r</sup> Montour by a Belt and 4 Strings of Wampum

First he produced the 4 Strings of Wampum, which he said were sent to them by M<sup>r</sup> Peters and M<sup>r</sup> Logan to acquaint them, as also the Belt of Wampum (: a Seneca chief:) and Seneca George, that they are surprised they have not heard from them since they left Philadelphia nor from Sir William Johnson about them and if they are living to greet them and put them in mind of their old friendship

He next produced a large Belt of black and whit Wampum which the New Gov<sup>r</sup> of Pensilvania (: Mr Denny:) had sent to the above named Indians to inquire of them about one Tedyescunt a Delaware Indian who lives at Tiyaôgo, and has acquainted the Governm<sup>t</sup> of Pensilvania, that he is King of the Delawares, elected by 10 Nations with the concurrence of the 6 Nations and that there is another King appointed over the 6 Nations, and that these two Kings have the sole Management of all the Indian affairs. But that the Governor of Pensilvania is doubtful of the truth of this matter, and mistrusts the freindly professions which Tedyescunt has made to that Gov<sup>t</sup> as the Delaware Indians are still murdering his People; and desires Monakadouta and the others will enquire of Sir William Johnson and the 6 Nations if what Tedyescunt had related be true, that he may know how to govern himself towards him—Hereupon Monakadouta addressed himself to Sir William and said

<sup>1</sup> At the junction of the Kishikoquillos creek with the Juniata river, *Pennsylvania Archives*, II., 556; now Lewistown, Mifflin county, Pennsylvania. — Ed.



Brother

As you have the sole managem<sup>t</sup> of the affairs of the 6 Nations I leave this Belt with you to answer upon it, if you know any thing of these Great Men

Sir William told the Cayouga Indian that he thanked him for his particular relation of what had passed between Governor Morris, Coll Clapham, and the Onondaga Indian named Ogaghradarihha and that all such matters ought to come to his knowledge

He also answered Monakadouta upon the Belt sent him and the rest by Gov<sup>r</sup> Denny, that he was totally ignorant of any such King of the Delawares or of any King of the 6 Nations as mentioned in M<sup>r</sup> Denny's Message to them, but there was speedily to be a meeting of the 6 Nations at his house he would enquire into the affair—And thus ended this Meeting

Fort Johnson Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> Sep 1756

Peter Wraxall Secry

Arent Stevens Interpreter

An Onondaga Sachem and Warrior who went with some white men and Indians to Oswego: reports: That in his Return between Onondaga and the Tuscarora Castle he met three principal men of his Nation, who were coming down to Sir William Johnsons upon his late summons to the 6 Nations, but that they were overtaken by Messengers sent by the Cayouga Nation desiring them to defer proceeding to the said Meeting till some of their Sachems whom they dayly expected were returned from Canada And that on his arrival at Oneida those Indians acquainted him they had received the like Message from the Cayougas and gave him a large Belt to carry to their Brother Warraghiyagey to acquaint him that they as well as the Onondagas suspended their attendance upon him in consequence of this message from the Cayougas, but said they did not refuse to come out of any disrespect to him & prayed him to be easy in his mind upon it, but if he was displeased with their deferring to attend him, or did not approve of their delay to let them know it immediately Thus ended

The Indian gave the large Belt The same Indian reported with regard to the present state of Oswego the same as before recorded—But added that he had learnt from his bretheren at Onondaga the following intelligence

That several of the upper Nations going to Canada met the French army which took Oswego near Swegachie—That the French General told the aforesaid Indians that he supposed their coming to Canada had been delayed by Sir William Johnsons Management and Meetings with them—That the French had wanted to acquaint the 5 Nations with their present design of taking Oswego—That had they gone to Canada sooner they might perhaps have prevented his present undertaking but now he was on his march he should not stop that the affair would soon be ended that he was glad the English had built the Forts Vessells &<sup>ca</sup> for they were all now ready for him to take and destroy—That Oswego used only to be a trading house for the English but now they have built Forts shipping &<sup>ca</sup> “is this (said he) like a Trading house? “had they let it remain as it used to be, I should not have laid my hands on it: I have many “trading houses too, but I don't build Forts and make such formidable preparations, I should “not be against the English having a trading house but I won't suffer them to build Forts & “shipping, and if they attempt again I will again come and destroy them, this war wont be a “long one, for I shall after I have destroyed Oswego go to Lake George and destroy the Forts

“there and so go to Albany and Schonectady and then return back to Lake George and if the English should draw their People from the Oneida Carrying Place and German Flatts to meet me at Lake George I’ll divide my army and come down upon them from Oswego”

That after this the French General gave the said 5 Nations Indians a letter to the Governor of Canada which our Indians think is to detain their people hostages for the conduct of their respective Nations

At the Onondaga Castle the said Indian was informed

That the morning after the French had finished, the French General summoned Fort Ontario—That the command officer consented to surrender upon Terms; the french General answered his orders were to fight and not treat—That several Messages past between the English and French after which the French began their attack, that the whole affair lasted 4 days when the English called out we are overpowered, surrendered and threw down their arms, when the French took possession and hoisted their white Flag—That the Indians got drunk with the great quantity of Rum found in the Forts and in their liquor fell upon the English Prisoners and murdered 100 of them—That the French lost but 4 of their people in the attack, but he did not hear how many of the English were killed

That the French stayed 4 days after the Forts were surrendered burning and taking away every thing, that our officers were all sent off in one vessel

Fort Johnson 14 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756.

Twenty three Mohawk Indians of the lower castle, headed by young Abraham & wide mouthed Brant both Sachems sett off for Canada in order to anoy the enemy

15 Sept<sup>r</sup> Four white Men and two Indians sent by Sir William Johnson as scouts to discover the motions of the enemy their Posture number &<sup>ca</sup> at and between Tiyondarogo and Forts William Henry and Edward

Fort Johnson 15 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756 A. M.

The Information of *Moses* a Mohawk Warrior

That 11 days ago he was at Tiyondaroga, that the enemy have three small Forts between that Post and the second narrows on the west side of the lake and a stone Fort at the east side were the water is very narrow at the south end of the carrying place. That they have a great number of people and most of their Indians at the nearest Fort on the West side towards Fort William Henry.

That the day he was watching for a scalp near one of their advanced Forts on the west side he heard a great number of Canon fired at Tiyondarogo, and afterwards at the Stone Fort on the East side of the Lake which he apprehends was upon their receiving the news of their success at Oswego, that at this advanced Fort he was so near as to see the commanding officer throw up his hatt in the air and huzza and that a Feu de joye was fired by the Troops there upon the occasion—That he saw no craft belonging to the enemy on the Lake

Fort Johnson 17<sup>th</sup> Sep—1756 A. M.

Sir William Johnson having this morning received an express from Lord Loudoun acquainting him that his Lordship was putting his Troops in motion toward Lake George,

and that he himself prepared to March to Fort Edward in order to be at hand to make head against any attempts of the enemy and directing Sir William to get as many Indians as he possibly good<sup>1</sup> to join His Matys Forces—Sir William hereupon sent a message for the head Sachems of the lower Mohawk Castle and convened with them all the Indians of the several Nations now here, and acquainted them with the purport of his Lordships Orders and produced to them two Belts, one very large which he proposed to send thro the 6 Nations to summon them according to their engagements to him at the late Meeting at Onondaga to rise and without delay come and join the army at Fort Edward or Fort William Henry as my Lord Loudoun might thereafter direct

An other smaller Belt which he proposed to send with the like summons to the Aughquaga & Southern Indians

He further acquainted them that he proposed as soon as he got a sufficient party together to march thro' the woods and join Lord Loudoun at Fort Edward, and told the half King & Aughquaga Thomas and their party who were ready and intended to go out a scalping to Canada, that he would now have them go with Capt<sup>n</sup> Wraxall to Albany and from thence to march with Lord Loudoun to Fort Edward, and serve as scouts to his Lordships march and that he should send off an express to stopp the Mohawk Party who left this the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst from going as they designed to Canada, and to rendezvous at Fort Edward, and there to go out on the Scout to discover the motions of the enemy, and such other duty as may be found necessary for His Majestys Service

They answered that they agreed to Sir Williams proposals, and that the party would be ready to sett off wth Capt<sup>n</sup> Wraxall tomorrow which would consist of 32 and that perhaps more might drop in before they marched

The foregoing is a true Copy from the Original examined by me

PETER WRAXALL

Sécry for Indian Affrs.

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 73. ]

New York 2 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1756

My Lords

The engrossed copies of the Acts of this year except those passed the 1<sup>st</sup> Instant, are put up in the Box addressed to your Lordships being 28 in Number and inclosed is a list of their Titles. The Proceedings of the Council & assembly upon these acts go with them and copies of the Minutes of Council from the 30<sup>th</sup> November 1756 inclusive. It will appear by the Titles of the acts that only two, need any observation, the others being either of a private Nature or to continue Former Acts, or similar to such as have been passed formerly, and the Reasons for passing which appear in the Preambles or Titles, I shall therefore confine myself to those two. the first is—An Act for the Payments of the Debts due from this Colony, and

<sup>1</sup> Sic. could. — Ed.



other purposes therein ment<sup>d</sup> passed the 1<sup>st</sup> April 1756 — The Assembly in framing this Bill included the arrears of Salaries due to the officers of Government looking upon them to be as much a debt of the Governments as any of the other services mentioned in the Bill. And as the could not be prevailed on to depart from this method I was constrained either to pass the act, or leave the Debts of the Government unpaid, almost all of which your Lordships will perceive were for services performed, which arose chiefly from the situation of the publick affairs, and to have left debts of this nature undischarged, I was of opinion would have affected the Credit of the Province, and proved a great obstacle to any future General Service. At the same time I was convinced the leaving the arrears of Salary unpaid, would have no effect upon the Assembly, with respect to a future Bill for the support of His Majestys Government. These Reasons with concurr<sup>g</sup> opinion of the Council (in their minutes page 28) induced me to give my Assent to this act for which I hope to have your Ldps approbation

The other is An Act for raising paying & subsisting 1715 effective men, officers included to be employed in conjunction with the neighbour<sup>g</sup> Colonies on an expedition for reducing the French Fort at Crown Point and carrying on an expensive War against the Indians who infest the Western Frontiers of this Colony, and other purposes therein mentioned. Passed at the same time

The objections to this Act are first that the Fund for sinking, the Bills of Credit made current by it, is not to take place till 1762, in which and the three succeeding years, the emission is to be sunk, which is in effect giving the Bills a currency beyond the term of 5 years limited by His Majestys Instructions

Upon my laying before the Council the Resolutions of the Assembly of the 28<sup>th</sup> January to provide in this manner for the pay and subsistence for 1000 Men, they agreed with the Assembly that the circumstances of the Province would not admit of a shorter duration of the Bills as appears by their minutes page 15 to whose reasons I beg to refer your Lordships, it being impossible for me at that time from my short residence in the Province to form any opinion of my own as to this matter, and as when the Bill came to me, the sum granted was £52,000 instead of 40,000 mentioned in the Resolutions without giving the Bills further currency and the Assembly had shown so good a disposition for the general service, by a fixed augmentation of Forces to 1315, to be occasionally increased to 1715, which the proceeding year only amounted 800, I thought it for his Majestys Service to wave this objection

<sup>2<sup>dy</sup></sup> In the nomination of Pay masters and Commissaries, as to which I can only say that I insisted upon their being left out; the Council too did all they could to remove this obstacle, but the utmost length the Assembly would go, was to add the words in the Act importing that I had appointed them. From which considerations I hope your Lordships will approve of my having also given my assent to this Bill

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

To the Rt Hónble  
the Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> for Trade  
and Plantations

most obedient and  
humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 74.]

Fort George, N York 2<sup>d</sup> [December] 1756

My Lords

Yesterday I put an end to the session of the General Assembly by a Prorogation to the 11 of Jan<sup>ry</sup> Next after passing the several Bills, that were ready for my Assent—Those relating to the public service and granting money to the Crown I shall mention

As my letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of October enclosed to your Lordships my speech at the opening of the Session with the addresses of His Majestys Counsel and General Assembly, I shall briefly lay before you the methods that has been taken to bring the Assembly to a compliance with His Majestys pleasure in Framing the Bills for support of his Matys Governm<sup>t</sup> and in the nomination of Commissioners & other officers of Government

On the receipt of your Ldps letter of the fourth of March last signify<sup>g</sup> His Majestys Pleasure to me to assent to such temporary Bills as the assembly should Frame and Pass for the support of Government &c, and it appearing from your Lordships directions to me that His Majesty was pleased to indulge the general Assembly of this Province in this measure, from their repeated assurances that they did not mean to take upon themselves the executive Power of Government I thought it my duty to endeavour to bring the Assembly fully to comply with His Majestys Instructions to me in these Particulars. For the attaining this end I judged it proper at the opening the Sessions, to recommend it to the General Assembly to proceed to the Framing & passing a Bill for the support of His Majestys Government previous to any other conformable to His Matys pleasure. In conversing with the Speaker upon this subject, and finding his house not disposed to leave out the names of the Treasurer, Agent and some inferior officers attending the General Assembly I used all the arguments I was master of, urging to him their own solemn assurances given the Lieutenant Governor in their addresses to him of the 6<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1753 and of the 25 Nov 1754, I did not fail of pointing out to him His Matys goodness in allowing me to pass such a temporary Law as I had recommended and what must be expected from them for this Royal indulgence, during their setting many conferences passed between him and me upon it. The Gentlemen of His Majestys Council have also in many private conferences used the like arguments and urged this matter very fully but to little effect, and I have been able to obtain no more from them in this point, than the leaving out the names of the Governor, Cheif Justice, Assistant judges & other officers appointed by His Majesty or his Governor, granting the Salaries to the officers by Warrant, with incerting the names of the Treasurer, Agents, clerk & Doorkeeper of the General Assembly their appointments to be paid by an order of the House signed by the Speaker

The Assembly upon considering that part of my speech for the establishing new Funds to be applied to the cancelling Bills already emited, framed two Laws One erecting a Stamp office and laying a duty upon all vellum, Parchment Paper &c. The other laying an excise of Six pence a pound upon all Tea of a Foreign growth. The Dutys ariseing from these two Bills is granted for His Majestys use, and to be applied by future Acts of Legislature, the first of these Bills, I hope will produce a good Fund the other more uncertain. These Bills as I expected they would, give rise to a difficulty in the appointment of Commissioners, which I insisted was in his Majestys Governor, using many arguments in private conference with the speaker & urging His Matys Rights, as in the Bill for the support of Government. But all I

have been able to obtain, in the nomination or appointment of Commissioners, has been in this form, A B, whom His Excellency the Gov<sup>r</sup> has been pleased to appoint, by which the Assembly acknowledge the right of appointment, but appear to have reserved (by inserting the name of the Commissioners) themselves a Power of putting a Negative on the Governors appointment

These are the Bills my Lord framed this sessions, most subject to objections The Stamp and excise upon Tea commence the 1<sup>st</sup> of January next and to continue for one year—Thus circumstanced I found myself under great difficultys when they came before me for my Assent & if the Measures I have taken to prevail on the Assembly to frame them consistent with His Matys pleasure and Instructions tho' without having the desired effect, appear to your Lordships more prudent and adviseable at this critical juncture, than engaging in a public dispute, It will give me great satisfaction and I shall hope for your Lordships approbation in having given my Assent to the Bills for the support of Government for the ensuing year, A Bill for the payment of the arrears due for support of Governm<sup>t</sup> for the last year, and the Stamp office & excise Bills, in the manner & form I have here described to your Lordships and indeed I was principally induced to pursue these measures from a conviction that I should not have been able to prevail on the assembly to have given way so far as they have had I attempted by arguments and reasoning in publick Messages, which I fear would have been introductory of heats & Passions, and in the end have left these Bills framed in the manner they were originally drawn in which shape I could not have assented to them at all, and the necessity there is at this time for accepting of Grants of money for the carrying on of his Majestys Service, encouraged me to pass these Laws I have herein mentioned—added to a moral certainty that the Assembly would have rather suffered those Bills to have been wholly lost, than have consented to any further amendment or alteration On the other hand if your Lordships are of opinion that I erred in passing these Bills in this present form. I must beg you will please to point out to me how far I may consent for the future

In a late letter to your Lórdps I informed you that a Bill for support of Government was depending and that I had demanded a Salary for His Maty<sup>s</sup> Governor of £1200. Sterling, this Point I have not able to carry, the Assembly have given an augmentation of £240 this currency which added to £1560 heretofore given they call equivalent for £1000 Sterling this I thought adviseable to accept of for the present, giving them to understand that I do not accept of it as the established Salary for His Matys Governor, and here it may not be improper to inform your Lordships that in no part of my Instructions the Salary His Majesty expects for his Governor is mentioned or ascertained

I have passed several other Bills this Session of a publick & private Nature, all which I shall transmitt when prepared, which I think can not be done by this Packet—Those that relate to the publick Service, I shall mention by which your Lordships will see, however contentious the General Assembly have been upon the Points I have had the honor to mention in the preceding part of this letter they have been well disposed to promote the publick Service

Upon the Season advancing for closing the campaign and the Troops drawing in to their winter Quarters I advised with Lord Loudoun about keeping up the whole or part of the Regiment raised in the Spring in the pay of this Province for the expedition against Crown point and his Lordship having informed me, that it would be for His Majestys Service to keep up the New York Regiment, adding that he expected the New England Governm<sup>t</sup> would discharge all their Forces I recommended this measure to the General Assembly they very readily sent me a resolution to support 803 effective men officers included to the 31 March



next that they might be ready to go on service as early in the Spring as should be judged necessary, This resolution I sent express to Lord Loudoun requesting he would give directions for reducing the Regiment to the numbers Voted, acquainting him, that I should provide warm clothing for the men, 500, of them are now in actual Service and posted between Albany & Fort Edward the other 300 are to be posted on our Western Frontiers to protect the inhabitants against the incursions of the Indians, I have passed a Bill for the subsistence of this Regiment to the time specified in the Resolution, and for furnishing them with Warm cloathing, and have put them under the command of His Majestys commander in cheif

Lord Loudoun informing me that he proposed quartering one of the Battallions of the Royal American Regiment in this city, I recommended to the Assembly to make provision for receiving and furnishing them with Bedding, Fire and Candle, they have been under great difficultys in framing a Bill for Billeting, which I mentioned in a former letter to your Lordships, but at last have passed one, leaving it to the Magistrate to settle the rates for such quarters, as may occasionally be wanted, over and above what the Barracks, and six Block houses I have fitted up for Barracks will hold & have given me assurances for providing for Beds, Fire and Candle for the Troops that take up their Quarters in those Barracks Upon the whole I hope we shall no difficultys in quartering the Troops allotted to this city, for by the Act, if the Publick houses are insufficient to take them in, the private houses must

The other Bills of a publick nature are annual acts, for granting to his Maty Dutys and impositions on Goods, Wares and merchandize imported, and to regulate the collecting the duty of Excise on strong liquors retailed, for cancelling Bills of Credit

As this sessions has been long, I thought it most adviseable to deferr pressing the Assembly to pass Laws for defraying a moiety of His Majestys Commission for determining the disputed Line between this Province & New Jersey, and for annulling the exorbitant Grant of Lands, to a convenient time at their next meeting.

As the engrossed copys of the Acts of the late Session can not be prepared to go by this Packet, I send your Lordships attested copies of one of them, and the Representation of the Council and Assembly to me thereupon, It is

An Act further to continue the currency of the Bills of credit for the payment of the Debts and for the better support of the Government of this colony and other purposes therein mentioned

This Bill is generally know[n] by the name of the Loan office Act £40,000 of the Bills of this emission were lent out to the people of such countys as were willing to take them at the Interest of £5 P<sup>r</sup> Cent the principal to be paid in four payments at certain periods which have before been twice prolonged, and as the Borrowers were under no apprehensions that these Bills would be called in at a time when by the increase of the public charge the Government would want the aid of the Interest they were unprepared to make the first paym<sup>t</sup> in April next, and I beleive would have been greatly distressed by it, as many of them must have sold their estates at a very disadvantageous Rate, this consideration and the certainty of the Fund which produces annually £1800 towards the support of the Government induced me to consent to the postponing the payments for one year (by giving assent to this Bill) in which time His Matys further pleasure may be known, It also appears to me that the credit of these Bills or those of any other emission can not be effected by continuing this fund for some time longer, and that no prejudice will arise to His Matys Service from thence, but on the contra y that if the Bills should be called in, the Province will be put to difficulty to find an other Fund so good. With these observations I shall leave to your Lordships consideration the

council and assemblys Representation expressing their desire that the original act may be further continued

I have the Honor to be

Your Lordships most obedient &

To  
The R<sup>t</sup> Honble The Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> of Trade & Plantations

most humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 77.]

Fort George N York Dec<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1756

My Lords

I am now to acquaint you that there is two vacancies in His Majestys Council of this Province by the Deaths of James Alexander and Edward Holland Esq<sup>res</sup> the first dyed in the summer and the latter a few weeks past

As the seventh article of His Majestys instructions directs me to transmit to your Lordships the names of three Persons inhabitants of this Province, whom I shall esteem best qualified to supply the vacancys that may happen in the council, I beg leave to lay before, and recommend to your Lordships Mr John Watts, Mr William Walton and Mr Robert R Livingston these Gentlemen are possessed of considerable estates in the Province and in my opinion are fully qualified for this trust

I judge it necessary to lay before your Lordships the state of His Matys Council, by which you will see the difficultys I must be subject to, if on any occasion His Majestys service calls me from this city at which times it is highly proper a committeee of the council should attend me, as most orders of Government must be by their advice, and it is as highly necessary that a full Quorum should be left in this City to carry into execution such orders as I may occasionally see necessary to send to them

Mr George Clark Secretary of the Province has not I am informed been in the country since he has been in the council, Major Rutherford<sup>1</sup> of the Royal American Regiment from his Military employment, can not attend this necessary part of His Maty's Service, and Sir William Johnson from the necessity he is under of closely attending to Indian affairs, is so little in this city that I can very seldom have his assistance. added to this, the Cheif Justice two assisting Judges and two Gentlemen in the profession of the Law, who attend the circuits and other Courts of justice

I have the Honor to be

Your Lordships

most obedient & most

To the Rt Honble the Lds Comm<sup>rs</sup>  
of Trade & Plantations

humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY

<sup>1</sup> JOHN RUTHERFORD was sworn a member of His Majesty's Council of New-York, 14th January, 1744. *New-York Council Minutes*, XXIII, 2, at which time he was a Captain of an independent company of New York. He served in Sir Peter Hackett's Brigade, in Braddock's campaign, 1755, *Sargent*, 327, and on the 6th January, 1756, was commissioned a Major of the 60th or Royal American Regiment. He was killed in the attack on Ticonderoga, 8th July, 1758. *Pennsylvania Archives* III, 476. — Ed.

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Li., No. 78.]

Fort George N York 22 Dec 1756

My Lords

In my letter to you of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Feb last I begged your Lordships Interposition with the Massachusetts Government to oblige their inhabitants to keep within proper Limits till His Majesty should please to determine the line of Jurisdiction between the two Provinces

Alter the many conferences and letters that have passed between me and Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley on this subject and the assurances he gave me, I had conceived hopes, that care would be taken on the side of the Massachusetts Government to prevent their People committing any further outrages and violences upon the Lands & Tennants of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Livingston and M<sup>r</sup> John Van Ransaleer, Proprietors of those two Mannors within this Province and which estates has been handed down to them by their auncestors from old Times

The claim the Massachusetts Governm<sup>t</sup> make to those Lands, is known to none but themselves, it has frequently been demand<sup>d</sup> from them in its full extent by my Predecessors as well by myself, but still remains unanswered and under this pretended claim the people residing at Sheffield and upon the Borders, adjoining to the Borders of this Province, do by force of arms & violence dispossess the Tenants of those Gentlemen, discharging them from holding their Farms from M<sup>r</sup> Livingston, and Ransaleer and put them or others in possession of them by giving them titles &c under themselves distressing and destroying the Peace of His Majestys subjects of this Province and threatening them with Fire and destruction A late transaction with the measures I have taken upon it, I shall now lay before your Lordships

M<sup>r</sup> Robert Livingstones Tennants being encouraged by such Proceedings to hold their Farms independent of him was advised by his Lawyers to serve the most riotous of them with ejectments and hav<sup>e</sup> the last term obtain judgments against them The Sheriff of the County of Albany was order<sup>d</sup> to turn them out of Possession, and put him in, He accordingly on the 25<sup>th</sup> of last month went with some men he summoned to attend him, to some houses of the ejected and after some opposition effected it, when proceeding to the House of one Hendrick Bruises,<sup>1</sup> another of the Tenants, on the same account one John Van Gelden (an Indian of Sheffield who lives on a Farm there of his own, is married to a White Woman and has by her several children and is a subject of the Massachusetts Government) came there on Horseback with one of his sons and Benjamin Franklin on foot all well armed, with a Gun Bayonet, Hatchett, Powder and Ball and forbid the sheriff touching the house of Bruises,<sup>1</sup> presenting their Guns at him and his company, but the sheriff like a good officer not regarding their Threats ordered his possy to surround them which they endeavoured to do, the Rioters advancing to them with the Indian Yell and other hideous noise, Van Geldens son snapped his Gun loaded with 10 Buck shot & one Bullet its missing Fire, Franklin made motions as if he would fire as did the old Van Gelden, the Possy still closing with them, though unarmed, knocked down young Van Gelden and Franklin taking their Guns from them, the old Indian being at some distance fired his Piece and shot one Adam Rypenberger (a poor Tenant of M<sup>r</sup> Livingstones who attended the Sheriff upon his summons) and rode off but being well pursued was taken and with the other two, sent to, and committed to Albany Jail

<sup>1</sup> Brusie. *New-York Documentary History*, III., 818. — Ed.



On the 29 one James Connor of Sheffield came to Mr Livingston and inform<sup>d</sup> him, that two of Van Geldens sons had been at Sheffield, when he heard them say they would have Timothy Connor (head collier to Mr Livingston,) dead or alive, that they would burn his (Mr Livingstons) house over his head, that they went from thence to Stockbridge to invite those Indians to assist them, to execute this scene of Villany and that if they could not prevail on them, they would go to the Mohawks & require assistance from them

Mr Livingston further informs me that one Nicholas Koens came twenty miles to advise him to keep a good watch, for that Vangeldens sons intended to come with the Stockbridge Indians to murder him and burn all he had. Inclos'd is copies of *Connors affidavit* and the *Coroners inquisition* for your Ldps further Information of this matter

On receipt of these Papers and Information I wrote Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup> Phips desiring him to send orders to the Inhabitants of his Government to forbear committing such violations and outrages and to forbid the Stockbridge Indians joining any People in them, I thought it right to acquaint him if His Matys subjects committed to my care, was not redressed in this just complaint he might be assured I would endeavor to have all such Rioters apprehended, and delivered over to the Law, to be punished as they deserved, and to prevent their carrying into execution their threats I applied to Lord Loudoun, for a sufficient Guard to be quartered at the House and Iron Works of Mr Livingston for the security of his family, when his Lordship informed me he had heard the story from the Mayor of Albany who is coroner of the county who he advised to make a requisition of such a guard, in Mr Livingstons name, and that he had left orders with General Abercrombie to send an officer and twenty five men to Mr Livingstons. Sir William Johnson was with Lord Loudoun at the Storys being told who acquainted his Lordship that he would send immediately to the Stockbridge Indians

By all these precautions I trust Mr Livingston will have no further disturbance for the present, for I can not flatter myself that these violations will not be attempted again if opportunitys offer for it, and his House left unguarded, I am sure my experience gives me little reason to hope any good effects from any representations made to the Massachusetts Government so often repeated that it would leave me to imagine some encouragement and countenance must be given by secret abettors of these manifest violations upon the legal rights and possessions of those Gentlemen.

I am told people in the Massachusetts Government are now buying Lands of the Stockbridge Indians, which have been purchas<sup>d</sup> near a centery from them and which have been settled many years by people in this Province, and that they are now laying out a Township on those Lands, which are comprised in the Kinderhooks Patent, I shall endeavor to inform myself of this particular and transmit to your Lordships what ever comes to my knowledge

The evils arising from such a procecedure of the Massachusetts Government if not fully put an end to, are too recent for me to trouble your Lordships with, especially at this time when all Hearts and Hands should be united to oppose the common enemy I have on all occasions endeavoured to inculcate unanimity and good Harmony between the two Provinces, how far I shall be able to persevere in this disposition under the circumstances I have related, and if those are repeated I must leave to your Lordships

The difficultys I have found in bringing the Assembly to pass a Law for defraying a moiety of His Majestys commission for determining the Line of Jurisdiction between the two Provinces leaves me little encouragement to hope it may soon be effected, or even if it could be on our side, I have still more reason to doubt the General Court of Boston's concurring in passing the like Law on their part

In examining of Papers in the Secretarys office relating to this dispatch I find in the month of June 1754 commissions from New York and the Massachusetts Bay, mett at Albany to settle a Line of Peace or temporary jurisdiction between the two Provinces, an examined copy of the Report of the Commissioners of New York to the Lieutenant Governor I now inclose by which your Lordships may more fully see the disposition of the Gov<sup>mt</sup> of the Massachusetts with respect to this controversy — Also inclosed is a copy of a Plan shewing the Patents on the East Side of Hudsons River with the dates of the Grants under this Government, the only alteration or point in which this plan differs with that produced at the meeting of the Comm<sup>rs</sup> is the red Lines marked H which is to show the Western Limits of the Massachusetts Government under their Grant of 1691 and refers to folio 5 in the Report, together with the red lines, taking Rhode Island and Plymouth Colonys which shews the Northern Line of those Colonies and Connecticut. The Green line marked G shews the last temporary line proposed by the Commissioners of New York taken notice of in the Report Folio 10

This is the best information I can at present furnish your Lordships with, and upon the whole, my Lords, I have so little prospect of this disputes being accommodat<sup>d</sup> so as to preserve Peace and good order upon our Borders till a final determinat<sup>n</sup> of a Line of jurisdiction takes place, that I find myself under a necessity to pray your Lordships interposition with His Majesty for his royal orders and injunctions of the Massachusetts Government to confine themselves within proper Limits; And your Lordships may be assured I shall in the mean time use my utmost endeavors to obtain a Law for defraying a Moiety of His Majestys Commission, and try to influence Lieutenant Governor Phipps to do the same on his part

For without such an injunction from His Majesty previous to the line of Jurisdiction's being determined I plainly see I must be reduced to the necessity of preserving good order and Government, by Force of Arms or give up His Maty's Subjects just rights and Possessions, to the manifest violations and encroachments of the People of New England

I have the honor to be

To

Your Lordships

The Rt H<sup>on</sup>ble

most obedient and

The Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup>

most humble Servant

for Trade & Plantations

CHA<sup>s</sup>. HARDY

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*Edmund Atkin, Esq., to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 87.]

New York 27<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1756

My Lords

By the Earl of Leicester Packet I sent your Lordships advice of my arrival here on the 6<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> by the General Wall Packet being the first that sai[l]d from Falmouth after I received my Despatches; of which I had immediately sent advice to the Earl of Loudoun. I proceeded afterwards to Albany, where I received a letter from his Lordship in Camp at Fort Edward that he should be glad to meet with me at the end of the campaign being then near at hand he

came to Albany the 2<sup>d</sup> of November; and Sir William Johnson who went home first for some papers came four days after. Then his Lordship held a consultation with us both upon the Indian affairs—and was pleased to declare that he received great satisfaction at the perfect Harmony that he found in our sentiments in general upon those affairs; by his Lordships directions we presented in writing our thoughts and opinion “Upon what Footing and after what manner, the British Trade or commerce with the Indian Nations may be best carried on and supported for the future” which we did separately adapted more particularly to the districts assigned to each of us respectively and his Lordship purposed to transmitt the same.

Sir William told me that the 6 Nations were weakened and in fact distressed some of the Western Nations having fallen off from their alliance, and the Shawanese and such of the Delawares as live upon the Ohio, who had been subject to them, having been set up and supported in an Independency upon them by the French still continuing Hostilities against the People of some of our colonies, contrary to their orders—For which reason he was sure they would be glad to be strengthened and to have that loss repaired by an alliance with the Southern Nations tho’ they were too haughty to acknowledge it or to take any direct steps themselves for it, and that therefore before he came from home he had hinted to some of their Sachems my being at Albany a good opportunity for them to lay a foundation for that purpose which he perceived was very pleasing to them—Before Sir William left Albany in order to go to a meeting of the 6 Nations appointed to be held at his own house, he repeated the same—And as I had proposed some questions to be asked by him in my name for the Service in View he wished that I could be present myself at that meeting—As I judged this to be a very favorable opportunity for endeavoring to put an end to the wars, which have subsisted time out of mind between the 6 united Nations—and some or other of the Southern Nations and consequently for bringing about an alliance by degrees between all the Indian Nations in friendship with the British subjects and reducing them into one General system therefore laying aside the distinction of districts in a matter in which His Matys Interest was so neerly concerned; I did with Lord Loudouns approbation follow Sir William to Fort Johnson in the Mohawk Country—Where I stayed one whole week during the conferences they were as he said much graver than usual and the Sachems at last acknowledged that they had not sufficient Authority to answer the principal Question, which he repeated[ly] pressed (to wit what assistance we may rely on from them in the next campaign, or what part they were determin’d to act in the present war between us and the French) untill they should have a more General Meeting at Onondaga after the return of some of their People who were then gone to Montreal

When I made afterwards my speech to them suited to the occasion of my coming, they discovered the greatest pleasure imaginable all the while I was speaking. And after a short consultation together privately (without going out of the Room) they gave so explicit and favorable an answer by their speaker, how thankfully they should receive any assistance from the Southern Nations against the French (giving me a large Belt of Wampum to be delivered with their Message) that it led me further, in as much as I foresaw that, in case it should be found expedient to set any of the Southern Indians to war upon the Shawanese and Delawares, it would be proper to be able to give them an assurance how it would be taken by the Six Nations; to ask them therefore at another conference in plain terms, what I might tell those Southern Indians concerning the Shawanese and Delawares still continuing hostilities against our People contrary to their orders? this question they answered as explictely and favorably—They also agreed to a proposition I made in order to distinguish our Indian Friends and



enemies, and thereby to prevent such mischeifs as have been frequently committed in the Southern Settlements by unknown Indians "That for the future any of their people going to "the Southward shall produce to me or at the Fort lately built on the other side of the "Cherokee mountains a Passport from Sir William Johnson mentioning their business—and "that when ever they meet with any Indian having a paper with an impression of my Seal of "office (which was viewed by them) they shall look upon him as a friend": The speeches and answers at large are here inclosed—Those three points obtained by my going to the said General Meeting are of much importance to the present service—It shall be my business to improve them to the utmost among the Southern Nations, so that the desired effect may be reaped therefrom

I returned to Albany with Sir William Johnson by which means we were near ten days longer together. And having had so much opportunity to talk things over, and compare our sentiments, as we have the good fortune to prove agreeable to each other, the consequence is, a mutual confidence establised between us in our mutual negociations for the future, of which the publick Service cannot fail to reap the benefit. I came back again to this city on the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month as Lord Loudoun did the next morning—So soon as ever I receive his Lordships despatches with my Instructions, I shall proceed immediately by land to the Southern Provinces; where I find on all hands the French have been for some time past, with the assistance of the Shawanese uncommonly active and busy among our Indians to produce a rupture with us in those parts It was the apprehension of this, which always made me desirous of getting thither as soon as possible

I entreat your Lordships to beleive that as I have nothing more at heart than the service I have undertaken, I will spare no pains to acquit myself faithfully of the Trust His Majesty hath been pleased to repose in me, and that I am very respectfully

My Lords

Your Lordship's

most obedient and

most humble Servant

EDM<sup>d</sup> ATKIN

P S I have wrote to the same purpose to His Majestys Secretary of State

To the R<sup>t</sup> Honble

The Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup>

of Trade & Plantations

*Conference between Edmund Atkin, Esq., and the Six Nations.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., No. 83. ]

Fort Johnson 21 Nov 1756.

## At a Meeting of the Six United Nations

PRESENT—The Honble Sir William Johnson Bt. Superintendant of the affairs of the  
Six Nations & their confederates

Edm<sup>d</sup> Atkin Esq<sup>re</sup> Superintendant of the affairs of the Indian Nations &  
their Confederates of Virginia N & S Carolina & Georgia

Peter Wraxall Esq<sup>re</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Claes Dep. Sec<sup>y</sup>

Mr Croghan

Captn Butler

Mr Johnson

Capt<sup>n</sup> Graham

Mr Francis

Interpreters Mr Stevens Mr Montour

Mr Atkin made the follow<sup>g</sup> speech

## Bretheren of the 6 united Nations

I am an Englishman, I have lived almost ever since I was a boy in South Carolina, I am acquainted with all the Southern Nations

I know most of their chiefs or head men; and they know me, because I have been one of the Great King Georges Counsellors in that country near twenty years; and was almost always present, while I staid there, whenever they came and talked with his Governors

All the Strouds Blankets, and other things which the Indians want for their use, they are supplied with by the English, in exchange for their Deer Skins and Furs The French can not supply them with them as those Indians often tell the French Governors—Therefore they love the English

They French came along after the English into the Mississippi Country—They began immediately on their arrival with building Forts wherever they went, and next endeavored to put a stop to the Trade of the Indians with the English; often killing our Traders privately—They made war upon several Nations of Indians, that opposed their designs and destroyed some Nations entirely for no other reasons—But the English had no design to hurt the Indians, but to live quietly and in Freindship with them Therefore they never attempted to build a Fort in any of the Indian countrys, till lately two Forts have been built in the country of the Cherokees, after ten years solicitation from them for us to do it in order to keep out the French, and to protect their wives and children against the French and their Indian Allies

There are Rogues among the white People as there are among the Indians Some of the English Traders have no doubt some times behaved ill towards the Indians so have some of the Indians towards our people—It was the business of their head men, and of the English Governors to prevent or punish such things, but the English Governors have had enough to do to take care of the affairs of the White People in their settlements—They were not able to go into the Indian country to see and examine all proceedings, in order to prevent misunderstanding by bad Practices. The Traders as well as the Indians, had an opportunity

by that means to tell lies and impose upon each other which was bad for both the English and the Indians that Trade with them. I hate Rogues, whether Whites or Indians, I always loved the Indians that is such as were honest and lived soberly and peaceably

Before these new troubles arose between the English and the French, I went home to England, and let the Great King your Father know every thing that concerned the Indians in friendship with the English to the Southward

The King being desirous to do every thing on his part for the good of the Indians, and to preserve a friendship between them and his people living in those parts, was pleased to make choice of and to appoint me to act for him, & superintend or take care of the affairs of the several Indian Nations living near his people in Virginia, North & South Carolina, and Georgia, and their allies, to look after the Behaviour of the whole people that trade among them, and to consult with their chiefs about what ever concerns their mutual Good, and so a sincere Friendship may be preserved between them and his Majesty; in the same manner as he appointed Sir William Johnson to superintend the affairs of you the six united Nations and your allies

Accordingly I am lately come over the Great Water, to see and talk with the Great Kings chief General and Sir William Johnson, before my proceeding to the Southward. I met them both at Albany and being told that you were to meet Sir William Johnson here in order to have a conference with him upon the present state of affairs; I thought it best to come and hear what past, that I may know for certain what part you are determined to act between us and the French—For when I meet the Southern Nations, they will ask me that question I will not tell lies for I have but one heart and one tongue. Therefore I desire to know from yourselves, what I shall tell them

Whatever part you are determined to act in the present war with the French Do you think the Southern Indians will stand with their arms across; No. I am sure they will help to put a stop to the French encroachments, upon their country, and freedom of Trade, and will join their ancient Freinds the English in any thing to be done for their mutual Support

It is good for all Indians that prefer the Trade and Friendship of the English to that of the French, to join their strength together, and to unite and support each other You have been asleep too long. awake get upon your leggs and take your arms in your hands before it is too late—It signifies nothing to call yourselves Friends of the English, unless you act as freinds by helping, We can look on you only as the Trees standing still in the woods—The Catawbas and Chickasaws would never permit French men to come near their country; and scorn to treat with the French, even the Chickasaw Women, when the French invaded their country with a large army, fought along with their Husbands, with their children tied to their Backs; and shared in the Honor of obtaining a compleat victory in open Field over that army. as their Bones will now tell you lying on the Ground

Bretheren

I thought fit to say thus much to you. and have but one question to ask—Are you still the Freinds of the English; and will you join them as your Forefathers did—Say what shall I tell the Southern Nations, that they may think the truth of you and know how to act for themselves—

*Gave a Belt.*



The Answer of the 6 Nations made to Mr Atkin's foregoing Speech, by  
Gonoquesa their speaker, after consultation with the Sachems

Brother

As your intentions in coming here, were to know the Sentiments of the Six Nations with regard to the present situation of affairs, that you may carry our opinion to the southward Indians We shall now acquaint you what our opinion is

Brother

We have listened attentively to all you have said and it has made a strong impression upon our Hearts. We thank you for coming here, and it will be very agreeable to us, that you communicate what we say, to our brother to the Southward

Brother

As you have told us that the King our Father hath made you superintendant over the affairs of the Southern Nations we hope you will take good care of them You desire to know whether we will act as our forefathers have done before us—We refer you upon that point to our brother Sir William Johnson, who best knows our characters.

Brother

We look upon you now as the cheif man to the Southward with regard to the Indians, as we do upon our brother Sir William Johnson this way, when he first took upon him the management of our affairs, We were in tottering condition like a Tree shook with every wind—We strengthened and brightened the Covenant chain with him, which we are resolved shall not be broke on our side

Brother

Be strong stand firm and tell all the Southern Indians, what we have now declared to you in behalf of our Bretheren the English—Let them know our situation that the enemy is on the Borders of our country, and do you use your Interest to obtain for us the Assistance of our Bretheren to the Southward, and tell them we shall receive it with thankfullness, and Gratitude. And hereupon we give you this Belt of Wampum, to deliver to the Chickasaws, & by them to be sent to the rest.

Gave a large Belt

Brother

We beg you will carry our message to the Chickasaws with the utmost speed; and deliver it in our own words They sent us word two months ago, they would be with us the latter end of next may. but the Senecas have sent another Message since to them, to hasten them sooner, so that we may be all ready in good time to joyn our brother Warraghiyagey when he may call upon us, and we desire you will with this String of Wampum, press this Message of the Senecas among them

Gave 2 Strings of Wampum

Brother

We have spoke to you after mature deliberation, and we hope that we shall both of us act, with a freindly and a prudent conduct

Mr Atkin replied

Bretheren

I have given close attention to all you have said and shall be careful to deliver your message in your own words and I am sure your Bretheren to the Southward will be pleased therewith, and that it will rejoice your hearts on both sides I shall make all the haste possible When I have business to do I sleep but little—If you are as well inclined as the Southern Indians, and will act unanimously I am sure you may laugh at the French

At another Conference held 23 Nov 1756—A. M.

PRESENT— as in the former Conference. (Capt<sup>n</sup> Graham Exc<sup>td</sup>)

Mr Atkin made the follow<sup>g</sup> Speech

Bretheren of the 6 united Nations

The Delawares & Shawano's your Nephews and Bretheren, some time ago took up the Hatchet against your Fathers People of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania & Carolina. I have been told that you interposed in behalf of those people; and that the Delawares and Shawanoes, both promised to lay down the Hatchet.—I hear that some of the Delawares living on the Susquehanna have complied with your orders but that the rest of the Delawares & Shawanoes still continue Hostilities against our people in those parts

As those Indians have been long counted a part of you and under your absolute direction. The Southern Indians I beleive will ask me how this comes to pass, and what they are to think of it.

And therefore I desire you will tell me your thoughts about this Matter, & what I shall tell the Southern Indians

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Bretheren

Some of your Warriors often go to the Southward and some times through the Country of the Cherokees some times French Indians mix in their company, who take that opportunity to go privately into the settlements of Carolina, and have several times done mischeif there

When the Governor of Carolina has been angry with the Cherokees for letting those people come through their country, the Cherokees have excused themselves by saying "That they were sensible that such Indians did come that way, but that they could not always distinguish them from your people"

Therefore to prevent any misunderstand<sup>g</sup> between you and us I, desire that whenever any of your people come for the future that way, they may bring a Paper in writing from my brother Sir William Johnson, mentioning their business; to be shewed to me, or if I am not there, then to be shewn at the Fort built lately in one of their towns over the Hills, that I may find out Rogues & French Indians

Mr Atkin then shewed his seal of office and said "that whenever they should meet with any Indian having a paper with that impression on it, they may look on him as a friend" which seal was handed round, and viewed by all the Indians present

The Speaker then said "they did not know what name to call him by; and therefore they had agreed to give him one; which was, Caughnegarighsey"

PRESENT — as in the Morning

23<sup>rd</sup> November P. M. 1756

The Six Nations made the following answer to Mr Atkins speech of this morn<sup>g</sup> Conoquiesca their speaker

Brother Caughnegarighsey

We have listened to what you have said to us this morning, about the Shawanees and Delawares, and your desire to us thereupon

Brother

We shall make one Tryal more by a very large Belt with those Indians and if they wont listen to our admonition we shall tell them "they must die" Gave 3 Strings Wampum

Brother

You have desired that when any of our People, go to the Southward, they might bring a letter or certificate from our Brother Warraghiyagey in order to prevent mistakes or mischeif This is good, but still it mayn't wholly answer the purpose for we may be fired upon, before we can shew our letter

We therefore think it will be better to carry a Red Flagg also, and when that is shewn, the Bearers to be looked upon as freinds

Sir William and Mr Atkin told them "They both agreed to this signal, and recommended "it, to them, to be careful in observing it, And that if they neglected it they must take the "consequence upon themselves

A true Copy from the  
Records of Indian affairs  
Examined by me  
PETER WRAXALL.

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll , 82. ]

Fort George New York 28 Dec. 1756

My Lords

Yesterday by the Packet I had the honor of your Lordships letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of October last and shall to the utmost of my power carry into execution His Matys orders, with respect to the exportation of Provisions from any Port or Place within this Government, But, I must beg leave to observe to your Lordships that I fear this can not be so fully executed, to answer all the good purposes designed by His Matys directions, while the Waters of this and the neighbouring Governments are open to those who may attempt smuggling Provisions to the Neutral Islands, notwithstanding an embargo, without the aid of small cruizers properly stationed upon these Coasts to intercept such smuggling Trade. Besides this, I have not the least doubt, but the French when they come to a knowledge of a general embargoes being laid, in the manner His Majesty has been pleased to direct, but they will employ many small



Privateers on these Coasts to intercept Provision Vessels bound to any of the British West India Islands and may by such means greatly releive the distresses that must necessarily fall upon them by a strict observance of His Matys Orders

I have the Honor to be

Your Lordships

To the Rt Hönble

The Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations

most obedient and

most humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY



*Secretary Pitt to the Governors of the Northern Provinces in America,<sup>1</sup> &c.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 75.]

Whitehall, Febr<sup>y</sup> 4, 1757.

Sir,

The King having nothing more at heart, than the preservation of his good subjects & Colonies of N. America, has come to a resolution of acting with the greatest vigour in those parts, the ensuing campaign, and all necessary preparations are making, for sending a considerable reinforcement of Troops, together with a strong squadron of ships, for that purpose, and in order to act offensively against the French in Canada.

It is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you should forthwith call together your Council & Assembly, and press them in the strongest manner to raise, with the utmost expedition, a number of provincial Troops, at least equal to those raised the last year, for the service of the ensuing Campaign, over and above what they shall judge necessary for the immediate defence of their own province; and that the Troops, so raised, do act in such Parts, as the Earl of Loudoun or the Commander in Chief of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s forces for the time being, shall judge most conducive to the service in general; and the King doubts not but that the several Prov<sup>ces</sup> truly sensible of his Paternal care, in sending so large a force for their security, will exert their utmost endeavours to second, and strengthen, such offensive operations against the French, as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall judge expedient, and will not clogg the enlistments of the Men or the raising of the money for their pay ettc, with such limitations, as have been hitherto found to render their service difficult and ineffectual, and as a further encouragement, I am to acquaint you, that the raising of the Men, their pay, arms, and cloathing will be all, that will be required on the part of the several provinces; measures having been already taken for laying up Magazines of stores and provisions of all kinds, at the expence of the Crown.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to you, to use all your influence with your Council and Assembly for the punctual and immediate execution of these His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s commands.

I am ettc.

W. PITT.

<sup>1</sup> i. e., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey.

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Ll., 90. ]

Fort George New York 28 Feb. 1757.

My Lords

I have now the honor to transmit to your Lordships engrossed copys of fifteen acts, together with the proceedings and votes of the Council & General Assembly in the sessions began the 21 September and ended the 1<sup>st</sup> December last

I have before observed upon the two acts for the payment of the Salaries of the officers of the Government, and sent your Lordships a copy of that for continuing the currency of the Bills of Credit entitled by a former act, with my observations in a letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> last, inclosing a copy of the Representation of the Council and Assembly to me in the said Act, which Representation appears in their proceedings, to all which I beg leave to refer your Lordships

The Act for Billetting his Matys forces is only in force to the 1 of January next, leaving the rates to be paid for Quarters appears liable to many objections, I then thought so and urged strongly with the Assembly the necessity of framing a proper Law for quartering His Majestys Troops in the manner of the Mutiny act in Britain. But the General Assembly insisting on their clause, I thought it adviseable to pass it, in its present Form that some color and authority might be given the Magistrates to put the Troops under cover, well knowing no inconvenience would arise from it, And it is with pleasure I can acquaint your Lordships that little or no difficultys have arisen in quartering the Forces in this City, the Townships near adjoining to it, and in others on Long Island

As to the Acts for laying and excise on Tea retailed, and establishing a stamp office; I had recommended these Taxes with a Pole Tax on Negroes it appearing to me absolutely necessary to get other Funds established to prevent in some measure the frequent emissions which I foresaw would be the consequence of the heavy charge the Province must be put to during the War. The Tax on Negroes the Assembly would not come into

The Act for paying and cloathing the Forces is of the same Nature with those passed before on the like occasion. And the repealing act refers to clauses in the acts to raise money for a colledge which I passed to reconcile the differences that had arisen about the colledge by applying the moneys (confined to those clauses to the purpose only of erecting a colledge) One moiety to the colledge an the other towards building a New Goal in this city and a Pest House

Your Lordships will be pleased to observe by the enclosed list of their Titles that the other acts need no observation

I have the Honor to be

To

Your Lordships

The Right Hönble

most obedient &amp;

The Lords Commissioners

most humble Servant

for Trade and Plantations

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY

*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Ll., No. 91.]

Fort George New York 4 Mar. 1757.

My Lords

I have now the Honor to inclose your Lordships my speech to the General Assembly at the opening the sessions the 17<sup>th</sup> of last month with the addresses of the two Houses, and have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Assembly very readily agreed to make Provision for the subsisting & cloathing 1000 men (the number required by Lord Loudoun) to act in conjunction with His Majestys Forces in the ensuing campaign. The Assembly after sitting Ten days and having a bill for the payment and cloathing the Forces in the manner with former Bills of the like Nature. A Bill for the speedy and effectually recruiting the forces to be furnished by this Colony &c, by which Bill if it appears they can not be compleated by Volunteers—I am empowered to supply the deficiency by detachments from the Militia of the several countys in certain Proportions A Bill for regulating the Pilotage of the Port of New York, and some other Bills of a private Nature, being desirous of a recess. After passing these acts I put an end to their sitting by an adjournment for a month, at which time they will be ready to meet, if I should receive any orders that may make it necessary for their coming together again at that time

The disposition of the General Assembly to pass Laws for defraying a moiety of his Majestys Commission to determine the lines of controversy, and for vacating & annulling those exorbitant Grants of Land complained of by the Indians, will fully appear to your Lordships by their address

I must also beg leave to point out to your Lordships the sentiments of His Majestys council with regard to the controverted Lines, and as I have in my former letters on this subject moved your Lordships for His Majestys Interposition till a final settlement can take Place, so I can not avoid giving it to your Lordships as my opinion that we have no prospect of preserving Peace and good order upon our borders without it And that this may more fully appear to your Lordships—Inclosed is a copy of a Message sent to Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Phips by the two Houses of the Massachusetts Government, upon his laying before them a letter I wrote to him upon the behavior of some people of that Province joining with the Tenants of M<sup>r</sup> Livingston in opposing the sheriff in the execution of his duty, a full account of which I gave your Lordships in my letter of the 22 Dec<sup>r</sup> last

Lord Loudoun upon his return here from Boston informed me he had his Majestys orders to make preparation for a vigorous and offensive operation In a conference with his Lordship upon this intended service it appearing necessary to procure a number of ships and Vessels for transporting his Majestys Troops it was thought adviseable to embargo the Ports of the continent from Virginia to Boston, that His Majestys Service might not be disappointed for want of such a supply; and that his Lordship should write to the several Governm<sup>ts</sup> to recommend this necessary measure I received his Lordships letter the 2<sup>d</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> and immediately called His Matys Council together, who unanimously advised me to lay a General embargo on this and all other Ports within this Province, which took place that day and Lord Loudouns letters carried the advices of it to the several Governors



I have since been much employed in procuring ships here and hope I shall be able to make up three thousand Ton, which will be as much as we shall be able to man, and the deficiency must be made up from the other Ports

The inclosed extract of a letter to the owners of the Peggy Privateer of this City I judged proper to transmit to your Lordships, as it contains not only some intelligence relative to the Southern Indians but of the motion of the French upon the waters of the Ohio. If the privateer returns safe to this Port I shall carefully examine the private letters mentioned by Haddon, also a French officer he has on board that he detained out of his Prize, and communicate to you every matter that appears of any consequence or worth troubling you with, I have delivered this information to Lord Loudoun and shall only make one observation upon it. That if it be true that the French have made a Peace with the Cherokees & Shawaneese I hope they have not been able to prevail on them to take up the Hatchett against the English, especially the former tribe; The French throwing numbers of men with Provisions and Stores into the Mississippi River may prove very injurious to his Majestys Southern Colonies; and that they will attempt this, there can be no doubt; if the Port of New Orleans is left unguarded the shallowness of the Waters leading into it would give English cruizers great advantages, and I have been informed that no ship or vessel of any burthen or draft of Water, can go over the long flat Bar, without first taking out the greatest part of her Cargo. as this is a matter that relates to a service, I have had the honor to be brought up in, I flatter myself I shall have your Ldps excuse in observing, that the Squadron of His Matys Ships employed at Jamaica by keeping detached Cruizers from it off the Port of New Orleans, or Mouth of the Mississippi River, would renders these supplys very precarious, for if they were even to intercept the Indian Presents only it would be of the Greatest consequence to the British Interest with those Nations

By the Packet I send your Lordships a copy of a Draft of the River Saint Lawrence, the original I procured out of a prize, brought in here which I have sent to the Board of Admiralty

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships

To the Rt Honble

The Lords Commissioners

for Trade and Plantations

most obedient & most

humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY.

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*Extract from Captain Richard Haddon's Letter.*

[New York Papers, Ll., No. 96.]

Extract of a letter from Richard Haddon commander of the Schooner Peggy Privateer dated off Cape Corientes 29 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1756, to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Nathaniel Marston, Jaspar Parmer & Co New York

"I discover by private letters, for the Packet was hove overboard after she struck, which I took out of the Brigantine that I took off Mississippi River bound to Cape François that the Cherokee and the Shawanese Indians have made a Peace with the Governor of Mississippi in

November last, at a great expence in Presents, but is thought by them vastly to the advantage of their Colony, There is one thousand Troops sent up this summer to the Illinois country and what troops are in New Orleans will march some time in February next, as there will be one other reinforcement in the Spring to prevent which would be very easy, and with a body of 2 or three thousand men might reduce New Orleans with ease, as there is a great discontent among the Colonists, the Military body exercising authority at this time, to which heretofore they were estranged, They have had no news from France these three months, and every thing is at a Golden Price with them. I can find nothing out what became of the remainder of General Braddocks Army notwithstanding I have an officer who has been 23 years in the country and has been on several skirmishes in the Indian Nations, I hope to give some light to our Governor, how much Mississippi ou[gh]t at this conjuncture to be watched or in a few years we shall find the effect of such a neglect; I have letters on board which I purpose to keep (to shew that what I here assert are real facts) and safer in my hands, than by this conveyance, or would send them, I make this digression as I thought it a matter of consequence to our country in the service of which I am ever ready to sacrifice my all

A true Extract

Examind by

BENJ<sup>a</sup> BARONS

Secretary

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*Lords of Trade to Governor Hardy.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., p. 106. ]

To Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy Kn<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

His Majesty having in consequence of your letter to Us, dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August last, permitted and allowed you to resign the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New York, we herewith inclose you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s order for that purpose. And we should not do justice to your conduct during the Administration of this Govern<sup>t</sup> if we did not at the same time express our approbation of every part of it, but more particularly in the prudent steps you have taken, and the vigilance and activity you have shewn at all times, and upon all occasions to promote His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service and to support and accelerate the measures pursued to distress the Enemy and recover His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Rights, and, tho these measures in general have hitherto ended in loss and disappointment, yet whenever success has shewn itself, it is in great measure to be attributed, to your indefatigable endeavours to furnish the Army with Stores, waggons and provisions, the bad supply of which has been upon all occasions a matter of just complaint, and has greatly embarassed and obstructed the service.

The keeping up a body of Men in the pay of New York during the Winter, the putting them under the immediate direction of His Majesty's Commander in Chief, and the providing Quarters for that part of the Army cantoned in your province, are measures which justly merit, and therefore can not fail of having His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s approbation; and altho' we can not help expressing our great concern that in the manner of framing the Laws for those and other

purposes, the Assembly should have again reverted to the claims and pretentions which we had hopes, from former declarations made by them, they were willing to have receded from, yet the importance of them to the public service rendered it highly proper and prudent that you should assent to them, and we shall not in the present exigency of the Times, take upon us to advise the repeal of them, as they appear to us to be so essential to the good of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service.

It is a melancholy consideration, that in such times as these, the dispute between New York and the Massachusetts Bay concerning their Boundaries should have been carried to so indecent a length, as to have been the occasion of Riot and Bloodshed, and as that matter appears to us, to require some immediate remedy, We lost no time in taking it into our consideration, and shall think ourselves happy, if, in a Question so perplexed with difficulties as this appears to be, We can suggest any thing, which may have the effect to procure peace and quiet, until a final determination can be had. We are,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants

DUNK HALIFAX

SOAME JENYNS

RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY

W. SLOPER.

10 March 1757

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*Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson.*

[ New-York Entries, B., P. 111. ]

To Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup>.

Sir,

We have received your letter dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of September last inclosing a copy of your proceedings at the Congress at Onondago and the subsequent one at your own house, with the Shawonese and Delawar Indians, and also your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> with a copy of your further proceedings from the 21<sup>st</sup> of July to 17<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> and an account of your disbursements in the execution of the service intrusted to your care and direction.

It is unnecessary for us to say any thing further upon this occasion, then that in your conduct, appears to us to be highly proper in every part of it, and as such can not fail of meeting with his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s approbation, it is a great satisfaction to us to find that your endeavours to put a stop to the hostilities of the Shawonese and Delawar Indians upon the Frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, have been attended with success, and we are not without hopes that the like success may attend your endeavours to fix the Six Nations steadfast in our interest and to renew that ancient covenant Chain, the Link of which have been so greatly loosened by the loss of Oswego and the other disappointments which have attended our Arms in America.

We entirely agree with you that nothing can more effectually answer this purpose than giving the Indians proper redress in the injuries they have sustained in the case of their Lands patented under pretence of purchase from them, but the difficultys which occur to Us upon this occasion are so many, and so great that, We have not as yet been able to form a Judgement in what way that redress can be effectually and properly obtained.



What you say in your Letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> with respect to Mr Penn's purchase appeared to Us very material, and having as We thought it our duty to do, communicated it to him, We herewith inclose to you his observations upon it, which We desire you will take into your consideration, and in case you think what is therein proposed to be reasonable and proper, you will take such measures, as you shall judge to be most expedient; and we are desired by the proprietors to acquaint you, that they will appoint Richard Peters and Conrad Weiser, Commissioners in those parts to treat with the Six Nations in concert with you upon all points relative to these affairs, and also for the hearing and determining of any complaints, that may be made by those Indians, who have committed hostilities on the Frontiers of Pennsylvania; and they desire, in case you approve this, that those Indians may be summoned to attend you with the Deputys of the Six Nations, and settle all matters in dispute between them and His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s subjects with the Assistance and consent of the Deputies of the Six Nations at such places, as you shall appoint, and the proprietors have assured Us, they will give Instructions to their Officers agreeable to this proposal. We are

Sir

Your most obedient humble servants.

DUNK HALIFAX  
SOAME JENYNS  
RICH<sup>d</sup> RIGBY  
W<sup>m</sup> SLOPER.

10 March 1757

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*Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 1. ]

Fort George, New York. 24<sup>th</sup> May 1757.

My Lords,

By his Majesty's Sloop Ferrett that arrived here the first day of this Month, I received orders from My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to hoist my Flag and repair to Hallifax and to carry into execution the orders His Majesty's Ships employed there are under till the arrival of Rear Admiral Holbourne, and as their Lordships in their orders to me mention His Majesty having been graciously pleased to permit me to resign this Government in order that I may serve at Sea, I concluded that I should receive from Your Lordships by the packet arrived since the Ferret, his Majesty's permission to resign this Government; under this expectation I have been preparing for my going to Hallifax with Lord Loudoun and the Fleet of Transports with the Forces his Lordship draws from hence to join the succours from Europe, and as I hope I shall be able to sail before the arrival of another packet I take this early Opportunity to acquaint you that as I have also had the honour of receiving a letter from My Lord Hallifax intimating that His Majesty's leave for my Resignation should be sent me by the first Opportunity But as it is not improbable that some Accident may have befallen the Ship on board which my leave may be, the great consequence of the Fleet of Transports prepared here, together with my being the second in command of the Fleet under Rear Admiral Holbourne's directions, has determined me to embark and proceed to Hallifax with

Lord Loudoun as soon as possible without waiting for the arrival of any Ship with my leave of Resignation, and shall leave in the hands of the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor his Majesty's Instructions with all such orders from the Secretary of State and Your Lordships' Board, as are necessary for his conduct in the Administration of this Province, all which I hope will justify me to his Majesty, and meet Your Lordships' Approbation.

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
The Lords Commissioners  
for Trade and Plantations.

I have the honour to be,  
Your Lordships' most obedient  
and most humble Servant  
CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY.

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*Representation of the Lords of Trade to the King.*

[New-York Entries, B. P., 119.]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty.

Sir Charles Hardy, your Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s late Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Province of New York, having, in several letters to us during his Administration, complained of the great prejudice which has arisen to your Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service and Interest from the disputes, that have for a great length of time subsisted between that province and the province of the Massachusetts Bay, concerning their true Boundary, or line of partition, on account whereof the settlement of that valuable part of your Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s territories has been obstructed, and the peace and good order of Govern<sup>t</sup> disturbed by many riots and outrages and even murder, committed on the Borders of the said provinces; We beg leave humbly to lay before your Maj<sup>ty</sup> the annexed copies and extracts of the said letters and of the papers therewith transmitted.

These papers will inform your Maj<sup>ty</sup> of every particular relative to this matter, and of the steps which have at different times been taken thereupon. It will appear to your Maj<sup>ty</sup>, that endeavours have been used to bring the dispute to a proper determination, and particularly that in June 1754. Commissioners appointed, and authorized by each province, met and conferred in order to the settlement of a final Boundary. But each party stating his claim according to the descriptive words in the respective grant or Charter of each province, and the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> of the Massachusetts Bay having no power to treat of a temporary line, they could not come to any sort of agreement; and if we may be allowed to judge of this transaction from events which have happened since, instead of operating as a Remedy to the evil, it has had a quite contrary effect.

Upon a full consideration of this matter and of the little probability there is, that the dispute can ever be determined by any amicable agreement between the two Govern<sup>ts</sup>, it appeared to us, that the only effectual method of putting an end to it and preventing those further mischiefs which may be expected to follow, so long as the cause subsists, would be, by the interposition of your Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s authority, to settle such a line of partition, as should, upon a consideration of the actual and ancient possession of both provinces, without regard to the exorbitant claims of either, appear to be just and equitable.

And We conceive it, the more necessary to rest the determination upon these principles, because We find, upon examining the Grant from King Charles the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the Duke of York in 1664 and the Royal Charter granted to the Massachusetts Bay in 1691, that the description of the limits of those grants, is so inexplicit, and defective, that no conclusive Inference can be drawn from them with respect to the extent of territory originally intended to be granted by them. We have therefore had recourse to such papers on Record in our Office, as might shew the Actual and Ancient possession of the Provinces in question and as it appeared by several of them, of dates almost as old as the said Grant, that the Province of the Massachusetts Bay had in those times been understood to extend to within 20 miles of Hudson's River, and that many settlements had at different times been made so far to the Westward by the people of that province; and as that evidence coincides with the general principle of the agreement between the province of New York and the Colony of Connecticut in 1683. which has received the Royal confirmation; We were of opinion, that a line to be drawn Northerly from a point on the South boundary-line of the Massachusetts Bay, twenty miles distant due East from Hudson's River, to another point 20. miles distant due East from the said river, on that line which divides the Provinces of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, would be a just and equitable line of division between Your Majesty's provinces of New York and the Massachusetts Bay.

But as a doubt might arise, whether such boundary could be established without the concurrence of the Massachusetts Bay, the soil and Jurisdiction of it being granted by Royal Charter, We thought proper to call before Us the Agents for the two provinces, in question, and to communicate to them such our opinion, and the authorities whereon it is founded. And the Agent for New York having signified to us, that he submits the settlement of the said boundary as a matter entirely in your Majesty's determination, and the Agent for the Massachusetts Bay, having acquainted us, that he, on behalf of his constituents, acquiesces in the above described line, We therefore beg leave humbly to propose to your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased, by your order in Council, to establish the line herein before described, as a final boundary of property and Jurisdiction between the provinces of N. York and the Massachusetts Bay, and to direct the Gov<sup>r</sup> of N. York, in conjunction with the Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Massachusetts Bay, to settle the said boundary, agreeable to the aforesaid description, and to recommend it, each to the Assembly of his respective Gov<sup>mt</sup> to provide jointly and equally for the expence which may attend such settlement—Which is most humbly submitted.

DUNK HALIFAX,  
JAMES OSWALD,  
SOAME JENYNS,  
W. SLOPER.

25<sup>th</sup> May 1757.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 3. ]

New York. 3<sup>d</sup> June 1757.

My Lords,

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordships that yesterday in the evening Sir Charles Hardy our Governor, did in Council deliver to me as Lieutenant Governor His Majesty's



Commission and Instructions to him with the Seals, and that he that Evening Embarked on board the Nightingale to fall down to Sandy Hook to take under his care the transports which were all rendezvous'd at that Place, and that this morning I qualified myself for the trust devolved upon me which I shall endeavour to execute with honour and Fidelity. I inclose to Your Lordships Copies of the Minutes of Council of those two days.

Sir Charles Hardy desired that I would transmit to Your Lordships Copies of the Memorial of Mr Walton to him of the 29<sup>th</sup> of January, praying leave to continue supplies to the Spanish Garrison at St Augustine according to his Contract with the Governour and Royal Officers, And Copies of the Report of the Committee of Council of the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, and of the order thereon of the 21<sup>st</sup> which are herewith inclosed, Sir Charles having omitted to do it through the great hurry of business which his attention to the fitting and dispatching the Transports taken into His Majestys Service for the Troops under the Earl of Loudoun had occasioned.

Your Lordships will see the two principal Reasons on which the Report and Order were grounded, 1<sup>st</sup> the heavy loss of the Memorialist by the Forfeitures of the Arrears due to him, amounting to sixty thousand pieces of eight, and 2<sup>ndly</sup> because the Committee did conceive that His Majesty's Directions for laying the Embargo could not be construed to extend to a neutral port under the circumstances of St Augustine, it being manifest from Your Lordships' Letter signifying his Majesty's commands, that the Trade intended to be restrained, is the Trade carried on from His Majestys Colonies to such neutral Ports or Settlements from whence the enemy have actually drawn supplies or from whence they might be obtained. As this Contract still subsists and Application will probably be made for a like Liberty next year, I must beg Your Lordships directions on this point that I may know how to govern myself upon it

I send Your Lordships Copies of Affidavits in relation to a pernicious trade from some of the Colonies, Rhode Island particularly, This trade is carryed on not only to supply the French with Provisions but also with Naval Stores as I am informed. The method they take is to go to Monti Christo, a Spanish port in Hispaniola, where the master and mariners stay, and they get a master and a crew of Spaniards to go with a pass to Port Dauphin or some other French Port on the same Island: By this indirect way His Majesties enemies are supplied. What remedy to apply to this Evil may be difficult to say: The King's Orders to the Governors there will not avail much, their Governor being annually elected and of course subject to the Humours and Caprices of the People, can have but little authority: Perhaps a small sloop to be often cruising off that port might put some stop to it.

These are the only things I find it necessary to give your Lordships information of at this time. You will undoubtedly have received from Sir Charles Hardy whatsoever was proper to be transmitted previous to this. I shall therefore conclude with assuring Your Lordships again of my Intentions to do all in my Power to discharge the Trust devolved on me. My Lords, I have the honor to be, Your Lordships most obedient

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>

The Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade & Plantations.

& most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY

*Sir Charles Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 8.]

His Majesty's Ship Sunderland  
in Sandy Hook. June 14<sup>th</sup> 1757.

My Lords.

As I have frequently wrote Your Lordships that I had reason to beleive that a trade was and would be carried on from these Northern Colonies to the Neutral Islands particularly to St. Eustatia from whence the French would draw supplys of Provisions, I cannot avoid informing Your Lordships that some time ago I got information that a Schooner had sailed from Elizabeth Town in the Jerseys to St. Christopher's loaded with Provisions, that she did not land any of her cargo there but proceeded to St. Eustatia where she delivered the greatest part of it, notwithstanding the owners and Master had entered into Bonds conformable to His Majesty's late prohibitory Instructions, Upon the Schooner's return home in her way to Amboy, the Vulture Sloop I had stationed here pressed her Crew, on their being examined upon Oath I found my Information true, and that the Vessel had been to St. Eustatia and landed there the greatest part of her cargo consisting of Bread and Flour; previous to the Vessels return I acquainted Governor Belcher with my Information, desiring him to give orders that the Bond might not be cancelled, and since have sent him the Examinations of the Crew, and have received the strongest assurances from him that he will order the Attorney General to prosecute the Bonds which I trust will be forfeited.

Since my being here a Privateer of this Port brought in a Sloop belonging to Rhode Island that has also been on this trade, a Copy of the Examination I now Inclose you, which, with this addition, I took from Bentin when I examined him, Your Lordships may more fully see the disposition of the Gentlemen owners of the Sloop Speedwell (viz') "That when he left Rhode Island upon this Voyage Mess<sup>r</sup> Ebenezer Richardson, Thomas Richardson and Lemuell Wyatt, recommended it to him to settle himself at Monte Christo and there to collect great Quantities of Sugar and Molasses and that they would supply him with cargoes, and that if he had not been taken he would have settled himself there, and that the Sugars and Molasses he must have procured from Port Dauphin and other French Ports, and that he was to have received 10 p<sup>r</sup> c<sup>t</sup> Commission from the Gentlemen named above for what Business he did for them." And further to illustrate this matter I send Your Lordships a Copy of an Order given to this Bontin which I found among his papers and which he confessed to me he received from them the day he sailed from Rhode Island. As this Man declared to me he was not naturalized, and had never taken the Oaths of Allegiance, I have detained him on board my Ship to prevent his being employed again in this injurious and fraudulent Trade.

The Inclos'd Extracts of Letters I received from Lieutenant Governor De Lancey relating to this trade. In addition to these Informations I must acquaint Your Lordships that a Privateer of this Port came in here a few days ago whose Master informed me that he spoke with several Vessels off Block Island from Rhode Island bound to the West Indies with horses (and I should presume some Provisions) notwithstanding the general Embargo ought still to be in force by Agreement with the several Governments.

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships' most obedient  
and most humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY.

P. S. Since writeing the above I received a letter from S<sup>t</sup> Christopher's of which the Inclosed is a Copy, by which Your Lordships will further see how His Majesty's Prohibitory Instructions are evaded.

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVI., p. 2. ]

Fort Johnson 25<sup>th</sup> June 1757.

My Lords

In the last letter I had the honor to write Your Lordships, I acquainted you that I had just then finished a Meeting with the Six Nations, wherein I had charged them with their inactivity in aiding and assisting His Majesty's arms and had insisted upon their giving me the reasons for their backwardness and coolness, and also to know positively from them what their future resolutions were, without any disguise. I then acquainted your Lordships that the Six Nations told me they looked upon the matters I had laid before them, to be of too important consequence for the Deputation then present, to give me a full and determinate answer to, — that they were speedily to hold a great Council of all the Nations at Onondaga where what I had then said should be faithfully reported, fully deliberated upon, and when that Council broke up, I should receive their full and determinate answer. That therefore I deferred transmitting to Your Lordships what passed at the said Meeting at my house, till I had the result of the Meeting at Onondaga, when I would send you both together.

Accordingly, My Lords, I herewith transmit the same to you. I was in expectation to have been able to have done this much sooner, but the unsettled state of the Six Nations amongst themselves and the confusion which the too successful arts of the French Emissaries have thrown them into, have delayed this meeting at Onondaga much beyond the time they gave me reason to expect it would take place and breake up.

Your Lordships will see by the Papers herewith, that the Three upper Nations, to wit, the Senecas, Cayougas and Onondagas, have declared themselves in favour of a Neutrality. As no Deputies from the Tuscaroros or Oneidas came down to this Meeting, I cannot say what their resolutions will be. It appears probable to me that from their not coming down with those upper Nations, they do not wholly agree in sentiments with them. I expect they will come by themselves when these return, and let me know their resolutions; but whether those will be more favourable to our interest, than what these three upper Nations have declared, I will not take upon me to ascertain. When I receive their resolves, I shall transmit them to Your Lordships.

I beg leave on this occasion to put Your Lordships in mind, and refer you to those papers I sent to the Board in Jan<sup>y</sup> 1756 by Gov<sup>r</sup> Pownall when he went to England, wherein was laid before your Lordships the declining state of our Indian interest at the time General Braddock's commission put the management of Indian Affairs into my hands, and I told that Gentleman,



at Alexandria, I would exert my utmost influence & abilities, but that I doubted whether I should be able to prevail on the Six Nations in general, to act with that order<sup>1</sup> in favour of His Majesty's Arms which might probably be expected from them. Our defeat at Ohio, the obstructions thrown in my way by General Shirley's opposing my management, the loss of Oswego, and our having reaped no striking advantages since, have been all additional drawbacks upon my retrieving and advancing His Majesty's Indian Affairs. And with respect to our interest amongst the Upper Nations, the loss of Oswego was a mortal wound, as that post was both a curb upon the Upper Nations to retain them in our interest, and a security for them against the enemy, should they act in our favour. I am fully persuaded the loss of this important post, with the consequential menaces of the French and their Indians, have produced the present Neutrality agreed on by the Senecas Cayugas & Onondagas. And 'tis probable our destroying the works at and abandoning the Oneida Carrying place last summer, may produce a neutrality from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras.

My Lords, I am extremely concerned that the great expence which this service hath occasioned should not have produced more favourable effects. Permit me to assure your Lordships that I have acted with uprightness of heart, with all the oeconomy diligence and address within the compass of my abilities, to retrieve support and extend His Majestys Indian interest. I am extremely sorry my endeavours have not been crowned with all that success which I was unfeignedly ambitious of being instrumental to. I must confess, all circumstances considered I do not think the Indians altogether so culpable as some people on this side the water seem to do; and I am truly conscious, that if I have erred in judgment, I have not been wanting in an honest and grateful ardor for His Majesty's service, the honour and success of his arms.

As I have my Lord Loudouns approbation and opinion in favour of it, I have told the Six Nations that I shall dispose of His Majesty's bounty and rewards only to such Indians as will actually go upon service. This I propose to make a fixt rule hereafter, as far as apparent good policy will permit. This will probably in some degree lessen the future expence. However I must be so ingenuous as to acquaint your Lordships that even under present circumstances I cannot promise that the future expences will fall very considerably short of the past; for as the Upper Nations (as your Lordships will see by their speech) solemnly declare that notwithstanding their Neutrality they are unanimously and firmly resolved to hold fast the ancient Covenant Chain of friendship, and remain Allies to His Majesty and bretheren to his subjects; utterly to cast off all notice and expence about them would, in my opinion, be a piece of conduct equally dangerous and impolitic in the present conjuncture, and if my Lord Loudoun or the Commander in Chief should be determined upon such a measure I would beg leave rather to decline acting than put it in execution

If your Lordships should be of opinion that from the present face of Indian Affairs the advantages of this service will not be adequate to the expence they have and may bring upon the Crown, I shall whenever His Majesty may think it proper, with the utmost obedience and the highest gratitude for the many honours he has graciously bestowed upon me, be ready and willing to resign my Commission as his Sole Agent & Superintendant for the Northern District.

The Upper and lower Castles of Mohock Indians will I am persuaded remain firm to our interest and tho' their intemperate thirst after rum is a great impediment to their going upon

<sup>1</sup> ardor. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV. — Ed.

service, when they can by any means get it, yet almost all their young men are now out, and going out, to distress the French settlements in Canada, beat up their quarters, and obtain intelligence of their numbers & motions.

I have taken a great deal of pains to bring about a peace between the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, settled in the Susquehanna and the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; and I hope it is in a fair way of being accomplished, in which Governor Denny's candid behaviour and fair proposals, if continued and carried into effect, will greatly contribute.

Herewith I send your Lordships a copy of my proceedings last April with a number of Shawanese Nanticokes and Mohickander Indians, who came hither and are settled on one of the west branches of the Susquehanna, Also the original minutes of Mr Croghan my Deputy, and Gov<sup>r</sup> Denny's proceedings at a meeting lately held at Lancaster in Penusylvania. I think it also proper to transmit to your Lordships herewith, some original papers put into my hands by the said Mr Croghan relative to some former Indians management of his for the Southern Governments, as I apprehend they may tend to open to your Lordships some original causes of recent events relative to the present war in America.

I have the honor to be most respectfully

My Lords

To the Right Honourable  
The Lords Commissioners  
of Trade & Plantations .

Your Lordships most obedient  
& most humble Servant  
(signed) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVI., No. 3. ]

Fort Johnson 20 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756

Sixty nine Indians of several Nations who had been compleatly cloathed and armed, marched with Mr Croghan to join the Army at Fort Edward.

17 of October. Sixty three Indians of several Nations marcht with S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson thro' the woods to join the army at Fort Edward, which Indians had been also cloathed and armed.

25 of October. Mr Arent Stevens Chief Interpreter spoke to the Mohawks of the Lower Castle, acquainting them that Sir William Johnson had waited expecting them and the Upper Castle to have joined & marcht with him.

They replied that they had waited for their Bretheren of the Upper Castle, who not coming in time had prevented their accompanying S<sup>r</sup> William that they were now come, and both parties were ready to follow.

27 October. Some Seneca Indians arrived, to whom Mr Stevens also spoke and told them that S<sup>r</sup> William had waited expecting them, according to his Summons. They told him, several of their chief men who went to Canada and were not returned, had delayed their coming.

1 Nov<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> William having sent orders to M<sup>r</sup> Stevens, in consequence of my Lord Loudoun's directions, to stop any more Indians from following him to the Camp at Fort Edward; M<sup>r</sup> Stevens did stop 70 Mohawk Warriors who had been clothed and armed for service from setting out, as also sundry Indians of other Nations.

2. Nov<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson arrived from the Camp at Fort Edward.

Fort Johnson 17 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756.

Sir William Johnson's first speech at a meeting of sundry Sachems and Warriors of each of the Six Nations.

PRESENT — S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson  
M<sup>r</sup> Croghan  
M<sup>r</sup> Johnson, &  
M<sup>r</sup> Francis of Philad<sup>a</sup>

Capt. Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>r</sup>  
Lieu<sup>t</sup> Claus Dep<sup>y</sup> Sec<sup>r</sup>  
M<sup>r</sup> Stevens & } Interp<sup>a</sup>  
Capt Montour }

Bretheren of the Six Confederate Nations.

Before I set off for Albany I did according to the antient custom of your forefathers, bid you welcome. At the same time I acquainted you that my Lord Loudoun required my immediate attendance upon him and that I would return as soon as he had done with me: this I have done, though my stay hath been longer than I expected: I am glad to meet you all well

Gave three Strings Wampum.

Bretheren

As there are now present here several Sachems and chief men of the Six Nations I take this opportunity to tell you that it is no less evident to all your Bretheren the English than it is to me, that from the beginning of the present hostilities between us and the French, to this day, the Five Nations have in general shewn such a backwardness in aiding and assisting His Majesty's Arms, such a manifest indifference for the welfare and success of their bretheren the English, and such a mercenary principle in the little they have done, as is no less inconsistent with their character of friends and allies than it is contrary to the public and solemn engagements which they entered into at this place last summer was twelwe month, and have at several public meetings since as solemnly ratified, and which most of your chief men of each nation have frequently avowed to me in private Conferences.

Bretheren. This unfriendly and unfair behaviour of yours has been too notorious to require any particular instances to prove my accusation; it hath or will doubtless reach the ears of the Great King of England your Father. His Generals have seen it with concern and astonishment and the Earl of Loudoun his present General and Commander in chief is equally sensible of your want of zeal and activity. In my opinion you have been like a tree very full of leaves but barren of fruit.

Bretheren. I have just now said that your want of brotherly zeal and activity for the honour & welfare of your bretheren the English hath been so clearly manifested by your general behaviour that there is no necessity for giving particular instances to prove it; however I will single out two, upon which I can not and ought not to be silent.

First. You have sent Deputies to Canada without either my consent or knowledge, and contrary to my express advice and directions, and your own public assurances at Onondaga, and you have carried on negotiations with our enemies there which you have kept secret from me.



Secondly. When I lately summoned all your people to come down without delay to march with me & join the Earl of Loudoun and His Majesty's troops; in vain I waited many days, and was at last obliged to set off with such few Indians as were accidentally at hand. Many of you I armed and fitted out, who did not come at all,—most of you who did join the army at Fort Edward were very backward to go upon service and spent their time in drunkenness and idleness, and many went away and left me to come home as well as I could.

Bretheren. In short the whole tenor of your conduct for a great while past gives your bretheren the English just cause not only to reproach the 6 Nations, as allies, unfaithfull, unfriendly, and unserviceable, but gives them reason to suspect the security and uprightness of your future intentions.

Bretheren. It is expected from you, & I flatter myself that you will in some measure clear up your characters, and, if you can do it, give some satisfactory reasons for your mysterious conduct, and if any secret uneasiness lays in your hearts, it will be more like bretheren to declare it, than to keep it fretting there, and this fair dealing will be most for your honour & interest. And I hope you have the remains of so much honour and virtue left amongst you, as to acknowledge with due shame and concern every blameable part of your behaviour; and hereupon I give you this belt of Wampum.

Gave the Belt.

Bretheren of the 6 Nations.

By this Belt of Wampum I now call upon you in the name of the Great King of England your Father and my Master, to explain to me what part you are determined to act in the present war between the English and the French. The time is now come when it is absolutely requisite for you not only to declare what you will do, but to act up to what you do promise and resolve upon.

The Great Man whom the King my Master hath made head over all in these parts of his dominions waits to know your positive determinations.

Bretheren.

I expect and desire you will be clear and positive in your answer, and dont let me write falsehoods by your saying what you do not mean or intend, as you have heretofore done.

Gave a large black Belt of Wampum.

Sir William told them that as what he had now said was of great consequence and deserved their serious consideration, if there was any part of the speech which they had not clearly understood, they might appoint a Deputation, and the Interpreters should attend & go over the speech again with them.

Thus ended the first day's conference.

The 19 Nov<sup>r</sup> A. M. The 6 Nations sent three Sachems to desire S<sup>r</sup> William's speech to them of the 17<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> might be again repeated over to them; which was done by the Interpreters in the presence of M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, Dep<sup>y</sup> Superintendant.

Fort Johnson 19 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756The Six Nations answer to S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson's speech to them the 17<sup>th</sup> Instant.

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson

[Edmund] Atkin Esq<sup>r</sup> His Majesty's Superintendent for the Southern  
Indian DistrictM<sup>r</sup> Johnson

Mr Croghan

M<sup>r</sup> Francis

Capt: Butler

Capt. Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>r</sup>D<sup>r</sup> CatherwoodLieu<sup>t</sup> Claus Dep<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>r</sup>M<sup>r</sup> Stevens & M<sup>r</sup> Montour Interpr<sup>s</sup>

Canachquayêsa, Chief Sachem of Oneida, Speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We thank you for saluting us on your return from Albany; we are equally glad to see you  
in health.

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum.

Brother. You have charged us with acting contrary to the engagements we have entered into at the late meeting at Onondaga, by going to Canada, talking with the French, and concealing those conferences from you. We propose now to let you know what passt at these  
\* meaning the English conferences and we shall conceal nothing from you tho' you\* and the French talk together, and write letters without acquainting us of it.

Brother. In consequence of your call upon the loss of Oswêgo, our Sachems were coming down to you, but were stopped by the Cayougas who pressed upon them to defer it till their Deputies came from Canada in order that we might acquaint you with the news they might bring.

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Brother. You have desired us to give you the reasons and hide nothing from you, which prevented our warriors from attending you agreeable to your late summons. Brother, several of the Senecas were at Cayouga in their way down, but were prevented from proceeding further by some of the Chief men of that nation who took this step in resentment for having been reproached as favouring the French interest; this stopping of the Seneca warriors prevented likewise the Onondagas from coming, who were ready and impatiently waited for the Senecas and Cayougas.

This Brother was the cause you did not see our warriors on your first summons sent us by  
Capt Butler

Gave a Belt.

Brother.

The Belts you afterwards sent to Oneida to be forwarded to the Onondagas the Cayougas & Senecas were sent by Gawihe and Kinderunte, whom we looked upon to be your friends; they carried them to Cayouga and concealed them from all the Indians but one Chief Sachem of that Nation, with whom they held a private consultation, and all three of them went away to Canada. As you desired us to be explicit with you we will tell you the name of this Cayouga Indian: it is Teiyughsaragarat. To confirm the truth of this account there are now here present two Chief Sachems of Cayouga, who have declared they never were acquainted with your sending these Belts.

Gave a Belt.

Brother.

When the Deputies which were sent from Onondaga to Swegachie with your Belt to recall the Six Indians from that place, came there, they were prevailed upon by the Swegachie Indians to proceed to Canada; which was what they did not expect.

The Deputies met the French General at Montreal, who spoke to them as follows:—

Children. I am glad to see you and I expected as you were acquainted with my father, that you would before now have come and condoled with me for his loss.

Children. It wont be long before I shall proceed to Lake George in order to revenge the death [of] Baron Dieskau who was killed there by General Johnson last year; will none of the Six Nations join me in revenging his death.

Children. I am an old man & accustomed to dream and have found out that you Five Nations have carried these several Belts of Wampum (at the same time showing them) from your brother Warraghiyagey to the Western Indians. Now Children I must insist on it that you do not any more interfere with those Indians; they belong to me and here are several bags of Wampum which they have sent to me, and I also forbid you to intermedle with my Children the Delaware and River Indians, they belong to me as far as Shamokin.

Children. Your bretheren the English built a trading house at Oswēgo, in order to get bever, but they brought a great number of cannon there. Now as cannon are not fit to kill bevers with, I went and kicked the house down.

Children. Give attention to what I am now going to say. I must desire and advise you not to suffer your bretheren the English to build an other Fort at Oswēgo. I know that it will be your interest to have a trading house there, and therefore you may suffer them to build a Bark Hut for trading; but if they offer to build a Fort, I shall soon know it, as my vessells are constantly cruizing in the Lake, and I will then come and kick it down again.

To the foregoing speech our Deputies answered:—

Father.

You have warned us not to intermedle with the Western Indians and you have showed us the Belts we sent to them; many of those Nations the Deleware and River Indians are yet our allies and dependants, and we shall continue to consider them as such.

Brother Warraghiyagay.

This is all the news we have received from Canada by our bretheren of Onondaga, the Oneidas who were there brought us no news, for they were drunk from the time they arrived there to the time they left it.

Brother. When the French General had taken Oswēgo, he invited the Indians who were with his army to go with him to Lake George, and said he would be master of the fort there in 5 weeks, but the Ottowawa Indians refused to go with him and said they were sorry for the destruction of Oswēgo, for they used to get a large quantity of goods there for a small bundle of skins, tho' they had been disgusted with some ill treatment they had received from some of the English formerly at Oswego. The Ottowawa Indians did accordingly leave the French army, upon which the French General said he should however have 500 Indians to join him vizt 200 Caghnawagas 100 Arundax, 100 Shouwendadies, the Groote Junge a Seneca Chief with 20 Indians from Ohio, and the remainder of some other Nations who live in Canada and that his army would be about 5000 in the whole all picked men. This account we had from a Swegachie Indian.



Brother. Those of our Indians who go down to Canada get such large presents that 'tis no wonder they are tempted to go that way ; whereas you English are stingy of your goods.

The Speaker then delivered a message from the Bunt, the Chief Sachem of Onondaga (who is gone to Canada) to desire Sir William would not think ill of his going to Canada that he hoped to be back by Christmas, and that he would not stop above one night at home on his return before he set out to give S<sup>r</sup> William an account of his journey.

Brother. With regard to the latter part of your speech wherein you ask us what part we propose to act for the future in the present war between you & the French. That matter was referred in our Council to the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas, and the latter gave the result, which was, that we should stand by our Bretheren the English and be at all times ready to aid and assist them, and this is the Resolution of the Six Nations.

Then the Speaker sat down.

Sir William then introduced M<sup>r</sup> Atkin to the Six Nations acquainting them that he was appointed by the King their Father, Superintendant of the Affairs of the Southern Indians, their and our friends & Allies and that he should say something to them tomorrow on that occasion.

Thus ended the Second Days Conference

Fort Johnson 20 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756

This morning two Indians arrived who were sent express from Onondaga with a message from that Castle and a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Coagne, acquainting S<sup>r</sup> William that Jean Ceur the French Agent, who was at the remotest Seneca town, had sent to Onondaga 2 Belts and a string of Wampum, by which he advised the 6 Nations to keep very near their Castles, for that they were every hour in danger ; next that a great army from Virginia & Pennsylvania with a body of the Southern Indians were to come against the French and would march thro' the Country of the 6 Nations and pay no regard to friend or foe, and tread all under their feet ; lastly that the 6 Nations must not be surprized if they heard the French Guns fire at the German Flatts, nor come down to assist their bretheren the English, lest they should be killed along with them.

S<sup>r</sup> William sent the above letter & intelligence by an express then at his house, to Lord Loudoun.

Sir William Johnson's second speech to the 6 Nations. 20 Nov<sup>r</sup> P. M.

PRESENT— as before ; except M<sup>r</sup> Atkin who was indisposed.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

I must tell you that I am not fully satisfied with the answer you yesterday made to my speech three days ago. You must be sensible that your conduct with regard to your Bretheren the English, in the present war between them and the French had not been as I told you either conformable to the Character of faithfull bretheren & sincere allies, nor to your own many solemn promises and engagements. You have said nothing in vindication of yourselves, nor are you honest enough to own yourselves in fault.

You have told me what past in Canada while your Deputies were there, but I have reason to suspect you have not told me all that past there.

You have indeed once more renewed your assurances that you will stand by your Bretheren the English, but you have given no belt thereon, according to the constant and ancient customs of your forefathers.

Bretheren. I am ashamed to hear you publicly confess that the great presents you get from the French draws your people to Canada; you are Children unworthy of your forefathers, who scorned to sell their faith and their friendship to the best bidder. You say the English are stingy of their goods; let me ask you whether your behaviour to them or the services you have done for them deserves the presents you have received, and the expences they have been at on your account.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

I have often told you and endeavoured to convince you that past experience gives you abundant reason to hate the French and suspect their fair professions and that on the contrary it is your true interest to stand by and support your bretheren the English; you will in the end find my words true, and tho' the English have met with some misfortunes lately, you will by and by see the French will be like a twig in the hands of a strong man. You go from one side to the other, and speak fair to both; you may perhaps think this is good policy, but let me tell you it is a base foolish conduct, more like fearfull & silly women than brave and honest men.

Bretheren, with this Belt I once more remind and amonish you on this subject

Gave a Belt

Bretheren

You charge the English with talking and receiving letters from the French. I dont know what you mean unless it was a packet of letters which were found in the road to Lake George and were from our people taken at Oswēgo to their friends in this country. It is death among us to talk with the French after war is declared.

Bretheren. This morning I have received a message and a letter from Onondaga acquainting me with the news Jean Ceur sent thither with 2 Belts & a string of Wampum; the purport of which you have already heard from the Messengers. I see by this fresh instance that the French treat you like Children and think they can impose on & frighten you with any lies they invent, which were you our steady friends you would laugh at. I do by this Belt assure you the English have no design, and never will be the first to break the Covenant Chain with the Six Nations, & therefore I expect you will not be so ready to give ear to those wicked and false reports.

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren, I now have finished what I had to say, and I hope you have paid a due attention to it. I dont know in what light the matters I have laid before you may appear in your eyes, but I think they ought to appear as matters of the highest moment and as I am sensible there are not a sufficient body of you now come down to speak the fixt resolutions of your whole Confederacy in a binding manner, you had better, in my opinion, carry what I have said to you to Onondaga and call a solemn Council of all your wise people without delay, and then let me know the final determination of that Council, that so I may not misinform the King your Father and mislead the General here.

Sr William spoke this last paragraph himself during which the Indians seemed more than commonly attentive, and when he had finished it gave their shouts of applause.

He then acquainted them that Mr Atkin had been indisposed today, and would not speak them now as he intended, but at any time to morrow morning if they would come he would be ready.

After holding some consultation together Canaghquayêsa spoke as follows:—

Brother Warraghiyagey.

We have seriously attended to what you have now said, and it has thrown new lights upon what you said to us three days ago. As our answer is a matter of very interesting consequence both to you and us, we beg leave to defer saying any thing more upon it till to morrow.

Thus ended the Third Day's Conference.

Fort Johnson 21 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756.

PRESENT — S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson

Edmund Atkin Esq<sup>r</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan

Cap<sup>t</sup> Graham<sup>1</sup> of the Highl<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Butler

M<sup>r</sup> Johnson.

M<sup>r</sup> Francis

Capt. Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Claus Dep. Sec<sup>y</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Stevens }  
M<sup>r</sup> Montour } Interpr<sup>s</sup>

Answer of the Six Nations to S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson's speech to them of yesterday.

Canochquiesa Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

You told us yesterday that you was dissatisfied with our reply to your speech of the 17<sup>th</sup> instant. We assure you we have acquainted you with all the news we received from Canada, and if you know any thing more we would be glad that you would acquaint us with it.

Brother. After you delivered to us your speech of yesterday you told us that you had laid before us matters of the greatest importance, and that you thought the most prudent measure would be for us to take your Belts up to Onondaga, and there in full Council, lay all that you have said to us before the chief men of our whole confederacy.

Brother. We very much approve this advice of yours and it is agreeable to what we intended to have proposed to you. We soon expect our Deputies from Canada, and Deputies also from three Nations of the Western Indians viz<sup>t</sup> Missisagas, Twightwees and Wiandotts. At Onondaga where a grand Council will be held, there your speeches to us shall be made known and deliberated on, and you shall have the result without delay. As we have referred you to this Grand Council for our answer upon what you have said to us, we do not now give you any Belts in exchange for yours, but shall do that when we give you the determinations of the Council at Onondaga,

M<sup>r</sup> Atkin then made the following speech to them —

Bretheren of Six United Nations.

I am an Englishman; I have lived almost ever since I was a boy in South Carolina. I am acquainted with all the Southern Nations; I know most of their Chiefs or head men, and they

<sup>1</sup> GORDON GRAHAM entered the army on the 7th of August, 1747, and on the 3d of June, 1752, became a Captain in the 42d regiment; on 17th of July, 1758, he was promoted to be major, in which rank he accompanied the expedition against Ticonderoga in 1759. On the fall of that post, his regiment was ordered to Oswego, and reached Canada the following year. Major Gordon became Lieutenant Colonel in the army on the 12th of January, and of his regiment on the 9th of July, 1762. His name disappears from the Army List in 1771. — Ed.



know me because I have been one of the Great King George's Councillors in that Country near 20 years and was almost always present while I staid there, whenever they came and talked with the Governors.

All the strowds, blankets and other things which the Indians want for their use, they are supplied with by the English in exchange for their deer skins and furs; the French cannot supply them therewith as those Indians often tell the French Governors; therefore they love the English.

There are rogues among the white people as there are among the Indians. Some of the English traders have no doubt sometimes behaved ill towards the Indians; so have some of the Indians towards our people. It was the business of their head men and of the English Governours to prevent or punish such things, but the English Governours have had enough to do to take care of the affairs of the White people in their settlements, they were not able to go into the Indian countries to see and examine all proceedings, in order to prevent misunderstandings by bad practices. The traders as well as the Indians had an opportunity by that means to tell lies and impose on each other, which was bad both for the English and Indians that trade with them. I hate rogues, whether Whites or Indians: I always loved the Indians, that is, such as were honest and lived soberly and peaceably.

Before these new troubles arose between the English and the French, I went home to England & let the Great King your Father know every thing that concerned the Indians in friendship with the English to the Southward. The King being desirous to do every thing on his part for the good of the said Indians, and to preserve the friendship between them and his people living in those parts, was pleased to make choice of and appoint me, to act for him and Superintend or take care of the affairs of the several Indian Nations living near his people in Virginia North and South Carolina and Georgia and their allies, to look after the behaviour of the White people that trade among them and to consult with their chiefs about whatever concerned their mutual good, that so a sincere friendship may be preserved between them and His Majesty; in the same manner as he appointed S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson to superintend the affairs of you the Six United Nations and your Allies.

Accordingly I am lately come over the great water to see and talk with the Great King's Chief General and S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson before my proceeding to the Southward. I met them both at Albany, & being told that you were to meet S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson here in order to have a conference with him upon the present state of affairs, I thought it best to come and hear what past, that I may know for certain what part you are determined to act between us and the French; for when I meet the Southern Nations they will ask me that question. I will not, for I have but one heart and one tongue, tell lies; therefore I desire to know from yourselves what I shall tell them?

Whatever part you are determined to act in the present war with the French, do you think the Southern Indians will stand with their arms across? No, I am sure they will help to put a stop to the French encroachments upon their country and freedom of trade and will join their ancient friends the English in any thing to be done for their mutual support.

The French came long after the English into the Missisipy country; they begun immediately on their arrival with building forts wherever they went, and next endeavoured to put a stop to the trade of the Indians with the English, often killing our traders privately. They made war upon several nations of Indians that opposed their designs and destroyed some Nations entirely for no other reasons. But the English had no design to hurt the Indians, but to live quietly

& in friendship with them, therefore they never attempted to build a fort in any of the Indian Countries, till lately two forts had been built in the Country of the Cherokees after 10 years solicitations from them for us to do it in order to keep out the French, & to protect their wives and children against the French and their Indian Allies. It is good for all Indians that prefer the trade and friendship of the English to that of the French, to join their strength together and to unite and support each other. You have been asleep too long; awake, get on your leggs, and take your arms in your hands before it is too late. It signifies nothing to call yourselves friends of the English, unless you act as friends by helping them: we can look on you only as the trees standing still in the woods.

The Catabaws and Chickasaws would never permit Frenchmen to come near their country, and scorn to treat with the French; even the Chickasaw women, when the French invaded their country with a large army, fought along with their husbands, with their children tied to their backs, and shared in the honour of obtaining a compleat victory in open field over that army, as their bones will now tell you, laying on the ground.

Bretheren. I thought fit to say thus much to you, and have but one question to ask. Are you still the friends of the English, and will you join them as your forefathers did? Say what shall I tell the Southern Nations? that they may think the truth of you and know how to act for themselves.

A Belt.

Upon this speech the Indians went out & held a consultation, and after some time returned when Canayhquiësa spoke as follows.

Brother Warraghiyagey.

We have already given you our answer, and we shall now give a short reply to all our Brother from the Southward (meaning Mr Atkin) has said to Us.

Then addressing himself to Mr Atkin, said:—

Brother.

As your intentions in coming here were to know the sentiments of the Six Nations with regard to the present situation of affairs, that you may carry our opinion to the Southward Indians, we shall now acquaint you what our opinion is.

Brother. We have listened attentively to all you have said and it has made a strong impression on our hearts. We thank you for coming here and it will be very agreeable to us that you communicate what we shall say, to our bretheren to the Southward.

Brother. As you have told us that the King our Father hath made you Superintendant over the Affairs of the Southern Indians, we hope you will take good care of them. You desire to know whether we will act as our forefathers have done before us: we refer you upon that point to our brother Sr William Johnson who best knows our characters.

Brother. We look upon you now as the Chief man to the Southward with regard to Indians, as we do upon our brother Sr William Johnson this way. When he first took upon him the management of our affairs, we were in a tottering condition, like a tree shook with every wind; we strengthened & brightened the Covenant Chain with him, which we are resolved shall not be broke on our side.

Brother. Be strong and stand firm, and tell all the Southern Indians what we have now declared to you in behalf of our Bretheren the English; let them know our situation, that the enemy is on the border of our country, and do you use your interest to obtain for us the assistance of our bretheren to the Southward and tell them we shall receive it with

chearfulness and gratitude, and thereupon we give you this Belt of Wampum to deliver to the Chickasaws, and by them to be sent to the rest

Gave a Belt

Brother. We beg you will carry our message to the Chickasaws with the utmost speed and deliver it in our own words. They sent us word two months ago they would be with us by the latter end of next May; but the Senecas have sent another message since to them, to hasten them sooner, so that we may be all ready in good time to join our Brother Warraghiyagey when he may call upon us, and we desire you will with this String of Wampum press this message of the Senecas upon them.

Gave a String of Wampum.

Brother. We have spoke to you after mature deliberation, and we hope that we shall, both of us, act with a friendly prudence and conduct.

Mr Atkin replied.

Bretheren. I have given close attention to all you have said, and I shall be carefull to deliver your message in your own words, and I am sure your bretheren to the Southward will be pleased therewith, and that it will rejoice your hearts on both sides. I shall make all the haste possible; when I have business to do I sleep but little. If you are as well inclined as the Southern Indians & will act unanimously, I am sure you may laugh at the French.

Thus ended the Fourth Day's Conference.

Fort Johnson 22 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756.

The information of Ottrawāna one of the Chief Sachems of Cayouga, and who is and has always been a steady friend to the English interest; given to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson in a private Conference: Mr Stevens the Interpreter being present:—

Ottrawāna says, that a friend of his who has lived several years at Cadaracqui was with Mons<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Calm at Tiyondaroga, and told him that on their arrival there he sent out two Caghnawagas, two Schawendadies, and one Western Indian to discover what numbers &c the English had at Lake George: on their reporting the numbers were great, he asked whether there were many Indians; they told him there were a great many. On which there was a Council held, when it was thought too great a risque to attempt Fort William Henry, lest they should be beat as they were last year; so it was resolved upon to wait for the English and see if they would come. After some time he called the Indians together and told them it was too late for the English to attempt any thing that way therefore they might return home, but not to go far off as he intended to call upon them about the middle of winter when the lakes and rivers were frozen & snow on the ground to go with snow shoes and sleds & destroy S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson's house, which he told them he would easily accomplish as there were but few men there. Upon which 40 of the Missisaga Indians left him and went home telling him their families must suffer in their absence. When the Missisagas arrived at Cadaraghqui in their way home, their Chief (who was here last year) spoke to the aforesaid Indian friend of Ottrawana, who lives at Cadaraqui, and desired he would tell him what intentions the French had against S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson, and begged that Ottrawāna would apprize S<sup>r</sup> William of it, that he might be on his guard.

Hereupon Ottrawana delivered S<sup>r</sup> William a Belt of Wampum to confirm the above Account.

He further added that the said Missasaga Chief sent to let him (Ottrawāna) know, that if it was in his power he would come with him in the Spring & join S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson.



Ottowana further informed, that just before he left his habitation to come down here, a Cayouga Indian arrived from Niagara which he had left 5 days before and told him that there were but 100 men at Niagara that there and at all the other out posts of the French they were making snow shoes, Indian shoes and Indian sleds. They make snow shoes of the hides they got at Oswégo; the Indians are also employed in making beaver caps with Capes for the officers, two caps for a French blanket; that the small pox was at Niagara, Cadaraqui and Swegachie; there were 90 barr<sup>s</sup> of pork left for the Indians.

Ottowana further said, that when the Deputies of the Six Nations were lately in Canada and reproached the Caghnawaga Indians with their forwardness to join the French; they answered they could not help it, being so much in their power that they must go along with the French to Lake George; but when they came to fight they would only fire with powder and hurt neither the Six Nations nor the English.

Upon Sr William asking him what part he thought the Six Nations would hereafter act, he said he knew they were determined not to break the Covenant Chain.

The same day Mr Stevens the Interpreter had a private conference with Schanāradý, also one of the Chief Sachems and warriors of Cayouga, and upon the Interpreters asking him what was the cause of the Six Nations shewing such a backwardness as they had done to assist and join with their bretheren the English in the present war: he said he had been in all their public and private Councils, and that it was in part owing to our ill success, and that they thought we did not seem in earnest in our designs & proceedings, and they were afraid we should soon make a peace, and if they should heartily engage, they would then be left in the lurch and exposed to the revenge of the French; but that if they saw us once truly in earnest, he was positive the whole Six Nations would fall on.

Fort Johnson 23 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756 A. M.

Sir William Johnson's third speech to the Six Nations.

PRESENT —	as before;
	Capt. Peter Wraxall Sec <sup>y</sup>
	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Claus Dep <sup>y</sup> Sec <sup>y</sup>
	Mr Stevens & Capt. Montour Interpreters

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

By the Messengers who arrived here three days ago from Onondaga, you have heard that some of our people who went up to trade at your Castle, have been attacked and wounded by some French Indians. Now Bretheren I must tell you that unless you take care to protect our people who may come upon business amongst you, you can have no trade with us, nor any smiths sent up to your Castles, the want of which you are sensible will greatly distress you. He that wounds my friend and brother wounds me, and I ought to treat him as my enemy. The Covenant Chain between us speaks this language, and if you do not prevent or properly resent such violences, you will be guilty of breaking that Covenant Chain. A Belt

In the next place I must tell you Bretheren that for this year past many of your people and particularly the River Indians have killed a great number of the inhabitants Cattle, destroyed their fences, and done a deal of mischief. When you have been down at my house and several Indians who have stayed here, tho' the King your Father hath plentifully supplied you with provisions of the best kinds, with cloaths arms and ammunition, and every thing necessary

and comfortable for you, your people have destroyed every thing about my estate, so that I have scarce any live creature left or any of my fences standing. It did not use to be so. It looks as if you intended to pick a quarrel. It is worse than the beasts, who will not bite the hand that feeds them.

Bretheren. Take notice; I warn you against these things; the inhabitants will not patiently bear such vile treatment. For my part I will not suffer it any longer, and by this Belt I desire and expect that for the future you will behave more like Bretheren and friends, or the fire here will not burn clear.

A Belt.

Bretheren. I insist upon your calling a General Meeting as soon as possible at Onondaga, and that when it is over you directly acquaint me with what you there agree upon, in consequence of what I have said to you at this Meeting. Bretheren, I tell you again that your determinations will be of the utmost consequence to you and us; therefore take it to heart & when you have resolved remember to be punctual.

A Belt.

Bretheren. This is the season for it, & therefore you may hunt a little this winter; but at the same time I desire you will keep a constant and watchfull eye upon the French and their Indians; particularly about Lake Ontario, and when you make any discoveries of consequence, that you will immediately acquaint me.

A Belt.

Mr Atkin then made them the following Speech.

Bretheren of the Six United Nations.

The Delawares and Shawanese your nephews and brothers some time ago took up the hatchet against your Father's people of Virginia Maryland, Pennsylvania and Carolina. I have been told that you interposed in behalf of those people, and that the Delawares and Shawanese both promised to lay down the hatchet. I hear that some of the Delawares living on Susquehanna have complied with your orders, that the rest of the Delawares and Shawanese still continue hostilities against our people in those parts. As those Indians have been long counted a part of you and under your direction, the Southern Indians I believe will ask me how this comes to pass, and what they are to think of it. Therefore I desire that you will tell me your thoughts about this matter and what I shall tell the Southern Indians

Gave 2 strings of Wampum.

Bretheren. Some of your warriors often go to the Southward, and sometimes through the country of the Cherokees, sometimes French Indians mix in their company, who take that opportunity to go privately into the settlements of Carolina and have several times done mischief there. When the Governor of Carolina had been angry with the Cherokees for letting those people come through their country the Cherokees have excused it by saying that they were sensible that such Indians did come that way, but that they could not allways distinguished them from your People. Therefore to prevent any mischief & misunderstanding between you and us, I desire that when any of your people come for the future that way, they may bring a paper in writing from my brother S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson, mentioning their business to be shewed to me, or if I am not there, then to be shown at the Fort built lately in one of their towns over the hills; that I may find out rogues and French Indians.

Mr Atkin then showed them his Seal of Office, which was handed round and viewed by all the Indians present. The speaker then said they did not yet know what name to call him by, & therefore had agreed to give him one, which was Caughnegarighsey

EOD. DIE P. M.

PRESENT — as before

The Six Nations answer to Sir William's speech to them this morning.

Brother Warraghiyagey

As to the mischief which has been done to those people who went up to trade in our Country, we the Sachems who are here present are much grieved at it, and think the authors ought to be punished; but as we are not a full and compleat body at this meeting, and as it is an affair that more immediately relates to our Chief warriors, we shall lay this your Belt with the others we have from you, before the General Council at Onondaga, and we expect they will be of our opinion, and revenge any such injurious treatment for the future, and not suffer the offenders to come into our country.

Gave a Belt

Brother. You have complained to us of our people and more particularly the River Indians destroying the inhabitants cattle, their fences &c and that they have done the same to yours.

Brother. Your own people the Battoe men & soldiers have committed a great deal of the mischief which is laid to our charge; however we shall forbid our young men and also the River Indians, as we know they are in some measure in fault, from doing the like for the future, and we shall lay this your complaint before the Council of Onondaga, that all rust may be kept from the Covenant Chain. Brother, you own soldiers and Battoe men, who go to Oswêgo, have given us the example; for they have destroyed the farmers gardens and fields up the river, and when they have been spoke to, have replied 'twas all the Kings, and bid them hold their tongues.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. In answer to your third Belt, you may depend that we will summons a General Council at Onondaga, and take every thing you have said to us at this meeting under a very serious consideration, and you shall have an answer from the bottom of our hearts; but what time in the winter that will be, we cant positively say; the affairs are of great moment, but as soon as the Council breaks up you may depend on receiving the result.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. We are very thankfull that you give us leave to hunt a little this winter, in order to get leather to make shoes for ourselves, and as we shall by that means be dispersed thro' the woods, we shall have an opportunity to discover the enemy if they should be in motion, and that so much the better as the leaves are off the trees, and you may rest assured that upon our making any discoveries, we will give you the most speedy intelligence we possibly can; but Brother, we must desire that your officers who are posted up the river may not use us as they did last year when we brought intelligence, telling us we were lyars, and abusing us for our friendly offices.

Gave a Belt.

The Speaker then made answer to M<sup>r</sup> Atkin's speech of the Morning, as follows:—

Brother Caughnegarighsey

We have listened to what you have said to us this morning, about the Shawanese & Delawares and your desire to us thereupon.

Brother. We shall make one trial more, by a very large Belt, with those Indians, and if they wont listen to our admonition, we shall tell them they must die.

Gave 3 strings Wampum



Brother. You have desired that when any of our people go to the Southward they might bring a letter or certificate from our Brother Warraghiyagey, in order to prevent mistakes or mischief: this is good but still it mayn't wholly answer the purpose, for we may be fired upon before we can shew our letter. We therefore think it will be better to carry a red flag also, and that when that is shewn the bearers to be looked upon as friends.

S<sup>r</sup> William and M<sup>r</sup> Atkin told them they both agreed to this signal & recommended it to them to be careful in observing it, and that if they neglected it they must take the consequence upon themselves.

The Speaker then addressed himself to S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson and said:—

Brother Warraghiyagey.

You have given us several hints at this meeting to take care and not let the Covenant Chain grow rusty, HERE (holding up a large Covenant Chain Belt) is the Covenant Chain Belt given to us by eight different Governments in the year 1754. We shall on our side keep our eyes upon it and take care that no rust shall injure it, and it shall never be broken on our side.

Brother. We were told at that meeting that goods should be plenty and cheap; those of our people who have been lately at Lake George found goods were very dear: we beg that goods migh[t] be sent up among us, and sold cheap. The French sell their goods cheap and give a great deal away, which is the cause of many of our people going to them & therefore we hope you will supply us plentifully and cheaply and prevent our being imposed on.

In this Covenant Belt you may observe a vacancy left, which is to put other Nations in: now Brother the best method to draw them to us, will be the plenty and cheapness of goods.

Brother. What I am now going to say is in the name of Cayouga and Tuscarora Nation. The sale of Rum at our Castles was stopped at the request of a Cayouga and Tuscarora Sachem, and the other Nations are now so angry at it that those men are often in danger of their lives, and when our people go to Niagara, the French laugh at us because there is no Rum allowed to be sold at our Castles. It is therefore the request of the said Sachems and of all the Six Nations that Rum may again be permitted to be sold at our Castles.

Gave a Belt.

The Speaker then addressed himself to the Six Nations and told them the Tuscaroras had lost a great Sachem, and had elected \_\_\_\_\_; presenting him to the Assembly, in the room of the other, and then with a String of Wampum presented the new Sachem to S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson

Sir William then made the following answer to the foregoing speech upon Trade and Rum.

Bretheren

I have carefully attended what you have just now said concerning goods and rum. I am sensible that the cheapness of goods and a fair trade are matters of great importance to you, & may be a great means of drawing other Nations into the Covenant Chain. But as trade and selling of rum in your Castles in the present situation of affairs, requires duly to be considered that so the trade may be put on some good footing more to your advantage and that of His Majesty's Indian interest, than it hath formerly been, I cannot give you my answer upon these points, till I have consulted my Lord Loudoun and when I am ready with my answer I will return you your Belt.

As to the Tuscarora Sachem now elected, I very much approve your choice, as I look on him to be a sober sensible man.

Bretheren. As the weather is cold I shall to morrow give you some cloathing to keep you warm this winter and some ammunition to hunt with.

Sir William then told them that he had now no more public matters to lay before them & should cover up the Council fire for this time.

Upon which Canaghquaiesa the Speaker said:—

Brother.

You have told us that you have now done and are going to cover up the fire; before 'tis quite covered we beg leave to say a few words.

Our arms and implements when we came down here especially, generally want a good deal of mending and the Smiths who were employed seldom do their work well. Wherefore we would desire that you would have a good Blacksmith and Armourer at this place, and that we may have Smiths sent up to our Castles next Spring, as we may then have occasion to use our arms.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum

Sir William replied.

Bretheren.

I have already considered the advantage it will to you, and also to the Crown, to have smiths here, and I am looking out for good ones, which I shall have by next Spring and perhaps sooner, and if you have occasion for Smiths at your Castles next year you shall have them when you satisfy me that they will be in security.

2 Strings.

When the Meeting broke up.

After the Meeting was over Sr William cloathed 130 of them who came from the Upper Nations, gave them ammunition and provision to carry them home. He also gave laced Coats, laced hatts, ruffled shirts &c to all the Sachems, at which they were all much pleased, and returned him their hearty thanks for it.

Ended.

A true Copy from the Original Records,

examined by me

(signed) PETER WRAXALL Sec<sup>y</sup>



*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[Plantations General, ( B. T. ) XVI., No. 5.]

Fort Johnson 14 April 1757.

Peter Spelman a German who has lived these 7 years past among the Indians & whose Indian name is Owiligascho, son in law to one of the chiefs of the Shawanese Indians, living on one of the West branches of the Susquehanna River, arrived here; & after taking some refreshment, spoke to Sir William Johnson as follows:—

Brother. The King of the Shawanese hath sent me forward with these two strings of Wampum to acquaint you that he is on the road and will be here to morrow with near 200 Indians, Shawanese Nantikokes, and Mohickanders. They are coming to smoak a friendly pipe with you, after the manner of our forefathers, and to offer their assistance to you in the present troublesome times. The Aughuages and Tuscarores told him that since he had risen up to come and see you, they would also rise up and accompany him. He has waited on the road expecting them, but as they are not yet come he will make no further delay but proceed hither.

Gave 2 strings Wampum.

Sir William told him to acquaint the King of the Shawanese and the rest of the Indians that he would be glad to see them, and would prepare for their reception.

Gave 2 Strings Wampum.

15 April P. M. The aforesaid Indians arrived on the opposite side of the river, and after saluting the Fort with a discharge of their guns, encamped themselves on that side. Sir William sent the Secretary over to tell them that he would be glad to see and smoak a pipe with two or three of their Chief men; who accordingly came over the river. They acquainted Sir William that there were three Nations of them, to wit, Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohickanders, settled at Otsiningo,<sup>1</sup> on one of the West branches of the Susquehanna River.

Sir William treated them with pipes, tobacco & rum, and after staying some time, they took their leave for that evening.

16<sup>th</sup> There being such a fresh in the River as rendered the passage over difficult and tedious, the Indians removed, came on this side & encamped behind the house.

17<sup>th</sup> P. M. The Chief Men of the aforesaid Indians with several of their people, came into the Meeting room and sent word to Sir William that they desired to speak a few words to him; but he being indisposed, sent the Secretary down to tell them that if they had any thing of moment to say now, they might speak it to him, & which he would take down in writing.

Whereupon a young Mohickander, named Jonathan, son of the King or Chief of that Nation and who spoke very good Low Dutch said as follows:—Arent Stevens the Interpreter being present.

Brother

This is the Belt (holding a Belt in his hand) which you sent to invite our people hither.\*

Brother. When we received your Belt of Invitation our hearts rejoiced within us, and we immediately rose up regardless of the severity of the season, and thro' snow ice and water came to see you.

Brother. We are now come to this Council Fire and we are rejoiced to find ourselves sitting over it

Brother. When we have finished our present meeting, we propose to rise up and go to our habitations, and when we get there we shall communicate to the rest of our people we have

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 67. — Ed.

\* The arrival of those Indians was wholly unsuspected by Sr William Johnson, and upon enquiry he found the case to be as follows:—Last January the beforementioned Peter Spelman or Owiligascho came to Fort Johnson and said he was sent by the Shawanese chief with a piece of intelligence which he then delivered. Sir William sent by him two large Belts of Wampum, *One* for the Delawares living at Tiaogo, reminding them of the engagements they had entered into at this house last summer; *The other* to thank the Shawanese Chief for his intelligence & hoping he and his people would be ready to come & join His Majestys Arms whenever he might send to them. The said Messenger made a mistake in delivering these Belts, & told the Shawanese & Mohickanders that Sir William desired to see them as soon as possible; upon which these Indians set off and came hither.



left at home, all that may pass between us here, and not only to the people of our towns, but also to the Shawanese on the Ohio, and to all the scattered Delawares and Mohickanders, and we shall acquaint them all that we have made a Covenant of peace friendship and alliance with you, in behalf of all our people and our Bretheren the English.

15<sup>th</sup> Sir William sent for the Heads of the aforesaid Indians, who came into his room, when he told them that he was sorry his indisposition prevented his meeting them yesterday, that he was to day something better, but as there were several of the 6 Nations who had been here some days, he proposed to finish the business with them to-day, and would tomorrow speak to them and their people.

Fort Johnson 19 April 1757 A. M.

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> &c

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Willington of the Royal Americans

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Claus of

D<sup>o</sup>

Capt Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

SHAWANESE.

Paxinosa,

King or Chief with 52 of his people.

MOHICKANDERS

Abraham alias Mammatsican.

King or chief with 147 of his Nation.

NANTICOOKES

Hamightaghlawatawa,

King or chief, with 8 of his people.

SIX NATIONS

Seventy in all

N B. As many of the Mohickander Indians understand both English and Low Dutch, Sir William read the following speech first in English; it was afterwards told in Low Dutch to Jonathan abovementioned, to whom it had been before repeated in the morning; then Jonathan spoke it to all present in the Mohickander language; those Indians being considered as the principals throughout this meeting.

Bretheren

I am glad to see you at this house. Here a Council fire is always burning. Here a tree of shelter is planted not only for the Six Nations but for all Indians who are or desire to be in peace and friendship with the English and will acknowledge the Great King of England, my master, for their Father. He hath ordered and empowered me to take care of all his dutyfull and good children the Indians in these parts. I do on my side keep this Council Room free from all defilement. There is nothing allowed to come here which will hurt any good and honest Indian.

When I consider the distance you are come, the severe season of the year and the extream badness of the roads, and also that there is a great meeting of the Susquehannah Indians now holding under my direction with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan my Deputy at Harris's Ferry<sup>1</sup> on the Susquehanna

<sup>1</sup> Now Harrisburgh, Penn. JONAS HARRIS was a native of Yorkshire, England, and worked as a brewer in London previous to his emigration to this country. He is said to have assisted in opening the streets of Philadelphia, on its first foundation. He afterwards removed to the Susquehannah where he opened a trade with the Indians, kept the above Ferry, having, on the 14th of December, 1733, purchased a tract of five hundred acres of land from Edward Shippen, in the township of Paxton, on which his son, John Harris, in 1785, laid out the present capital of the State of Pennsylvania. *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, II., pt. i., 208. He died some time previous to 1762. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VIII., 754. — ED.

River, so much nearer than this to your habitations; I would from brotherly tenderness have wished you had deferred your journey till that meeting had been over. You would then have had a more pleasant time and comfortable roads for travelling. Besides the result of that meeting would have afforded more matter for this. However I take your coming now as a strong proof of your brotherly love and friendly dispositions towards your bretheren the English. In this Council Room I now heartily bid you wellcome.

Gave 3 strings of Wampum.

Bretheren. Last summer I held a meeting and entered into a treaty in this Council Room with the Shawanese King now present, and with a Chief of the Delaware settled at Tiaogo. This treaty I sent home to the Great King your Father; here it is printed that all your Bretheren the English on this Continent may know what past, and what agreements we have entered into.

The Great God above is a lover of Truth & Sincerity. He will send his vengeance down on that people or nation who deceive each other with words of peace & friendship when their hearts speak war and their tongues utter lies. You will find that the English will faithfully observe their parts of this treaty, and I hope and doubt not but your people will strictly observe the engagements they so solemnly bound themselves to.

By this Belt I expect all you who are now present will do the same on your parts.

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren. Some of you Mohickanders were present at this treaty, and as I make no doubt but all of you are acquainted with the particulars of it, I shall therefore only put you in mind that it was then promised to send and invite all the Shawanese who live on the Ohio, and all the Delawares or Mohickanders who are scattered round about Fort Du Quesne and those parts, to come and put their hands into the same Covenant Chain. I desire to know what has been done in this affair.

Gave 3 strings Wampum.

Bretheren. Listen, and I will tell you the difference between the English and the French. The English desire and labour to unite all Indians into one general bond of brotherly love and National Interest. The French endeavour to divide the Indians and stir up war & contention amongst them. Those who intend to destroy or enslave any people or nation, will first endeavour to divide them. This you and all the Indians upon this Continent know has always been and continues to be, the endeavours of the French. But tho' this is a fact which I think all the Indians must certainly see, yet the French have found means some how or other so to bewitch their understandings as to make many of them believe they love the Indians & mean well towards them. 'Tis very strange, Bretheren, that any one man, much more any number of men, who are not either mad or drunk, can believe that stirring up Bretheren to spill each other's blood, dividing them from one another, and making parties amongst them are proofs of love and marks of friendly design towards them. Not less unaccountable is it, Bretheren, that the French should be able to persuade the Indians that building forts in the middle of their country & hunting grounds is for their interest and protection. I tell you Bretheren and I warn you, that whatever good words the French may give you, how much soever they may now smile on you, whatever presents they may now make you; your chains are in their pockets and when their designs are ripe for execution, they will take the Ax out of their bosom and strike it into your heads. But this they know they cannot do untill you have broken the Covenant Chain with your Bretheren the English and taken up the Ax against them. 'Tis for this reason the French are always endeavouring

by lies, by presents, by promises, to stir up all Indians to fall upon the English settlements & destroy their best friends and faithfull bretheren, and many Indians have been so wicked and foolish, as, in spight of treaties and antient frendship, to become the dogs of the French, and come and go as they commanded them.

Bretheren. If the Indians do not return to their senses they will see and feel when it is too late that they have ruined themselves, enslaved their posterity and lost their country. They will find their country fortified by the French, not against the English but against the Indians themselves.

Bretheren. What I have said, and am going to say, I say not to you only, but to all Indians; and I desire you will with this Belt make it known amongst all the nations you have any acquaintance or connections with.

Tell them from me to look at the French forts built and building through the middle of their country and on their best hunting lands. Let them look at the French flaggs flying in their Forts at all the great Lakes, along all the great Rivers, in order to oblige them to trade with the French only, sell their skins, and take goods for them at what prizes the French please to put on them. And it is a thing well known to all Indians that the French cannot sell them goods near as cheap as the English can, nor in such assortments and plenty.

Gave a large Belt.

Bretheren. Let all nations of Indians know that the Great King of England, my master, is their Friend; that he desires all nations of Indians may unite together, be as one body and one blood. He offers them his alliance and protection, which all Princes & people over the Great Lakes are proud and glad of. He is ready to forgive all that has past, and to receive them with the open and tender arms of a forgiving Father and a sincere friend. He exhorts them by me to tear off the bandage from their eyes wherewith the French have blindfolded them that they may see the true state of their Country and avoid the Chains which the French are preparing for them and their posterity. Let them rise up as one man and assist His Majesty's arms in driving the French out of their country. The Great King of England will then take care that his people shall not invade your lands, that his traders shall supply you with goods and deal honestly by you. If the Indians will do their parts herein, they & the English will be as one flesh and one blood, & every Indian on this Continent may then sit under his own tree in peace, praise Him that ruleth above, smoke his pipe, and dread no enemy.

Bretheren. Let what I have now said to you sink into your hearts, publish it word for word to all your people at home, and thro' all the Nations. Make no delay, for now is the time for the Indians to chuse whether they and their children after them, will or will not be, a free, a great and a happy people.

By this Belt I fasten all the words I have said to you on your hearts.

Gave a great Belt of Wampum.

Bretheren. I would be glad to have the opinion of you who are present, upon what I have said with these two Belts, and the proposal I have made of it's being published thro' the Nations.

Bretheren. I must inform you of an accident which happend some days ago between Albany and Schenectady. A River or Mohickander Indian was shot by a soldier, who says the Indian first laid hold of him, abused and threatened him. The soldier is in confinement will be tried, and if found guilty will suffer. I am very sorry for this misfortune but there is



no recalling the dead. All therefore that I can do is to condole with you on this occasion according to your customs, and cover his grave with these blankets strowds and stockings, & with these handkerchiefs I dry up the tears of his friends and relations; and I hope that after this, as the soldier is confined, you will rest easy and satisfied in your minds, as nothing more could be done, if the same accident had happened to me.

Here the above goods were delivered, and after a glass of rum round, to drink the King's health, the meeting broke up.

Fort Johnson 21 April 1757 P. M.

PRESENT —	Sir William Johnson, Bart.
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Claus	Secretary and
M <sup>r</sup> Guy Johnson	Interpreter as before.

The Shawanese Nanticoke and Mohickander Indians being assembled in the Meeting Room, sent Sir William word they were come to give their answer to his speech to them the 19<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. Upon his taking his seat, Jonathan the Mohickander spoke in Low Dutch as follows:—

Brother, If you are prepared to hear us, please to listen to what we have to say.

Sir William said he was ready, and would be attentive

Brother, We are very much obliged to you for your kind reception of us and your concern for the bad journey we have had; we are not discouraged thereby, having our hearts cheared with the peace and friendship our people made here with you last summer.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brother. You asked us what was done about sending your Belt to the Ohio and the Delaware Indians about Fort Du Quesne. We acknowledge that Belt was received as it was given to Tedicscunt the Chief Man at Tiaogo, who is acquainted with all our friends and allies: what he hath done therein we do not realy know.

Gave 3 Strings.

Brother. You put us in mind of the Treaty of peace and friendship entered into in this Council Room last summer, between you and our Brothers the Shawanese and the Delawares of Tiaogo.

Brother. All the Nations here present for themselves and all belonging to them lay hold of the said Covenant Chain, and are determined to keep fast the same as long as the sun shines and God gives us breath.

You have told us Brother that God knows all things and the heart of every one of us.

Brother. 'Tis true, and we call God to witness the sincerity of our resolutions to keep unbroken the Covenant Chain with our Bretheren the English. We will not tell you any lies, and we assure you that when our people at home shall hear of our entering into this agreement of peace and friendship, they will, we are sure, be exceedingly rejoiced and we will not only faithfully observe it ourselves, but teach the same [to] our children yet unborn.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. All you said to us concerning the difference of conduct between the English and French and every thing you desired us to publish amongst our people and all the nations gave us great satisfaction; and we think it to be the truth. Be assured we will not do as was done last year, refer it to another, but we will deliver your words and send your Belt with our own

mouths and hands, and when we have done this we will not fail to let you know what effects it has had, and what nations you can depend on as Bretheren, and what are your enemies.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. You told us the day before yesterday that the French had put a bandage over our eyes, which you told us to remove, that we might look about and see clearly the state of our country & our true interest. All you said to us on this subject was extreemly agreeable and we thank you for it from the bottom of our hearts; it was acting like a friend and brother. But for our parts we have cast off the bandage and can see clearly round us, and which way soever we look, we can see no friends so true, no brothers so affectionate to us as the English: they have ever been so to us and to our forefathers also.

Brother. You have also told us that the Great King our Father over the sea, offered us by you, his hand of favour and protection. We lay fast hold of it and will not quit it so long as the world endures.

Brother. You have made us very joyfull by assuring us that our Father the Great King is ready to forgive and forget all past faults and misdoings. This makes our hearts happy and easy, for there have been some Indians who have done amiss, and who thought he would never forgive them. The King our Father's goodness will be great matter of joy to them and give us the most unfeigned satisfaction. Brother, we shall publish all this good news amongst all Nations of Indians with whom we have any acquaintance.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. We beg leave to add a few words. We have not perhaps been so particular as we ought, but we assure you what we have said comes from the bottom of our hearts, and that we mean more and better than we are capable of expressing. In these matters we are but as Children to you white people

Brother. We have forgot something; that is, to tell you where we now live. It is at Otsiningo and if you have at any time occasion for us or messages to send us, there you will allways find us. At Otsiningo live three principal Nations, viz<sup>t</sup> the Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohickanders, who are all Bretheren.

Brother. We have now concluded our answer to your speech to us, and must beg leave to say something to you from ourselves, and which is of great importance to us.

Brother. Please to lend us your attention a little. 'Tis now 9 years ago that a misfortune happened near Reinbeck in this Province; a white man there shot a young man an Indian. There was a meeting held thereon, and Martinus Hoffman said "Brothers there are two "methods of settling this accident, one according to the White people's customs, the other "according to the Indians: which of them will you chuse? If you will go according to the "Indian manner, the man who shot the Indian may yet live. If this man's life is spared, and "at any time hereafter an Indian should kill a white man, and you desire it, his life shall be "also spared."

Brother. You told us two days ago that when a man is dead, there is no bringing him to life again. Brother, we understand there are two Indians in jail at Albany, accused of killing a man; they are alive and may live to be of service, and we beg you in the name of the Great King our Father that they may be released. All we that here present, among whom are some of their nations, are all much dejected and uneasy upon this affair, and do entreat that these people may be let free, which will give us all the highest satisfaction.

Gave a great bunch Wampum.

We have now finished, and have no more to say.

Sir William told them as it was now late he proposed tomorrow to say something more to them, & give an answer upon things they had now said. The meeting then broke up.

Fort Johnson 22 April 1757.

PRESENT,— as yesterday.

Sir William Johnson's Second Speech to the aforesaid Indians.

Bretheren.

What you said to me yesterday in answer to my former speech to you was very agreeable and pleasing to me. I look upon your words as a tree in full blossom, which I hope and expect will produce fruit suitable to it's appearance.

Bretheren. Let me again put you in mind of the Belt I have given you, and which you have promised to show to all those nations of Indians with whom you have any acquaintance or friendship, and to repeat what I have told you. As I think those things are of great consequence to the welfare of all Indians, I will again mention the heads of what I said upon my second and third Belts in my former speech: (which he did) and then added Three particular instances in which their friendship and alliance with the English was greatly more for their interest than with the French. 1<sup>st</sup> That in case their crops failed and they were destitute of provisions, that they could be easily relieved by their neighbourhood to the English; whereas they were at such a distance from Canada that they might starve before they could get relief from the French. 2<sup>dly</sup> That in case they were in want of ammunition or assistance against an enemy, they might be all destroyed before they could obtain the needfull assistance from the French. 3<sup>dly</sup> The same consequence with regard to trade.

With this Belt of Wampum I fix firmer upon your hearts and memories my talk and advice to you.

Gave a large Bunch Wampum.

Bretheren. Last night I wrote to the Earl of Loudoun who commands all the King's soldiers in this country and to Sir Charles Hardy Governour of this Province, concerning the request you made of having your people discharged who are now in Albany jail. It is not in my power to give them free, but I dare say those great men will comply with your desire, if the circumstances of the affair appear to be such as reason and justice will permit it to be done.

Gave a Bunch of Wampum.

Bretheren. As you have now in behalf of yourselves and all your people laid hold of the Covenant Chain of peace and friendship with the Great King of England my master, and called the Great God above to witness that you do sincerely intend and firmly resolve that you will hereafter behave to all his subjects as fast friends and loving bretheren, into which Covenant Chain I have taken you all, your wives and children:—Therefore lest you may forget what was meant by the Covenant Chain in old times, I will briefly remind you of it's obligations. —

When the Indians your forefathers first made this Covenant Chain with the English, both parties engaged to keep the ends of it fast in their hands; that they would take great care to keep it from breaking or from getting any rust or filth upon it; that they would be as one flesh and blood, so that if any enemy should intend to hurt or strike one party, the other should immediately give him notice, rise up & help him; and that a good road should allways be kept open between their habitations, that when they might call for each others assistance, they could easily and speedily come.



Bretheren. As the road between us hath been opened last year by which means all logs and stones which were in the way hath been removed and made broad safe and pleasant we shall on our parts keep it so, and I expect you'll do the same on yours.

Bretheren. You have informed me that you three nations are settled at Otsiningo and that there I may allways find you. You have lived in too dispersed a manner, which must naturally weaken a people & make them of little consequence ; whereas if you keep together in a body you may be strong & respectable.

Bretheren. With this Belt I girt your loins round after the manner of Warriors that whenever you are called upon you may be ready to run along this good road to assist us your Bretheren, if any enemy may be coming to hurt them, and we shall do the same by you when you have any occasion to call upon us ; by this means we shall become a strong body and nothing will be able to hurt us.

Gave a very large Belt.

Bretheren. I have but a few words more to say to you and then I shall conclude. If you hear of any news which concerns the safety or welfare of us your Bretheren, I expect you will give us immediate notice and we shall do the same by you. Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brethern. The time of the year, the severity of the season, and my having of late been obliged to be so much from home, and that I did not expect you so soon, has prevented my having as great a plenty of goods as I usually have ; however I shall look about, and when all business is finished I hope to find a small present for You.

So ended this Meeting.

Fort Johnson 23<sup>d</sup> of April 1757 A. M.

The reply of the aforesaid Indians to Sir William Johnson's speech to them of yesterday.

PRESENT,— as before

Brother. If you are ready to hear us we shall make some reply to what you yesterday said to us. Sir William answered he was ready ; when the Speaker proceeded.

Brother. You told us yesterday that you looked on what we had said and the assurances we had given you as a Tree in Blossom, and you hoped it would yield good fruits.

Brother. We like the comparison. We have spoke to you from our hearts, and we hope good fruit will come from thence. On our parts we truly mean what our tongue hath spoken and we doubt not but you will on your side be as a fruitfull Tree to us.

Gave 2 Strings Wampum.

Brother. You have repeated to us and we shall not forget it, the different behaviour of the English and French towards the Indians, and you gave us instances to prove that it was greatly more our interest to keep friends with the former than the latter. Brother, what you have said hereon we are convinced is the truth and we thank you heartily for pointing out to us our true interest and welfare. What you have said has made our hearts light within in us, and we will not forget it.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brother. You told that last year you had opened the road between our habitations and the English and that you believed we had found nothing bad in this Road. (The Speaker here repeated what Sir William had said to them yesterday, with the large Belt.)

Brother. We have now renewed the Covenant Chain with all its obligations agreed upon between our respective forefathers. We are extreamly glad that you have made the Road

open between us, and it is a very pleasant one. We are thankful to you for tying up our blankets, and whenever you call upon us we shall be ready to stand up and come without delay; and we shall from this day forward consider the English and ourselves as one body, one head and one mind.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. You have desired that whenever we hear any thing which may concern the interest or welfare of our Bretheren the English we should without delay communicate it. You may depend that we will do this and if we get any intelligence, tho' it should be in the middle of the night, we will send off an express to you. Some of our young people are generally on the hunt and are very likely to make discoveries. Brother we are very thankful for your promise to do the same by us and to be ready to come to our assistance in case of need.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brother. What you have told us concerning your writing to the Great Men about our friends in Albany jail, we have put it into our hearts and when we see our said Brothers safe in freedom it will be a convincing proof to us that we are indeed Bretheren & one People with the English.

Brother. This is all we have to say, and from this time forth we are as one body. Then the Sachems and Chiefs of the Three Nations with the Speaker, came and shook hands with Sir William and the several gentlemen present, with great appearance of joy and sincerity.

The Speaker rose up again and said:—

Brother. We have forgot something of consequence which we desire may be wrote down.

Brother. We are now become, as was said, one People; whenever therefore your people and ours may meet in the woods or elsewhere, we expect they shall shake hands, and smoke together as loving Bretheren, and as we shall on our parts publish all that hath past here, to all our absent people and friends we hope and desire you will do the same to yours, that none may be ignorant that from this day forward and for ever we are brothers friends and allies, and engaged on all occasions to love and assist each other.

A few words more we beg leave to say, and then we have done.

Brother. (Holding up a Belt) Last spring with this Belt the Nanticokes took us by the hand and bid us sit down by them. They said to us—"You Mohickanders and we Nanticokes will be one people and take you Mohickanders by the hand as Bretheren and fix you here at Otsininko, where the 6 Nations have lighted a Council Fire and the Senecas appointed lands for you to cultivate. Call all your dispersed Bretheren together and sit down here with them as their habitation, and we Nanticokes assure you that whoever shall pinch or hurt you, we shall feel it, and the 6 Nations shall do the same."

Brother. This Belt we propose to send amongst all our dispersed people; we have acquainted you herewith, and whenever you see any of our scattered people passing up the River, you may that they are removing to Otsiningo.

Sir William said.—

Bretheren.

I am quite pleased with the conduct of the Nanticokes, and think it a very prudent measure; it will strengthen them, and you Three Nations together may be a considerable & flourishing people.

Bretheren. As I expect all that has past here between us will be printed, by that means it will be known throughout this and the neighbouring Governments.

After Sir William had done, the Kings or Chiefs of each Nation rose up and made a strong exhortation to all their respective people present to remember every thing which had past at

this meeting, and to consider it as done in the presence of Him who sitteth above and seeth all things.

Sir William recommended it to them to make such an equal and upright division of the presents intended for them, (which he proposed to deliver to them in the afternoon) as none might have just cause to murmur or be dissatisfied.

A true Copy from the Original Records;

Exam<sup>d</sup> by me  
(signed) PETER WRAXALL  
Sec<sup>y</sup>

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*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVI., (P.) No. 4. ]

Fort Johnson 10 June 1757.

The following Indians arrived here :—

SENECAS, of the Old Castle  
Tageghsady }  
Tawistawis } Sachems

From Cenosio<sup>1</sup> Castle  
Karonghyanaghqui  
Canoghsa  
Hayadondy, a head  
warrior & 40 others.

ONONDAGAS  
Sequareesere  
Otsinoughyatta. }  
Keghlahhe } Sachems  
Canatsyagaye }  
Tsineakado }  
Kahedorea } Head  
Tyohaqueueande } Warriors.  
24 Young Warriors  
5 Women

Their Chiefs came into the Council Room and passed the usual compliments to Sir William on their arrival, and presented to him an Indian scalp, in the room of Mr Jonathan Stevens, the Interpreters son, who was killed in the engagement at Lake George 8 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1755. They acquainted Sir William that Deputies from the Cayougas were on the road and that they expected them here to-morrow, that they had called on the Oneidas in their way down and invited them to come with them which the Oneidas refused.

Sir William returned their compliments and gave them pipes, tobacco, and a glass of rum round, and then they went to their quarters.

Fort Johnson 11 June 1757. A. M.

The heads of the Senecas and Onondagas who arrived here yesterday met in the Council Room & sent word to Sir William that they desired to say a few words; upon which he attended.

<sup>1</sup> Now Geneseo, Livingston county, N. Y. *Guy Johnson's Map.* — Ed.



PRESENT —

Sir William Johnson

Lieu<sup>t</sup> ClausCapt. Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>

Mr Johnson

Mr Arent Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>

Abraham, &amp; 3 other Mohawk chiefs

— — — An Onondaga Sachem, Speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As we hear there is a great deal of mischief dayly happens in the Southern Governments and as we understand some of the Mohawks lately came from those parts, we would be glad to know from you or them concerning those affairs and what the news is.

Upon which Sir William desired the Mohawk Chiefs who were present and just returned from Lancaster to acquaint their Bretheren the Senecas and Onondagas with what they knew and had heard about the blood which had lately and was daily shedding in the Southern Govern<sup>t</sup>

Abraham the Mohawk Sachem did accordingly relate what murders and hostilities had been committed, while they were attending the meeting at Lancaster, and referred them for the transactions at that meeting, to Sir William; who told them, that to enter into a particular detail would take up too much time at present, and that he would take some other opportunity to do it.

The Onondaga Speaker then proceeded and said:—

Brother.

When Capt. Butler was at Onondaga he was dayly pressing forward the proposed meeting which was delayed by several of our people being at Canada; when they returned we acquainted him with what news they brought, which we doubt not he advised you of.

Sunday 12 June A. M. arrived

Skahyonwiō<sup>1</sup> alias Big Canoe } head Sachems  
Ottrowana }

Seven Warriors and 2 Women; all from Cayouga.

Sir William bid them welcome, and after the usual ceremonies they were shown to their quarters.

EOD. DIE. P. M. Nickus and Paulus Sachems at Canajoharee, with several other head men, arrived and desired to say a few words with Sir William, who told them he was ready to hear them; when Nickas spoke as follows:—

Brother Warraghiyagey.

Doubtless you are desirous to know what is the occasion of our present visit to you. We are to acquaint you that it is at the request of those of the Six Nations who are now come down, who desired we would attend this meeting and hear what they have to say to you.

To which S<sup>r</sup> William answerd: that he was glad to see them on this occasion and he did intend as soon as the Cayougas arrived to send for them down and that he had already given notice to the Mohawks of the hither Castle to be present.

<sup>1</sup> From *Gahonēia*, a canoe. *Bruyas*. — Ed.

Fort Johnson 13 June 1757. A. M.

The Senecas, Cayogas and Onondagas having desired a meeting with S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson, he accordingly met them in the Council Room.

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson.	Capt. Wraxall Sec <sup>y</sup>
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Claus.	M <sup>r</sup> Stevens Interp <sup>r</sup>
The Sachems of the Upper and Lower Mohawk Castle.	

Skahyonwiô, alias the Big Canoe, a Cayouga Sachem spoke as follows:—

Brother Warraghiyagey and Bretheren of the [Six] Nations present.

We of the Cayouga Nation have been much discontented that the proposed meeting at Onondaga was so long delayed. We were long ago ready, but were kept back by the Senecas, who put off their going thither on various pretenses.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are informed that you have been told that some of the Upper Nations have used the hatchet against our Bretheren the English; we must acknowledge it is true, but it was not the fault of our nation.

Some of the Seneca warriors who said they were going to the Southward against enemy Indians, prevailed upon some of our young men to go with them, and when they got on their way they turned about & smote some of your people. We of Cayouga on hearing this were very much concerned and threw a Belt of Wampum to all the fighters to prevent the like for the future. We have done our utmost to put a stop to such proceedings; we expect it will be effectual, and hope the like will never happen again: with this Belt we take the hatchet out of your head.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. As to our Nation we own the French are trying all methods to confuse and divide us, & stir us up against our Bretheren the English; and some time ago they set on some of our young men to come this way and do mischief; but on our discovering it we sent after them & put a stop to it.

Bretheren of the Six Nations present.

We of Cayouga have already spoke to you; hear what we are now going further to say to you.

Some of you of the 5 Nations come down & tell our Brother Warraghiyagey, that we of Cayouga are friends of the French and use the hatchet against our Bretheren the English, when at the same time 'tis your Nations are doing it, as some of the Onondagas have done, and laid it to our charge. We have for our parts prevented our young people from engaging in these measures; perhaps there may have been one or two who have been guilty and escaped our knowledge, but you may depend upon it our Nation have not forgot the old agreement with our Bretheren the English, but are determined to hold fast the Covenant Chain and not let it slip out of our hands; and we make this Declaration before you all now present, as our determinate resolutions.

Brother Warraghiyagey.

We beg you by this Belt not to listen to these lies which are told you to the prejudice of our Nation, but be assured we are firmly resolved to hold fast on the Covenant Chain, and

remain friends and Bretheren of the English as long as we live. Brother it is true we have thought it most for our interest to sit still and not intermeddle in the disputes between you and the French, and we have reproached some of the other Nations with joining the French and not remaining neuter; and this we say to their faces. Gave a large Belt.

Brother. We are determined thus to justify ourselves and to make these declarations, before all the Nations present, before we entered upon business in general, and you and all the Six Nations present may depend upon it, that what we have said is the truth and the real meaning of our hearts, and we will abide by our resolutions as long as the sun gives light

The Onondaga Speaker then said:—

Bretheren of the Mohawk and Seneca Nations.

We who are as one body in the General Confederacy have heard what our Bretheren of Cayouga have now said and declared, & we Onondagas are of opinion it is proper for us to withdraw and take the same under consideration.

Sir William told the Cayougas he had attentively heard what they had said to him in the presence of the 6 Nations, and that he would consider of a proper answer to it, and as the Onondagas had proposed to withdraw with the Mohawks and Senecas, so he adjourned the meeting for this time.

Fort Johnson 14 June 1757 P. M.

The Senecas, Onondagas and Cayougas having given Sir William Johnson notice that they were ready to speak to him, & being assembled in the Council Room, he attended.

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bar <sup>t</sup>	Cap <sup>t</sup> Peter Wraxall Sec <sup>y</sup>
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Claus.	Mr Arent Stevens, Interp <sup>r</sup>
Mr Johnson.	Mr Robert Adems.
Sachems & chiefs of the two Mohawk Castles	

———— an Onondaga Sachem spoke as follows:—

Brother Warraghiyagey.

When you were last at Onondaga you spoke to the Six Nations with a Belt of Wampum, by which you sharpened our weapons and desired we should make use of them against the common enemy. This, none of the Six Nations are ignorant of. You then also painted and feathered our warriors for action; but as we found ourselves in danger from the Missesagas we were obliged to let our hatchet lay by us, and take care of our own preservation.

Brother. This is one reason for our not having been active according to your request. We will give you a further reason. We are but few in number, and therefore think ourselves oblidge in justice to our country and our families to stay at home & take care, and protect them from the attempts of our enemies, as we daily hear we are threatened by them.

Brother. When you were last at Onondaga you told us to keep our weapons in our hands and be ready to run, when you might call on us, to your assistance, which you would do when any urgent occasion made it necessary. You told us you were a numerous people and you would first make a trial against the enemy, and if you could not do without us, then you would call upon us, and desired we would hold ourselves in readiness.



Brother. We have given you our several reasons for not using the hatchet you sharpened for us at Onondaga. We can't say from whence it may come, but we expect in a few months time that we shall be attacked by our enemies, and if we were to be absent from our Castles, our women and children would be at the mercy of the enemy; and therefore we think it necessary to stay at home in our own defence.

Gave a large Belt.

Brother. As you desired the 6 Nations would mediate between the English and the Delawares, and prevail on those Indians to cease their hostilities, the Senecas, under whose immediate directions those Indians are, did according to your request interpose, and they have brought them to a cessation of arms, except those Indians who live on the Ohio and are under the guidance of the French, whom the Senecas have not yet been able to bring to terms of peace.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. By Cap<sup>t</sup> Butler and Cap<sup>t</sup> Montour whom you sent up to our Castle last winter, you let us know that you expected we should use the hatchet against the French. We gave no direct answer to them hereupon, but told them the Council at Onondaga had not yet met, as all the members were not assembled. When the Council at Onondaga was compleat, we laid your message before them, which they said they did not expect from you, as the old Covenant Chain was for the common safety of you & us; for were we to leave our country unguarded, it would bring on our destruction. You told us you were strong in people and able to fight the French and we hope you will exert yourselves against them for the common safety of yours and our Country.

Brother. You formerly told us that the cause of the present war on your side, was to remove the French from their encroachments on your and our Country. This is very true Brother, and it is a matter worthy of your assistance, for the French have really hemmed us in by their encroachments, and we beg you will do your best to remove them and preserve our lands; and as you told us you had people enough to fight the French, we did not expect you would call on us to assist you, until you found yourselves too weak to do without us.

Brother. We have now told you the resolutions of the Senecas, Cayougas, and Onondagas, in the presence of our Bretheren of the two Mohawk Castles the head of the Confederacy; and we do at the same time assure you that it is the determination of all the 5 Nations in full Council that we will not let the ancient Covenant Chain between our Father the Great King of England over the great Lake, and our forefathers, & Quieder, (meaning the Governor of New York) slip out of our hands. And we now dress up the Council fire, which upon your being appointed to the management of our affairs was removed from Albany hither, & from the Tree of Shelter, which was at the same time planted here, we pick away all weeds that nothing may hurt its growth. The ancient Covenant Chain was made for our mutual advantage, of which trade is a considerable part, and therefore we beg you will send a trader to the German Flatts.

Brother. We speak not merely from our lips, but we tell you the truth of our hearts, that we are determined to hold fast the Covenant Chain; & this is not the resolutions of our three Nations only but also of the Oneidas and Tuscarores, and the whole Confederacy; and this we declare in the presence of the two Mohawk Castles.

Brother. You and the French are two powerfull nations, and we hope you will so exert yourselves as to get the better of them, and if it pleases God that you overcome them, we shall remain stedfast to you, but should it happen that the French are too strong for you, we must then fall with you.

Gave a white Belt of 16 rows.

Brother. Some of your messages have come to us by foolish people and women, who either don't remember or designedly alter your meaning; we therefore desire you will take care to choose faithful and proper people.

Here they returned 4 strings of Wampum which St William lately sent to the Six Nations to acquaint them that the Rum was out & they must not send down for any more.

Brother. Here is a Belt and a String of Wampum which you sent up to us, admonishing us to keep a good look out against the designs and motions of the enemy; this we have done, in token whereof we return them to you. Returned a Belt & a String of Wampum.

Then the Speaker sat down.

Sir William told them he had given attention to all they had said, that it was recorded, and he would prepare an answer to it, and let them know when he was ready to deliver it.

Fort Johnson 16 June 1757. P. M.

Sir William Johnson's answer to the speech made him the 14<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> by the Senecas, Cayougas, & Onondagas.

PRESENT— as before.

Bretheren of the Senecas, Cayougas, & Onondagas

I have duly considered the speech you made to me two days ago, and I desire you will be attentive to the answer I am now going to make you to it.

Bretheren. You tell me the reason you did not make use of the hatchet I sharpened for you last Summer, when I was at Onondaga, and at which time I also painted and feathered your warriors for action, was, because you found yourselves in danger from the Messasagas, and therefore were obliged to let my hatchet lay by you, & take care of yourselves.

Bretheren. This is the first time I have heard the Messasagas, were your enemies, & I am surprized how it came about. It is but 2 years ago at the great meeting here that you brought down the Chief man amongst the Missasagas, and introduced him to me as your great friend and ally, and told me that he and his people were determined to follow the example of the Five Nations. You then desired I would treat and consider him accordingly, which I did and gave him presents to his satisfaction, and he took Belts from me to his people. For what reason therefore you think yourselves in danger from the Missesagas I cannot comprehend, unless it is from some misunderstanding which I hear happened in the woods some few days ago between some of your people and them.

Bretheren. An other reason you give me for your inactivity is, that you are few in number, and you dayly hear yourselves threatened by your enemies. As to your numbers, had you taken my advise given you many years ago and often repeated, you might now have been as strong people. I should be glad to know who these enemies are, and what grounds you have for these fears.

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren. You say I told you that the English would first make a trial against their enemies & that if we found we could not do without you, that then we would call on you for your assistance. I have looked over the records where all public speeches and business with the Nations is faithfully wrote down, and I find no such thing there, and I am very positive you must be mistaken, for from the first meeting I had with the Six Nations after my return from Virginia, to this day, I have been constantly calling and exhorting them as Children of the

Great King of England, as Brothers and Allies to the English, to join and assist His Majesty's Arms against our common enemy the French, and the Six Nations have as frequently assured me they would act with us & for us. And you must know you have a great number of Belts from me on this subject now in your possession. You tell me, tho' you don't know from what quarter, that you expect in a few months to be attacked by some enemy, and that therefore you think your own preservation requires you to stay at home and be on your guard. What foundation you have for all these fears so lately come upon you, you have not thought proper to inform me, and therefore I am at a loss about it, especially as I understand several parties of your young men are gone a fighting to the Southward. Formerly you told me that if you had Forts built at your towns and some men to guarrison them, you might then go to war with your Bretheren the English, and not be affraid of your old men your wives and children during your absence. These Forts tho' very expensive to the King your Father, were accordingly built for you, and if you had applied you might have had men to garrison them. Bretheren, your conduct will in my opinion appear very ungrateful, & your reasonings very inconsistent to the King your Father and to all your Bretheren the English when they come to their knowledge as they soon will do; wherefore I would advise you to reconsider the matter, & take it into your most serious consideration.

A String.

Bretheren. I am well pleased that the Senecas, under whose directions the Delawares are, have upon my application interposed their influence upon those deluded people, to stop their hostilities upon this and the neighbouring Provinces, and I expect they will exert their utmost to compleat this good work with the Ohio Delawares also.

A Belt.

Bretheren. Last winter the Governor of Pennsylvania had a meeting with Tedeuscung the Chief of the Delawares who live at Taaogo, when Tedyuscung told the Governor that one of the chief causes of the Delawares taking up the Ax against the English was, that they thought themselves defrauded and injured with regard to their lands. The Governour desired to know in what instances and by whom these frauds and injustice had been done to them, and that he was then ready and willing to hear their complaints and redress them to the utmost of his power and heartily disposed to settle every thing to their satisfaction.

Tedyuscung answered that he was not then empowered by, nor were the proper persons present, to accommodate these disputes, and therefore he proposed a meeting with the Governour this spring, when he said he would come prepared to settle all these matters. The meeting was accordingly agreed on, and I sent our Brother M<sup>r</sup> Croghan my Deputy to Pennsylvania, to act there in my name and see justice done to the Indians. I gave the 6 Nations notice hereof and several of them attended there accordingly. They waited a great while in expectation of Tedyuscung's arrival, but he never came, so that all the expence and trouble of this meeting did not produce the main effects intended by it. I desire to know from our Brothers the Senecas, the reasons of this strange behaviour of Tedyuscung's, which appears to me very blamable and unworthy the Character of a chief man, and I must desire that our Brothers the Senecas will talk to him, and if he is in fault make him sensible of it. The Governour of Pennsylvania hath spoke and acted like a wise and honest man, and appears sincerely disposed to do justice with impartiality of heart. The affair is of great consequence and Tedyuscung's conduct doth not appear fair and candid, by not fulfilling his own proposals & promises.

Gave several large strings of Wampum.

Bretheren. You say Captain Montour & Capt. Butler brought you a message in my name that I expected you would use the hatchet, I had put in your hands, against the French, that



the message was laid before the Council of Onondaga, who said they did not expect such a message from you, as the Covenant Chain was for the common safety both of us and you, and that if you were to leave your country unguarded, it might end in your destruction.

Bretheren. It is certain the Covenant Chain was made for our common good and safety, and it is well known to you all that it speaks in this manner:—*That the English and the Six Nations shall consider themselves as one flesh and one blood, and that whenever any enemy shall hurt the one the other is to feel it and avenge it, as if done to himself.* Have not the French hurt us? Is not their ax in our heads? Are they not daily killing and taking our people away? Have not some of your nations both to the Southward and Northward joined the French against us? Nay, some of you, by your own confession, have gone out by yourselves and struck the English. Have you not now several of our people prisoners amongst you, whom you conceal from me? Have you not lately suffered the Swegachie Indians to come thro' your habitations and take one of our people from the German Flatts? Let me ask you now if all this is behaving like Bretheren, & whether you ought not to be ashamed when you put us in mind of the Covenant Chain? Surely you dream, or think I have forgot the old agreement between us, when you talk in this manner. I take you by the head & rouse you from your lethargy and bring you to your senses.

Bretheren. You say you must take care of yourselves and not leave your country unguarded. When our Brother's house is on fire will an other Brother look quietly on, smook his pipe at his own door and say he can't help him because perhaps his own house may take fire? Does the Covenant Chain speak this language? Did your forefathers talk after this manner? Did I talk so to you when the Onondagas, Oneidas & Tuscarores sent me word last year that they expected the enemy were coming upon them? Did not I and your Bretheren run thro' the ice and snow at two or three different times to their assistance? Where and who are those enemies you so much dread? Let us know do you want our assistance; if you are in danger we know the Covenant Chain and will be ready to defend or die with you. We wont tell you make one trial by yourselves and that we must stay home and take care of our own preservation.

You allways tell me 'tis for our mutual interest you go so often to Canada; I am apt to think you have brought these alarms and these fears with you from thence.

Bretheren. I must tell you that my orders from the King your father are, to take care of and supply with necessaries such good & faithful Indians as will go out and fight for him and his people, and that such and their families, only, has he empowered me to arm clothe and provide for, which I shall continue to do to all such as will go out upon service, and those I dare say will in the end find they have acted more for their honour and interest, than those who stay at home and smook their pipes.

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren. You have assured me that it is the unanimous Resolution of the 5 Nations to hold fast the Antient Covenant Chain made by our forefathers and yours. Bretheren, our end of this Chain is bright and strong and we shall not be the first to let it go; but it seems to me that your end is grown very rusty, and without great care will be in danger of being eaten thro', which I should be very sorry to see, as it would be the means also of extinguishing the fire here and oversetting the Tree of Shelter. Here the Covenant Chain Belt was given.

Bretheren. I am sensible that trade is for our mutual benefit, and the taking care of it has allways been considered as one essential part of the Covenant Chain and the King your Father, expecting that you would have aided his arms as your ancestors formerly did, was determined

to have put trade upon the most equitable and beneficial footing possible, for you and his people. But as public affairs now stand and whilst our enemies are suffered to pass thro your country in order to come and destroy us, without their receiving any molestation from you, it will neither be safe or prudent for our traders to go that way. Besides as you have resolved to stay at home and smook your pipes and leave us to fight the enemy, our people must be otherwise employed, except those traders who live in Albany and Schenectady, who will allways be ready and willing to trade with you. Gave a Belt.

When this Meeting broke up

The same evening the head Sachems of the Senecas desired a private Conference with Sir William Johnson, to which they invited the Mohocks & Onondagas.

The Senecas laid down Three Belts.

One of which was a very long black one with an Ax in the middle, which they said was brought to them by the Groote Yonge, a Seneca warrior who has lived in Canada for two years past, & is since dead, from the Governour of Canada, inviting and calling on the Senecas to take up the hatchet against the English.

The Second was a Belt given by the Governour of Canada to the Delawares, for them to take up the hatchet also against the English, which the Senecas say they have now taken from the Delawares and buried with that sent to them, and acquainted the French Governour that as they had at present no cause of quarrell with the English, so they had buried the hatchet he sent them, and would let both that and the one to the Delawares lye under ground till they had just cause to use them.

The third was sent by the Delawares to the Senecas to assure them they would follow their advice, had accordingly laid down the hatchet against the English and would cease their hostilities.

Fort Johnson 18 June 1757.

Sir William Johnson's answer to the speech made to him by the Cayougas  
the 13<sup>th</sup> Inst.

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Claus.

M<sup>r</sup> Arent Interp<sup>r</sup>

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Johnson.

M<sup>r</sup> Robert Adems.

The Sachems and Chiefs of Cayouga, Seneca & Onondaga.

Bretheren of Cayouga.

Those young men of yours whom you say were led astray by the Seneca warriors to go and strike the English behaved very unlike Bretheren to be so seduced, and your chief did their duty in endeavouring to put a stop to such unjustifiable proceedings for the future; for if such things do again happen, you may depend on it we will look upon you as enemies and treat you as such. Therefore you will act wisely to look hereafter more narrowly to the conduct of your young people

Bretheren. I am fully convinced the French are labouring to set you up against your Bretheren the English, and raise confusion amongst you. I am glad to hear you now confess yourselves sensible of it, as guarding against their crafty designs will be for your true interest and welfare. You acted wisely and brotherlike in preventing your young men from running headlong into these pernicious schemes of the French.

Bretheren. As to evil reports brought me down against you, 'tis not my way to govern my opinion of either yours or any other Nation, by meer rumour or idle tales, nor will I depend upon meer words or professions: 'tis how people act that will rule my judgment of them. I have had reason to suspect and I am now convinced from what you have said in their presence and their silence thereon, that some of the 5 Nations have joined the French against us, and you acted like honest men when you reproached them with it and for now speaking your mind openly in this Council Room. I recommend it to you to continue to support this open and candid character and to keep fast the Covenant Chain according to your promises.

Gave a Belt.

Upon which the Cayougas assured Sir William they would take care to comply with every thing he had now recommended to them, and that they would upon no account let go their hands from the Covenant Chain.

Fort Johnson 19 June 1757. P. M.

At a meeting of the Senecas, Cayougas and Onondagas, at which were present several Oneida Indians, and Abraham, chief Sachem of the Lower Mohawk Castle.

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson	M <sup>r</sup> Robert Adems
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Claus	Cap <sup>t</sup> Peter Wraxall Sec <sup>y</sup>
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Johnson	M <sup>r</sup> Arent Stevens Interp <sup>r</sup>

The Onondaga Speaker said as follows:—

Brother Warraghiyagey.

You have charged us with inactivity & not acting up to the terms of the antient Covenant Chain in the present war between the English & French. But when we look back upon former times, we have reason to charge you on your side with inactivity and neglect towards us. As for instance when the French formerly fell upon the Senecas, you sat still and smoaked your pipes; you did the same when the Onondagas were cut off by the French. When the Oneidas were attacked it was not to the English but to the Onondagas they owed their safety. When the Mohawks were fallen on by the French the Upper Nations rose up in their defence, pursued, overtook the enemy and fought them.

A Belt.

Brother. You have desired to know what are the grounds of our present fears and alarms and who are our enemies. You have reminded us of the Missasaga Chief who came down here two years ago as our friend and ally, whom we recommended to you, and you express your surprize at our being apprehensive of any danger from that Nation.

We have been informed from Swegachie that the Messasagas have charged the Onondagas with killing some of their nation at three different times last summer in conjunction with the English during their possession of Oswego. We have news also from Niagara that the Messasagas have said they will not rest contented till they have revenged themselves on the Onondagas. We have dispatched messengers to Niagara and Cadaraghqui to know the truth of these threats, and whether the Messasagas do really intend to commence hostilities against us. This Spring one of the Onondagas would have been killed in the woods by the Messasagas if, by talking that language very well, he had not made his escape.

Brother. You have exhorted us to speak out the real meaning of our hearts and not to let you write lies about us by our making Declarations which we dont intend to fulfill. We came



down hither with an intent to open our hearts to you and to declare our sincere resolutions that you might inform the King our Father the truth about us. Gave a Belt

Brother. You have told us we were drunk & that you shook us by the head to rouse us up and bring us to our senses. We thank you for it; you may depend upon it we will follow your advice, and we hope you will take care on your side and steadily pursue such measures as are for the common good, for it appears to us that you are at present a little light in the head.

Brother. If we learn any intelligence in our way home or when we get home that is worthy your knowing you shall be immediately informed of it. Gave a Belt.

Brother. You have mentioned several things against us, as inconsistent with the terms of the old Covenant Chain, and you told us in a private conversation this morning that such a behaviour would make a breach between us. Brother, we came from the Council of Onondaga with a resolution to settle all matters in the best manner for our common good, and before we left our respective Castles we laid our hands upon all fighters to keep them all at home till our return when we shall report the proceeding here, and you shall know what resolutions are taken thereupon Gave a Belt

Brother. You told us you were pleased to hear that the Senecas had interposed and prevailed on the Delawares to lay down the hatchet against the English and that you expected we would continue our endeavours to bring the Delawares who live on the Ohio to do the same. Brother, we have sent to these Delawares on the Ohio, who are about 130 in number and we expect on our return to receive an answer, which when we get we will transmit to you.

Brother. You desired to know from the Senecas if they knew the reason why Tedyuscung did not attend the late meeting at Lancaster according to his promise. The Senecas here present say they do not know, but that they shortly expect a great Meeting with the Delawares, and if Tedyuscung comes with them, they will examine him upon his conduct herein.

Gave 4 strings Wampum.

Brother. You have told us you have your end of the Covenant Chain fast in your hands and that your end is strong and bright but that our end seems to be rusting and in danger of being eaten thro', and you have exhorted us to take care of and look well after it. We thank you for your admonitions. The furthest Castle of the Senecas have the extream end fast in their hands, and the rest of the Six Nations have also hold on it, and we assure you we will not quit it.

The Speaker then delivered the Covenant Chain Belt given them by Sir William, to the head Man of the Chinosiā or farthest Seneca Castle.

Brother. We have heard your answer to us about trade, and our women who chiefly carry on that article will be disappointed that our request is refused. We wish we might have the privilege to buy a cag or two of rum, and that the sale of it may be no longer stopped.

The Chief Man of the Senecas then said, now Brother we have concluded all that we have to say.

Sir William said he should say a few words more to them tomorrow morning, and then be ready to break up the meeting.

The Onondaga Speaker then whispered the Interpreter that when this Meeting was adjourned some of their Nation and the Senecas begged a private meeting with Sir William.

In the evening a Deputation of both Castles of the Senecas, with some Onondagas, Cayougas and Oneidas together with Abraham the Mohawk Sachem waited on Sir William.

PRESENT—                      Capt. Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>  
   Mr Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>.

The Senecas spread a prodigious large Belt upon the floor of 30 rows broad of Wampum, with a figure of the sun in the middle and the Six Nations at one end. They told Sir William this belt they had made use of to invite some nations of Indians to remove nearer to them and join their Confederacy. That they had sent to all the scattered Indians of the Six Nations to return and live in their own country. That they had sent messages to their several Allies to dispatch Deputies to a Grand Council they proposed speedily to be held at Onondaga, to take their general welfare under serious consideration. That a great quantity of Belts were already arrived at Onondaga, and that when the Indian corn was about knee high (about the latter end of July) they expected this great Council would be opened at Onondaga, and that as soon as it was over they would acquaint Sir William with the transactions of it.

Fort Johnson 20 June 1757. A. M.

PRESENT—                      Sir William Johnson  
   Lieu<sup>t</sup> Claus                      Cap<sup>t</sup> Peter Wraxall Sec<sup>y</sup>  
   Mr Robert Adems.              Mr Stevens Interp<sup>r</sup>  
   Several Oneida Indians.

Sir William Spoke as follows:—

Bretheren of the Seneca, Cayouga & Onondaga Nations.

This meeting is now upon the point of breaking up, and you, in consequence thereof, of returning to your respective habitations. Before you go away I think it necessary to say a few words more to you, which I desire you will listen to, remember, & faithfully report to all your people on your arrival at your Castles.

You have declared to me that the resolutions of your three Nations are to act a neutral part in the present hostilities between the English and French. I have told you, and I now again repeat it that this declaration is contrary to the many promises and engagements you have bound yourselves by, at the several public meetings and treaties you have held with me since the King your father was pleased to appoint me to the management of his Indian service in this part of America. How he will receive this breach of faith, notwithstanding the great expence he hath been at in cloathing arming and feeding you and your families and building forts in your towns at your request and for your defence; time will show.

As you have now declared yourselves neutrals, I think it proper to tell you what is expected from you under that character.

First, that none of your people do either, by themselves or in conjunction with any of His Majesty's enemies, commit any hostilities upon the persons or property of any of His Majesty's subjects.

Secondly That you do not permit either the French or their Indians to pass thro' your settlements in order to come and make war upon the English.

Thirdly that you do not directly or indirectly give our enemies or their Indians any intelligence to our prejudice or which may enable them to do us mischief.

And Lastly. As you have now assured me you are determined to hold fast the Covenant Chain, we shall expect that you give us without delay, all such intelligence as may be in your power, which any way relates to our welfare.

Bretheren. I give you this Belt of Wampum as a testimony that if you do not keep up to these rules of behaviour, we shall look on the Covenant Chain as absolutely broke between us, and you among the number of those enemies whom His Majesty is now at war with.

Gave a large Belt with the Seal of Office on a piece of parchment tied to it.

They made answer that they would be carefull to comply with the conditions Sir William had now iusisted on.

A true copy from the original Records ;

examined by me.

(signed) PETER WRAXALL

Sec<sup>y</sup>.

*Captain Croghan to Sir William Johnson.*

[Plantations General, (B. T.,) XVI., No. 7.]

Philadelphia March 14<sup>th</sup> 1757.

I received yours of the 17<sup>th</sup> February by my man and shall take care to follow your directions. Some of the Susquehannah Indians are come into the inhabitants, who say the rest were gethering but could not be down so soon as I expected, from the severity of the winter in those parts, but these Indians inform that my messengers got all safe out, and that the Indians would set of, for the inhabitants, as soon as the weather would permit.

Monecatootha is not yet come. As my Lord Loudon is expected in town to day, I shall wait upon him agreeable to your instructions and then set out for Susquehannah to meet Monecatootha and the other Indians coming with him.

There is a good understanding between the Governour and me, as well as most of the gentlemen of the place, and every one seems fond of an inquiry being made into the Complaints of the Indians; except some of the Proprietary Agents, who dont seem to like it. As to their dislike I take no notice of it, being determined to enter into no dispute with them on that head.

Inclosed you have a copy of some extracts from my old journals relating to Indian Affairs, from the time of Mr Hamilton's arrival as Governour of this Province till the defeat of General Braddock; all which you may depend upon are facts, and will appear upon the Records of Indian Affairs in y<sup>e</sup> several Governments. I shall give his Lordship likewise a Copy, as the



several Governors are met here at this time, that His Lordship may be acquainted with the imprudent steps taken by those Governments. I am, with the greatest esteem & regard

Sir

Your most obedient and  
most humble Servant

GEO. CROGHAN.

P S. I have sent you a saddle, with holsters, a pair of breeches and a hatt, all which I hope will answer better than those I sent before.

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir William Johnson, Bar<sup>t</sup>

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Mr Croghan's Transactions with the Indians previous to Hostilities on the Ohio.

In November 1748 Mr Hamilton arrived in Philadelphia, Governor of Pennsylvania. During the late war all the Indian tribes living on the Ohio and the branches thereof, on this side Lake Erie, were in strict friendship with the English in the several Provinces, and took the greatest care to preserve the friendship then subsisting between them and us. At that time we carried on a considerable branch of trade with those Indians for skins and furs, no less advantageous to them than to us. We sold them goods on much better terms than the French, which drew many Indians over the Lakes to trade with us. The exports of skins and furs from this Province at that time will shew the increase of our trade in them articles.

In August 1749. Governor Hamilton sent me to the Ohio with a message to the Indians, to notify to them the Cessation of Arms, and to enquire of the Indians the reason of the march of Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers through their country (This detachment under Monsieur Celaroon had passed by the Logs Town before I reached it.)

After I had delivered my message to the Indians, I inquired what the French Commander said to them. They told me he said he was only come to visit them, and see how they were clothed, for their Father the Governor of Canada was determined to take great care of all his children settled on the Ohio, and desired they wou'd turn away all the English traders from amongst them, for their Father would not suffer them to trade there any more, but would send traders of his own, who would trade with them on reasonabler terms than the English.

I then asked them if they really thought that was the intention of the French coming at that time: They answered, yes, they believed the French not only wanted to drive the English traders off, that they might have the trade to themselves; but that they had also a further intention by their burrying iron plates with inscriptions on them in the mouth of every remarkable Creek, which we know is to steal our country from us. But we will go to the Onondago Council and consult them how we may prevent them from defrauding us of our land.

At my return I acquainted the Governor what passed between the Indians and me.

This year the Governor purchased a tract of land on the East of Susquehannah for the Proprietaries, at which time the Indians complained that the White People was encroaching on their lands on the West side of Susquehannah, and desired that the Governor might turn them off, as those lands were the hunting-grounds of the Susquehannah Indians.

At that time the Six Nations delivered a string of Wampum from the Connays, desiring their Brother Onas to make the Connays some satisfaction for their settlement at the Connay Town in Donegal,<sup>1</sup> which they had lately left and settled amongst the Susquehannah Indians which town had been reserved for their use at that time their Brother Onas had made a purchase of the land adjoining to that town.

In November I went to the country of the Twightwees by order of the Governor with a small present to renew the chain of friendship, in company with M<sup>r</sup> Montour Interpreter; on our journey we met M<sup>r</sup> Gist, a messenger from the Governor of Virginia, who was sent to invite the Ohio Indians to meet the Commissioners of Virginia at the Logs town in the Spring following to receive a present of goods which their father the King of Great Britain had sent them. Whilst I was at the Twigtwee town delivering the present and message, there came several of the Chiefs of the Wawioughtanes and Pianguisha Nations, living on Wabash, and requested to be admitted into the chain of friendship between the English and the Six Nations and their allies; which request I granted & exchang'd deeds of friendship with them, with a view of extending His Majestys Indian interest, and made them a small present. On my return I sent a copy of my proceedings to the Governor. On his laying it before the House of Assembly, it was rejected and myself condemned for bad conduct in drawing an additionall expence on the Government, and the Indians were neglected.

At the time that the Secretary, the provincial Interpreter, with the Justices of Cumberland County and the Sheriff were ordered to dispossess the people settled on the unpurchased lands on the West side of Susquehannah, and on their return to my house, they met a deputation of the Ohio Indians, who told the Secretary that they had heard of a purchase that the Governor had made on the East side of Susquehannah, and said they were intitled to part of the goods paid for that purchase, but had received none, that they were come now to desire the Governor to purchase no more lands without first acquainting them, for that the lands belonged to them as well as to the Onondaga Council; on which they delivered a Belt of Wampum, and desired that the Governor might send that Belt to Onondaga to let them know that the Ohio Indians had made such a complaint.

In April 1751 the Governor sent me to Ohio with a present of goods; the speeches were all wrote by the Provincial Interpreter M<sup>r</sup> Wiser. In one of the speeches was warmly expressed that the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Pennsylvania would build a fort on the Ohio, to protect the Indians, as well as the English Traders, from the insults of the French. On the Governor perusing the speech he thought it too strongly expressed, on which he ordered me not to make it, but ordered me to sound the Chief of the Indians on that head, to know whether it would be agreeable to them or not. Which orders I obeyed, and did in the presence of M<sup>r</sup> Montour sound the Half King Scarioaday and the Belt of Wampum, who all told me that the building of a Trading House had been agreed on between them and the Onondagoe Council, since the time of the detachment of French, under the command of Mons<sup>r</sup> Celaroon, had gone down the river Ohio, and said they would send a message by me to their Brother Onas, on that head.

After I had delivered the present and done the chief of the business, the Indians in publick Council, by a Belt of Wampum, requested that the Governor of Pennsylvania would

<sup>1</sup> Donegal was an old town on the east side of the Susquehannah, situated between the Conewago and Chiques creeks, in the north-western angle of the county of Lancaster, (*Scoll's Map of Pennsylvania*,) where these Indians have left their name to the Conoy, or as it is now called, Coney creek. *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*, IV., pt. ii., 210. The Conoys were originally from Piscataway, in Maryland, whence they moved to an island in the Potomac, and, on the invitation of William Penn, removed to the Susquehannah. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IV., 657. — Ed.

immediately build a strong house (or Fort) at the Forks of Monongehela, where the Fort Du Quesne now stands, for the protection of themselves and the English Traders.

But on my return this Government rejected the proposal I had made, and condemned me for making such a report to the government, alledging it was not the intention of the Indians. The Provincial Interpreter, who being examined by the House of Assembly, denied that he knew of any instructions I had to treat with the Indians for building a Trading House, though he wrote the speech himself, and further said he was sure the Six Nations would never agree to have a Trading House built there, and Governor Hamilton, though he by his letter of instructions ordered me to sound the Indians on that head, let the House know he had given me no such instructions: all which instructions will appear on the Records of Indian Affairs.

The 12<sup>th</sup> June 1752, the Virginia Commissioners met the Indians at the Logs Town<sup>1</sup> and delivered the King's present to them. The Indians then renewed their request of having a fort built as the government of Pennsylvania had taken no notice of their former request to them, and they insisted strongly on the government of Virginia's building one in the same place that they had requested the Pennsylvanians to build one; but to no effect.

In the year 1753 a French army came to the heads of Ohio and built fort Preskle on the Lake, and another fort at the head of Venango Creek, called by the French *Le Buff Rivere*. Early in the fall the same year about one hundred Indians from the Ohio came from Winchester in Virginia, expecting to meet the Governor there who did not come, but ordered Coll. Fairfax to meet them. Here again they renewed their request of having a Fort built, and said altho' the French had placed themselves on the head of Ohio, that if their Bretheren the English would exert themselves and send out a number of men, that they woud join them, & drive the French army away or die in the attempt.

From Winchester those Indians came to Cumberland County where they were met by Commissioners from Governor Hamilton, and promised the same which they had done in Virginia; but notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of those Indians, the governments neglected building them a fort, or assisting them with men; believing or seeming to believe that there was no French there; till the Governor of Virginia sent Col. Washington to the heads of Venango Creek, where he met the French General at a fort he had lately built there.

In February 1754, Captain Trent was at the mouth of Red Stone Creek, building a Store house for the Ohio Company, in order to lodge stores to be carried from there to the mouth of Monongehela, by water, where he had received orders in conjunction with Cresap and Gist to build a fort for that Company. This Creek is about 37 miles from where fort Du Quesne now stands.

About the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month he received a Commission from the Governor of Virginia with orders to raise a Company of Militia, and that he would soon be joined by Col. Washington. At this time the Indians appointed to meet him at the mouth of Monongehela in order to receive a present which he had brought them from Virginia. Between this time and that appointed to meet the Indians he raised upwards of twenty men & found them with arms ammunition & provisions at his own expence. At this meeting the Indians insisted that he should set his men at work, which he did, and finished a Store House, and a large quantity of timber hew'd, boards saw'd, and shingles made. After finishing his business with the Indians he stayed some time in expectation of Col. Washington joining him, as several accounts came of his being there in a few days. As there was no more men to be had here at this time, there being

<sup>1</sup> See note in VI., 531 — ED.



no inhabitants in this country but Indian traders who were scattered over the country for several hundred miles, & no provisions but a little Indian corn to be had, he applied to the Indians, who had given him reason to believe they would join him and cut off the French on the Ohio, but when he proposed it to the Half-King, he told him that had the Virginians been in earnest they wou'd have had their men there before that time, and desired him to get the rest of his men and hurry out the provisions. Agreeable to his instructions he went and recruited his company, but before he could get back, it being 110 miles from here to the nearest inhabitants, the French came and drove his people off.

In June following when the Indians heard that Coll. Washington with a Detachment of the Virginia troops had reached the great Meadows, the Half-King and Scaruady with about 50 men joined him,—notwithstanding the French were in possession of this country with six or seven hundred men; so great was their regard for the English at that time.

After the defeat of Col. Washington, the Indians came to Virginia, where they stayed some time, & then came to my house in Pennsylvania and put themselves under the protection of this Government.

As soon as possible they sent messengers to call down the heads of the Delawares and Shawnese to a meeting at my house, and at the same time they desired the Governor of this Province, or some Deputy from him, to meet them there to consult what was best to be done.

The Governor sent Mr Wiser the Provincial Interpreter; the Chiefs of those Indians came down and met him and offered their service, but it was not accepted by Mr Wiser. He in answer told them to sit still, till Governor Morris arrived, and then he himself wou'd come and let them know what was to be done. They waited there till very late in the fall, but received no answer, so set off for their own country.

This Government continued to maintain the Indians that lived at my house, till the Spring, when General Braddock arrived; they then desired Governor Morris to let me know they would not maintain them any longer; at which time Governor Morris desired me to take them to Fort Cumberland to meet General Braddock; which I did;—On my arrival at Fort Cumberland General Braddock asked me where the rest of the Indians were. I told him I did not know, I had brought but fifty men which was all that was at that time under my care, and which I had brought there by the directions of Governor Morris. He replied that Governor Dinwiddie told me at Alexandria that he had sent for 400 which would be here before me. I answered I knew nothing of that but that Captain Montour the Virginia Interpreter was in camp & could inform His Excellency. On which Montour was sent for who informed the General that Mr Gist's son was sent off some time agoe for some Cherokee Indians, but whether they would come he could not tell. On which the General asked me whether I could not send for some of the Delawares and Shawnese to Ohio. I told him I could; on which I sent a messenger to Ohio, who returned in eight days and brought with him the Chiefs of the Delawares. The General held a conference the Chiefs in company with those fifty I had brought with me, and made them a handsome present, & behav'd to them as kindly as he possibly could, during their stay, ordering me to let them want for nothing.

The Delawares promised, in Council, to meet the General on the road, as he marched out with a number of their warriors. But whether the former breaches of faith on the side of the English prevented them, or that they choose to see the event of the action between General Braddock and the French, I cannot tell; but they disapointed the General and did not meet him.

Two days after the Delaware Chiefs had left the camp at Fort Cumberland, Mr Gist's son returned from the Southward, where he had been sent by Gov<sup>r</sup> Dinwiddie, but brought no Indians with him.

Saon after, the General was preparing for the march, with no more Indians than I had with me; when Coll. Innis told the General that the women and children of the Indians that were to remain at Fort Cumberland, would be very troublesome, and that the General need not take above eight or nine men out with him, for if he took more he would find them very troublesome on the march and of no service; on which the General ordered me to send back all the men, women and children, to my house in Pensylvania, except eight or ten, which I should keep as scouts and to hunt; which I accordingly did.

(Indorsed) "Rec<sup>d</sup> with S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's  
letter of the 25 June 1757.

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*Sir Charles Hardy to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 13. ]

Halifax, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1757.

My Lords,

By Governor Pownell who arrived here the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst I had the honour of Your Lordships letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> March with His Majesty's order in Councill permitting and allowing me to resign the Government of New York.

I had also by the same hand a letter from Mr Secretary Pownell inclosing an Act of Parliament prohibiting for a limited time the Exportation of Corn, Grain, &c &c &c all which I have transmitted to Lieut. Governor DeLancey.

As I have now taken leave of the Province of New York as Governor allow me to return Your Lordships my unfeigned thanks for the kind Indulgence I have experienced from Your Board during my Administration, and to assure Your Lordships that I ever shall retain a just sense of the honor you have done me in giving me Your Approbation of my conduct while in it I trust I shall stand excused to you in Offering my thoughts upon two Subjects: in the first the mother country is greatly Interested with regard to its trade with the Colonys which I have used all my endeavours to restrain and put upon a proper footing, and thó I have not been able to do it so effectually as I could wish, yet I flatter myself some good has attended it, and I am sure greater will follow by your Lordships' Interposition with the Treasury and Custom House Boards: I mean the introducing tea, canvas, Gunpowder and arms for the Indians and many other Articles from Holland that render to His Majesty no Dutys in Europe, and almost totally discourage the Importation of these commodities from Brittain. When I first arrived at New York I found this iniquitous trade in a very flourishing state, and upon inquiry was informed that it had been a common practice for Vessels to come from Holland, stop at Sandy Hook, and smuggle their Cargoes to New York and carry their Vessels up empty; this I was determind to put an end to, when this Trade took another course by sending their Vessells to the Ports of Connecticutt, from whence it is not very difficult to

introduce their goods thro' the sound to New York, and even to Philadelphia; I acquainted Governor Fitch with some informations I had obtained of this practice, and requested him to direct the Custom house Officers of his Colony to do their duty, assuring him I would direct the King's Officers in my Province to seize any goods they could find any Body attempting to introduce into my Government; I beleive some small seizures was made in Connecticutt upon it, but much more in the Province of New York. Another method the Importers take is to stop at some of the Out ports of Britain (in their outward bound passage from Holland) and make a report and enter only half of their cargo, by which the King is defrauded of his Duty on the other half; In short My Lords, if some effectual means are not used, the greatest part of the commerce of the American Colonies will be withdrawn from the Mother Country, and be carried to Holland.

The other Instance I would beg leave to trouble Your Lordships with, is the French drawing Supplys of Provisions by means of the neutral Islands and I am afraid from Brittish too. I had some hopes the Instructions Your Lordships sent to the several Governments prohibiting the Exportation but [to] Colonies and Islands belonging to His Majesty or inhabited by his Subjects, would have more effectually restrained this Trade, than I have reason to think it has done, from the many Vessels I have heard has sailed from the Ports of Rhode Island and the Massachusetts Government, some late practices of the first mentioned Colony I have had the honor to transmit to You as well one from New Jersey, and the Author I hope will meet with his just punishment; I have done all I can to inforce it with Governor Belcher, but was told before I sailed from Sandy Hook, M<sup>r</sup> Woodroff of Elizabeth Town is preparing for an Appeal home if he is cast in New Jersey.

I hope the Act of Parliament will be properly Inforced in all the Colonies but I would beg leave to offer to Your Lordships Considerations whether some Instructions might not be given to His Majesty's Ships and Vessels of War, Stationed in the West Indies, and upon the Coast of North America to Authorize their Commanders to stop and detain all vessells that may be suspected to be bound to or coming from S<sup>t</sup> Eustatia, S<sup>t</sup> Thomas', and the other Neutral Islands till it can appear they are not going to any of them, or to oblige them to go to the British Islands with their Cargoes of Provisions; for at present I am afraid the Officers of the Ships of War are subject to many litigious and vexatious prosecutions if they should stop any such Vessels; and however covered they may go with Papers a little time, and their Crews being properly examined before Civil Officers of high Authority might be means of convicting many of those Offenders. One instance I can give Your Lordships; in my passage here from New York I met with a Schooner belonging to Salem from S<sup>t</sup> Eustatia in her return home, and well knowing the practice of that, and the other parts of New England, I order'd her to be detained and brought in here, and put her into the hands of the Attorney General who prosecuted her in the Court of Admiralty, and condemned her with all her cargo, furniture and tackle, it appearing to the Court upon the Evidence of the Crew, that she had carried provisions to St. Eustatia, and had brought a certificate for landing her cargo at a Port she had never been at in the course of her voyage. If the French Islands are provided with a sufficient Stock of Provisions, which I have been told they are, they have been supply'd in this manner. The pernicious consequences and the Evils that will necessarily arise from it, if not prevented in time are too recent for me to enumerate.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordships most obedient humble Servant

CHA<sup>s</sup> HARDY.



*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 14. ]

(Duplicate)

New York. 30 July 1757

My Lords.

My last to your Lordships were of the third and sixth of June which went by two of the Packets, since which a Vessel has been taken by a Privateer of this Port and sent in here, in which were found several letters, the extracts of which are herewith sent, shewing the abuses which are practised in getting Certificates for Provisions; Having had credible information that there were some vessels (two in particular I had proof of) that had been trading with the French at Cape François in Hispaniola from Rhode Island, and that they were soon expected to return, and being desirous to give a check to so illegal and unwarrantable a trade by which the enemy are supplied, I on the eighth of June last by the advice of His Majesty's Council permitted Captain Sears in a privateer of this port to go and cruise off the East end of Long Island and Block Island in order to intercept some of them & having occasion to go into Rhode Island he was very much threatned and imprison'd for a few days on a frivolous pretence; on his return he told me that their rage against him was in part owing to his having chased a very rich vessel from Holland with tea and other goods not allowed to be imported thence into the Plantations. It is well known that much of the Dutch Trade is carried on to Rhode Island & Connecticut, and thence through the sound to this city, both by Merchants there and here, to prevent which I cannot suggest a more effectual remedy than keeping a small nimble sailing vessel to cruise from Sandy Hook and off of Block Island and down the Sound with a proper Deputation to the commanding Officer to enable him to seize this, at the same time that it will check an illicit may protect the fair trade.

Your Lordships' letter being a Duplicate of the tenth of March directed to Sir Charles Hardy came to my hands after he had sailed from Sandy Hook, and as Your Lordships approbation of his conduct during his Administration (his Majesty having permitted him on his application to resign this Government) cannot but be agreable to him, I sent him a copy thereof to Halifax by the first Opportunity.

It is a melancholy consideration as Your Lordships observe, that in such times as these, the Dispute between this Province & Massachusetts Bay should have been the occasion of Riot and Bloodshed: I hope Your Lordships taking it into consideration, will find a speedy remedy, which is so greatly wanted, for it gives me great concern to be obliged to acquaint Your Lordships that blood has been again shed in this unhappy dispute on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May last, wherein James Burton on the part of the Massachusetts Bay & Casper Ham on the part of Mr Livingston lost their lives: an account of this affair was sent by Mr Livingston to Sir Charles Hardy & the day before he sailed I received a letter from S<sup>r</sup> Will. Pepperel in relation to it, directed to Sir Charles Hardy, which was referred to a Committee of the Councill, a copy of the letter and report thereon I inclose: Your Lordships in the several papers which have been transmitted to you have a state of His Majesty's claim to the lands in controversy extending according to the grant to the Duke of York to Connecticut River; Your Lordships have also an account of the Offer of a line made by the Commissioners of this Province to those of Massachusetts Bay at Albany, by which a great part of a patent much above fifty years old was offered to be left within their Jurisdiction: this proposal though in my opinion highly

advantagious to them was rejected, for my part I should be pleased with any line to fix the jurisdiction without prejudice to private property, even if it were fixed as far Westward towards Hudson's River as the present line of Connecticut; in short in these perilous times when we are contending with the common enemy for the whole, these fatal dissensions among ourselves should cease and harmony be restored, which I conceive may be effected by an order from His Majesty, in the nature of an Injunction to fix the line of Jurisdiction till the Provinces can be better able or more willing to defray the expence of suing out a Commission to determine the rights of all concerned. But as the suing out such Commission in Great Britain, the carrying it into execution here and getting the merits finally determined upon appeal to His Majesty must inevitably take up much time, during which many disorders may be committed, it seems to me it would be a great and apparent defect in our constitution, if the King, who is the fountain of Justice & the Great conservator of the peace among his Subjects could not legally interpose in cases of this kind by fixing some temporary line of jurisdiction, so as the contending parties might in the mean time know where to resort for justice, & to what authority they were to submit. I have inclosed a Copy of the Inquisition taken before the Coroner of the County of Albany upon view of the body of James Burton, by which Your Lordships will see in what light that affair appeared to the inquest, I have the honor to subscribe myself, My Lords, Your Lordships' most obedient

& most humble Servant

JAMES DeLANCEY.

Right Honourable

The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 19. ]

New York. 24<sup>th</sup> August 1757.

My Lords,

I am sorry to send you the disagreeable News of the Loss of Fort William Henry which surrendered to the French 9<sup>th</sup> Inst. after six days resistance; the Garrison obtained an honorable Capitulation but notwithstanding that the French General Mont calm under his own eyes and in the face of about three thousand of his regular troops suffer'd his Indians to rob and strip them, officers as well as men, of all they had, and left most of them naked. This Fort was one of the Keys of this Province and I fear we shall soon severely feel the effects of this loss at Schenectady & on the Mohawks River, as a passage is now open from Lake George to that part of the Country. I received the account of the enemy's approach the third in the night by letter from General Webb, dated 30<sup>th</sup> July at Fort Edward, laid it before the Council next morning, and set out the next day for Albany, where I arrived on Monday night, and did all I could to forward the Militia up to General Webb's assistance; I had in June given orders to the several Colonels for them to march their Regiments to General Webb's assistance on his Requisition & to obey his orders. I staid at Albany till the French had destroyed the Fort & sent off all the Artillery, Ammunition, Provision &c & retired themselves. I left Albany the 21<sup>st</sup> and, as soon as I landed at New York, called the Council, and fixt the meeting of the

Assembly for Wednesday next in order to complete the New York Regiments by draughts, which now wants two hundred men by death, captivity and desertion.

I send your Lordships a box in which are contained some Acts passed the 26 of February last by Sir Charles Hardy, (a list of their titles I enclose) the Journal of the Proceedings of the Council in the Session begun the 15<sup>th</sup> of February and continued to the 26<sup>th</sup> of the same month inclusive, The Votes of the General Assembly during the same time, & Copies of the Minutes of Council from the 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1756 to the second day of June 1757 inclusive, which complete all the papers to the end of Sir Charles Hardy's Administration that remain to be transmitted to Your Lordships, I am,

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations.

My Lords, Your Lordships most obedient  
& most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 24. ]

New York, 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1757.

My Lords,

In my last of the 24<sup>th</sup> of August of which I inclose a duplicate I acquainted Your Lordships that I had called the Assembly to meet on Wednesday the 31<sup>st</sup> to complete the New York Regiment by Draughts, on which day My Lord Loudoun arrived here. I immediately informed his Lordship of the occasion of the Assembly's meeting and that General Webb had wrote to the other Governments for the like purpose. His Lordship told me that as he had brought a sufficient Body of Troops with him he was not desirous to put the province to this Expence, that he was willing that the New York Regiment should be dismissed as soon as it was proper, and he had posted the regular troops but that he expected this province would furnish him with two Companies of Rangers & that he would make application to the other Governments for a like proportion. On Thursday the Assembly sent me a Message that they were ready to proceed on Business. On Friday I sent them a Message & told the Speaker and some of the Members what had passed between his Lordship and me. On Saturday they Voted that they would make further provision for the forces in the pay of this province or any number of them, if I, with the advice of the Council should judge it necessary to continue them, so that I shall out of the New York forces (who were raised as Rangers) take and keep two Companies of one hundred men each, and if the other Governments will raise Rangers in a proportion equal to what this has done, they will, with what my Lord already has, make a considerable Body, which may be employed to advantage this winter. I inclose a Copy of my Message and of the resolution of the Assembly, & am, My Lords,

Right Honorable  
Lords Commissioners for Trade, &c.

Your Lordships' most obedient

& most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 20.]

Albany, 28 September, 1757.

My Lords,

I am honoured with Your Lordships letter bearing date the 10<sup>th</sup> of March last with which I received a Copy of the proprietors of Pensilvania Observations upon a Paragraph of a letter of mine to Your Lordships of the 10<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1756.

As I have received these Observations from Your Lordships and as from the stile of them the Proprietors seem to think they are entituled to some answer from me, I herewith enclose to Your Lordships a few Remarks on the said Observations, and as they are supported by authentic papers in my hands, I hope they will at least appear to Your Lordships a justification of the opinion I formerly gave upon the Subject, and which seems to have given so much offence to the Proprietors

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a Dispute with the Proprietors upon the merits of their Deputy and Agents conduct with regard to Indian Affairs but I think it my Duty and I shall without fear or partiality give my opinion to Your Lordships, That not with Pensilvania only but with this and the other Governments, neighbouring upon the Indian Country, the Indians are disgusted and dissatisfied with the extensive purchases of land, and do think themselves injured thereby.—That this is one main cause of their Defection from the British Interest—That this Disgust and its consequential Jealousies have been some of the chief means made use of by the French to alienate the Indians from His Majesty's Interest, and provoke them to commit hostilities upon our frontiers, and that untill some measures can be put into execution, to make the Indians easy & remove these Jealousies, tho' by temporary expedients they may be kept from breaking out into open Violence, yet they will work like a slow but certain poison. By presents & management we may be able to keep some little interest yet alive and perhaps some nations to act a neutral part, yet I am apprehensive, meer expence, Speeches & Promises (so often repeated & so little regarded) will never be able to effect a favourable Revolution of our Indian interest, and deprive the French of the great Advantages they have over us by their Indian Alliances. I would not be understood, My Lords, to mean that there is no alternative by which we may possibly avail ourselves so as to keep an even hand with the Indians—reducing the French to our terms would enable us to give law to the Indians. Forts & levies on our frontiers if carried on with an unanimous vigorous & proper Exertion of the strength of the several Governments, if it did not over awe the Indians from attempting any hostilities might preventing their effecting any. But whilst His Majesty's Arms are attended with unsuccessful events, and our principal Efforts with regard to Indians seem rather calculated to provoke than to deter them from committing hostilities upon our Frontiers: I can't but be of opinion that if measures were fallen upon to satisfy the Indians with regard to their lands, and remove the prevailing Jealousy they have of our views of settling their hunting grounds we might not only releive our frontiers from the calamities they have, they do and will I fear continue to suffer, but be able to draw off many Indians from the French Influence, and perhaps raise up amongst the Indians, as efficacious a jealousy of the Designs of the French as they now have of ours. I am with Your Lordships very sensible there are many difficulties in the way to this System of Conduct, and that it is so opposite to the pretensions & interested views of many considerable claimants as must naturally

distress Your Lordships to form a Judgement in what way it can be effectually & properly executed. Before I dismiss this Subject I will only beg leave, My Lords, to add to what I have said, that I am far from thinking all the claims and discontents of the Indians to be founded upon justice and that they do probably take advantage of our present situation, but to abler judgments I humbly submit it whether it be better policy in us (as affairs are now circumstanced) to be tenacious, or make such concessions<sup>1</sup> as will bring over these savages to those Views which His Majesty had & continues to have for the safety & Interest of his Dominions in this part of the World, with regard to which I conceive Indian affairs have been and will continue to be of very material consequence.

Herewith I transmit Your Lordships some Indian transactions of my Deputy Mr Croghan & signed by him, together with a Treaty agreed upon at a Meeting Governor Denny held at Easton in Pensylvania in conjunction with Mr Croghan, with Tediuscung Chief of the Delawares & other Indians. The Peace there agreed upon seems to me no more than a conditional truce. Your Lordships will also see that Tediuscung hath refused my Mediation and made choice of the Quakers for his advocates and Agents. I therefore apprehend that it is not advisable for me at present, to press my Mediation upon those Indians, and which I have mentioned to Governor Denny.

Gov<sup>r</sup> Denny hath complained in very warm terms to me of the conduct of the Quakers, and seems with great reason to be much alarmed at it. As I doubt not he will have fully wrote to Your Lordships upon this head, & as the Face of the Proceedings & Mr Croghan's Report to me subjoined to them will give Your Lordships a particular information with regard to these People's behaviour, I shall not detain Your Lordships with any detail of my own thereon. Permit me only to say I beleive Your Lordships will be of opinion that Indian Affairs ought to be considered and conducted upon one public Spirited plan for the good of the whole, and that either party or partial Interferings to warp them from this Salutary End is not less contrary to His Majesty's Royal & Paternal Determinations, than it will if permitted be destructive to the welfare of His Subjects and Dominions here.

Herewith I also transmit Your Lordships what has passed between the Six Nations & me, & Four Cherokee Deputies sent by their People from Virginia to my house. As this Nation is a very powerful one, as a part of them have voluntarily taken up the Ax against the French, done execution and lost some of their Warriors against the enemy, and as by some intercepted letters my Lord Loudoun has been pleased to communicate to me from the French Governor of New Orleans, it appears he is endeavouring to draw these and other Nations to the Southward from his Majesty's Interest and alliance, in which he has made a considerable progress, & if he succeeds says it will bring South Carolina & the Neighbouring Provinces within an Ace of their ruin. For these reasons I received these Deputies & treated them with particular notice & marks of friendship, and pressed those Indians of the Six Nations who were present to renew, strengthen and endeavour to extend their alliances with the Westward & Southern Indians, it being what I knew the French very much dreaded: and if the proposed meeting should happily take place I hope to lay a foundation for defeating those grand & threatening schemes which the French Gov<sup>r</sup> of New Orleans denounces, but in this Mr Atkins must give me a helping hand. I have sent him a Copy of the Conferences & given him my Sentiments upon the Subject, and as I think it an important one, I propose to confer with My Lord Loudoun thereon when I have the honour of seeing him. The Government of Virginia treated these Indians

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Qu? concessions. — Ed.

who came in there with their Prisoners and Scalps, with, I think, an ill timed frugality which greatly disgusted them.

Since my last to Your Lordships I have heard little or nothing of moment from the Senecas, Cayouges & Onondegas who as I then informed Your Lordships declared their Resolutions to be neutral in the present war. Of the other Nations many scalping parties have gone out & taken prisoners & scalps from the Enemy, but the loss of Fort W<sup>m</sup> Henry & the victory lately gained by the enemy at Lake George, together with our disappointments from Halifax and my Lord Loudoun's return with the troops from thence and the French receiving Succors of troops & stores at Quebec has very much cooled the ardor of those Indians who were disposed to be active & rendered us of less consequence in the eyes of others.

I shall conclude this letter with the most impartial and concise account I can give Your Lordships of the present State of His Majesty's Indian Interest within my department

Since the meeting at my house in June last I have had no meeting with the Senecas, Cayouges or Onondagas, or heard anything material from them. It does not yet appear that the said Nations have broke their neutrality but whether they will continue strictly to adhere to it (especially some of the most distant Senecas) is more than I can take upon me to be certain of for if the French labour the point for their breaking through it, and should succeed in any considerable attempts they may make to the Southward, where I suspect they will make some attempts, it is not improbable the said Nations may find themselves under the necessity of breaking their neutrality with us.

The Tuscaroras & Oneidas have not yet made any express Declarations to me; they have promised soon to do it. The latter are divided amongst themselves & the greater part under the influence of those of their Nation whom the French have drawn off to live at Sweegachie on St Lawrence River, and at whose scalping parties which molest the German flatts they do at least connive. Other of the Oneidas seem as yet to be hearty in our Interest

The Murder of one of the Tuscarores last year by some of the 44 Reg<sup>t</sup> still sticks in the stomachs of that nation, which together with their chief Sachems being brought over to the French Interest has cooled their affections towards us, and I have not seen any of their people for some time past.

The late murder of two Onieda Indians by one Smith a Trader at the German Flatts has given the French party amongst them a handle to encrease their influence over that part of the Nation who have been and still remain Advocates for the English Interest. And here I think it necessary to acquaint Your Lordships that I find the frenchified Oniedas are carrying on a very considerable trade for the Sweegachie Indians at the German Flatts, to which place the traders are now carrying great quantities of rum & other goods, so that the pernicious trade formerly carried on from this town with the Cagnawaga Indians is like to be revived under another dress at the German Flatts, & it is not in my power to prevent it. I have given my Lord Loudoun this information & referred it to his Consideration and Authority.

I now proceed with my subject. The two Mohock Castles have hitherto stuck firm to us, tho' at a very expensive præmium since the loss of Fort William Henry, they have renewed to me the strongest assurances of their zeal & fidelity & I think they are sincere tho' our present situation makes them very mercenary & some of them as well as the other Nations, not a little insolent.

A number of the six nations who are settled at Aughquaga on the Susquehanna River, also a small body settled at Schoherie in this Province, have always, and during this War constantly,



shewn themselves firmly attached to our Interest, & no Indians have been more ready on every summons to come and join His Majesty's Arms. They are a flourishing & encreasing people for many of our friend Indians amongst the Six nations, who are disgusted with the ruling Politics of their people, leave their castles & go and settle at Aughquaga. These Indians if no cross accidents prevent may I think be depended on. They have also since the loss of Fort William Henry (to the releif of which several of them who were at my house marched with me) given me the strongest assurances that this fresh misfortune did not shake their former resolutions, and that they were determined to live and die with us. The professions carried all the appearances of sincerity with them.

As to the Delawares and the other Indians settled at Tiago on the Susquahanna River, the Negotiations which have lately been carried on between the government of Pensilvania and them, seem to have put matters rather upon a conditional truce than a final pacification & treaty of mutual aid offensive and defensive, so that their assistance is a point of uncertainty, I fear the unhappy divisions in Pensilvania have infected their Indian Proceedings and that without a proper and prudent Interposition they will throw all Indian politics left to their management into confusion and perhaps into a Flame which may not be easily quenched.

With regard to the Shawaneise, Mohikanders, Nantikokes & some other tribes settled at Otsiningo on one of the Branches of the Susquahanna, if they are at liberty to act according to their Inclinations, I am persuaded we may have considerable assistance from them, but as they look upon the Senekas as their Patrons & are in the neighbourhood of that and the Cayouge Country, they will probably be very much governed by the influence of those Indians, however I am of opinion a number of these people when called upon will fulfill their Engagements.

The Indians settled at Stockbridge and on the Borders of New England I look on as our fast Friends, they have given me notice that they had some matters of importance to lay before me and that they would speedily do it.

Thus, My Lords, I have without disguise & in the most candid manner I could given Your Lordships a general view of His Majesty's Indian Interest this way as it appears to me under our present circumstances.

Your Lordships will please to consider the peculiarity of the Indians' character and that they do not look upon themselves as principals in the present war, therefore I conceive it is both natural and reasonable to expect that these Peoples attachment to us & the assistance they will be disposed to give His Majesty's Arms will be proportionable to our success & the appearances of it.

I have acquainted the Earl of Loudoun by my letter to his Lordship of the 3<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> that our affairs not altering for the worse & having three weeks notice given me I could march from Fort Johnson with between 3 or 400 Indians of several Nations.

I have the honour to be, My Lords,

Your Lordships most obed<sup>t</sup> & most faithful  
humble Servant

To the Right Honourable  
The Lords of Trade and Plantations

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Journal of Captain George Croghan, and the Treaty at Easton, &c., 1757.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 21. ]

## NEW YORK.

Proceedings of George Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup> and Treaty held with Tediuscung & other Indians at Easton in Pensilvania in July and August 1757. with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan's Report to Sir William Johnson of the Behaviour of the Quakers at the aforesaid Treaty.

*May the 24<sup>th</sup>* 1757. I set off from Lancaster to meet the Cherokees at Fort Loudoun.

*The 26<sup>th</sup>* I got to John Harrisses where I overtook the 6 Nations that was going home by Fort Augusta, under the care of Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas McKee in good temper.

*The 28<sup>th</sup>* I got to Carlisle where I met Col. Armstrong who was just come home after visiting the Cherokees at Fort Frederick, he informed me that the Cherokees desired him as they were going to Winchester in Virginia to receive a present, to send an Express to them when I came up with the present from this Government, and promised they would meet me at Fort Loudoun.<sup>1</sup>

*June 2<sup>d</sup>* Col<sup>o</sup> Stanwix<sup>2</sup> came to Carlisle when Col<sup>o</sup> Armstrong let him know that the present sent up for the Cherokees was not sufficient, nor any ways in quantity to their Expectations,

<sup>1</sup> Now Loudon, Franklin county, Pa.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant-General JOHN STANWIX, nephew and heir to Brigadier-General Stanwix, who served with reputation in the wars of Queen Anne, entered the army in 1706, and during the peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714, applied himself with diligence to the study of his profession. Yet so slow was promotion that he was an old Captain of grenadiers in 1739, at the commencement of the war with Spain. In 1741, he was promoted to a majority of marines, and in 1745, to be Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment raised by the Marquis of Granby on account of the Rebellion. In 1749, he was appointed equerry to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales; in 1752, he was advanced to the government of Carlisle, which city he then represented in Parliament; and in 1754, (in which year he had the misfortune to lose his wife,) he received the commission of Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the forces. On the commencement of hostilities in America, Mr. Stanwix volunteered to serve in the Plantations, and on 1st of January, 1756, was constituted Colonel commandant of the first battalion of the 60th or Royal Americans. On arriving in this country, he was put in command of the Southern District of North America, and had his head quarters at Carlisle, Pa., during 1757, on the 27th December of which year he was appointed Brigadier-General. On being relieved by Brigadier Forbes in 1758, Brigadier Stanwix proceeded to Albany, whence he was ordered to the Oneida Carrying Place, to secure that important position by the erection of a work, which, in his honor, was called "Fort Stanwix." He returned to Pennsylvania in 1759, having been again appointed to the command of the Southern district; was raised to the rank of Major-General on the 19th of June, and passed the year at Pittsburgh, where he repaired the old fort and remounted the works with cannon, and by his prudent conduct secured the good will of the Indians. On the 4th of May, 1760, he resigned his command to Brigadier Monckton; on the 19th of January, 1761, he became Lieutenant-General, and on 24th of October following, Colonel of the 49th regiment of foot. On his return to England, General Stanwix was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, and married (1763) Miss Sowle. On the 11th of April, 1764, he became Colonel of the 8th or King's Regiment of foot, and in the following year was ordered to Ireland, where he passed the whole summer in reviewing the troops. He was returning in December, 1766, to attend Parliament, being at the time a member for Appleby, when in crossing from Dublin to Hollyhead, the Eagle packet, in which the General, his lady, his only daughter and suite, were passengers, foundered at sea, and all on board perished. This unfortunate event gave rise afterwards to a singular law suit. General Stanwix, on his second marriage, stipulated that if he survived his lady, the personal estate was to descend in a certain line; if the lady survived the General, then in another line, and if the daughter survived them both, then the property took another direction. The parties interested raised the question as to which of the three was the survivor, and a suit in Chancery was brought to determine the fact. At the suggestion of the Court the property was equally divided. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV., 164; XLII., 150; XLIII., 347. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., passim. *Army Lists*. — Ed.

which Col. Stanwix gave me orders to purchase as much more as would complete it to £300 and draw on the Government for the money, which I accordingly did.

*June 3<sup>d</sup>* I sent off an Express to Winchester to let the Cherokees know that I would meet them the 10<sup>th</sup> at Fort Loudoun where I would deliver the present from this Government.

*The 9<sup>th</sup>* I got to Shippensburgh in company of Col<sup>o</sup> Armstrong and several Officers with a Detachm<sup>t</sup> of the Provincial Troops.

*The 10<sup>th</sup>* We received an account of Lieut. Holliday with 24 men being surprized in the big Cove,<sup>1</sup> himself and six men killed or taken

The same day I received an Express from M<sup>r</sup> Atkin the Superintendant for the Southern District by which I found he was displeased with the Proceedings of this Governm<sup>t</sup> and Maryland, taking upon them to treat & make presents to any Indians belonging to his District, and let me know that the Indians had set off to meet me without his knowledge, and desired that I might not transact any business with them till I see him and desired I would come to Winchester to him.

*The 11<sup>th</sup>* I set off from Fort Loudoun with Col<sup>o</sup> Armstrong to Winchester to meet M<sup>r</sup> Atkin. The Cherokees returned from Fort Frederick that day to Winchester when they heard I was gone up.

*The 12<sup>th</sup>* We got to Winchester where we met M<sup>r</sup> Atkin and ab<sup>t</sup> sixty Cherokees, all of them were determined to set off immediately home, as they had met with such a disappointment.

*The 14<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Atkin and we had a meeting with the Indians when he agreed to deliver them about £100 worth of Wampum, Silver Truck, Calliere, Vermillion in the name of this Government as a Reward for their past service here on my promising him to reimburse him in Goods the same value, which I did.

The Indians received it kindly, seemed well satisfied and said as soon as they had rested themselves at home, they would return with more Warriors, and come and visit their Brethren here, on parting I made Wahatche a present of five pounds in dollars, which pleased him extreamly well as he said he wanted a horse to carry home his present.

*The 15.* At 11 o'clock at Night came to town an Express from Fort Cumberland with an acco<sup>t</sup> that 6 Cherokees was arrived here from Fort Duquesne who saw a large body of the enemy, French and Indians, with waggons and artillery set off, and by their Rout suppose they intend to attack Fort Cumberland.

*The 16* I sent an Express to Col. Stanwix with the above Intelligence.

*The 17* came an express from Fort Cumberland giving an account than another party of Cherokees was arrived, who had fallen in with a party of ten French about 30 miles this side of Fort Duquesne, had killed two Officers and three men, and brought in a French Ensign prisoner. The Swallow their head Warrior was killed.

*The 18* another party arrived at Fort Cumberland who had killed and scalped one Indian man and two women so near Fort Duquesne that they fired the cannon after them, they say that there was not less than 500 french and Indians set off from Fort Duquesne with about 100 baggage horses, that they took the Pennsylvania Road, but that they had no waggons or Artillery with them.

*The 19.* About 60 Cherokees came to Winchester with french Ensign Prisoner.

<sup>1</sup> Big Cove creek is in Bedford county, Pa., immediately west of Loudon. — Ed.



Winchester, June 20<sup>th</sup> 1757.

The Examination of Mons<sup>r</sup> Belestre a French Ensign taken before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Edmund Atkyn Esq<sup>r</sup> His Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Agent for, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in the Southern Department. In presence of  
Col<sup>o</sup> Washington and  
George Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup> Dep<sup>y</sup> to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson.

He says that he is a native of Canada and served Mons<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil, that he come last from Fort du Quesne with a party of 40 Indians and 12 White men, 3 of which were Officers, that he left that place the 17 of May with orders to reconnoitre Fort Cumberland, and entice out small parties, in order to make them Prisoners, that they did not then take or kill any, but drove off a good number of horses that then the Indians seperated themselves from them, and dispersed themselves on the frontiers of the Neighbouring Colonies to get scalps and prisoners. That they then set off homewards being 10 in number all French when they were attacked about half way between Fort Cumberland and Fort Duquesne on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of last month, and that two Officers and three soldiers were killed and himself taken prisoner. That when he left Fort Duquesne there was a Garrison of 300 men one half of which were Regulars and the other half Militia, that they daily expected a reinforcement of 300 more from Montreal which were to be stationed there till next Spring to enable that garrison to resist any attempts the English might make against it this summer. That a great body of Indians to the number of 1500 composed of the Illinois, upper Cherokees and Creeks was also expected which he supposed was arrived by this time, who were to be employed in Scouting Parties to annoy the Frontiers of three Neighbouring Colonies. That the Indians who now harrass the Frontiers are not the same who have hitherto done it, for they are now neutral, but that they are more distant Nations who are now employed in that Service. That when he left Fort Duquesne he heard nothing of an Expedition intended on any of the Frontier Settlements or the Out Forts, they having no Artillery to enable them to conduct such an Expedition, the whole they have being 8 Six pounders and Six four pounders which were mounted at Fort Duquesne.

That only 100 of the Garrison at Fort Duquesne are quartered within the Fort the rest lodging in barracks without. That the train of Artillery taken from General Braddock was sent down after his defeat to Niagara, and that it was the same train the French had used at the taking of Oswego. That at the battle of Monongehella there were 200 French and 600 Indians, and that the total killed and wounded on the side of the French amounted to 30 only, that they then made only 8 prisoners, 3 soldiers and 5 women. That 3000 Soldiers arrived last winter at Montreal from France, but that he did not know of the arrival of any Troops at New Orleans by the way of Missisipy, that country being so distant that they had no accounts from thence but at the same time he said that they were supported at Fort du Quesne with Provisions from the Illinois country as well as from Fort du Droit. That they keep 100 men in Garrison at Fort Prisquisle being apprehensive that the English and their Indians might attack them there. That they have no Ports or Settlements on the Ohio, below Fort du Quesne, but several above. That the French give nothing for scalps but a little Spirits.

N B. The Commanding Officer's name at Fort Duquesne is Delignery.

*The 21 of June* M<sup>r</sup> Atkin called a meeting when he delivered the Indians a present, very trifling, it consisted of half thicks, about one shirt and one pair of stockings a Man, some

Calliere, Callimancoes and small truck ; The Indians seemed much displeased when they saw the present and was determined to set off being in a very ill humour. I thought if they went away dissatisfied it might be of ill consequence to His Majesty's Indian Interest, and then took the Opportunity of those Alarms from Fort Cumberland to apply to him for those Indians to come with me to meet Col. Stanwix who was providing carriages to march to the Frontiers, and promised Mr Atkin that I would give them the Present from this Government to which he agreed. Then it was proposed to the Indians, who readily agreed to come with me, in expectation that they should get something worth while to take home with them. Mr Smith the Interpreter told me that he was very glad that I had engaged the Indians to come down where they would get some presents for their services as he said he was of opinion, had they gone away displeased, it would be of fatal consequence to the English Interest, as he knew they had great Offers made them by the French, and indeed they told that to Mr Atkin themselves and that they came this way to make a trial and see how their Breth<sup>n</sup> the English in those parts would serve them, before they would listen to the French, with whom they had but a slender acquaintance.

*The 28<sup>th</sup>* I delivered them the present put into my hands by this Government for them with the Governour's Compliments to them, and then condoled with them for the death of the Swallow their Chief Warrior, who was killed in taking the French Ensign.

They received the present with Satisfaction and returned thanks, but at the same time told me by Mr Smith the Interpreter that they did not think themselves sufficient rewarded for their Services, tho' they said they could not blame this Government as they had done no services here for what they had already received.

*The 29.* The Mohawk Sachem who went up with me to meet those Cherokees delivered them the message sent by him to them from the Chiefs of the Six nations, the purport whereof was as follows

The Six nations first brightened the chain of friendship with them, then desired in the strongest manner they could express that their Brethren the Cherokees would hold fast by the chain of Friendship subsisting between them, the English and the six Nations, and join their united forces, in order to defeat the dark Schemes their common enemy the French and their Indians had formed against them and assured them by a large belt of Wampum that they might depend on their brethren the Six Nations for that they had taken up the hatchet in defence of their brethren the English, and were determined never to lay it down while there was a Frenchman on this side the great lakes, and hoped that their brethren the Cherokees would act on the same principles. Then he gave a large War belt to the Young Warriors desiring them to be strong and prosecute the War against the French on the Ohio, while the Six Nations would do the same towards the Northward, and said, perhaps next Spring we may both join together and strike a stroke which may make the French repent their past conduct.

The Cherokees after considering what had been said to them by the Mohawk Chief returned answers to the speeches made them in which answers they expressed great Satisfaction in having from the mouth of the Six Nations that they were so hardy in our Interest, and promised to join them and prosecute the war ag<sup>t</sup> the French as long as they had a man able to fight and said they would send three of their men home with them to the Six Nations to confirm their words, and that early in the Spring they would bring a large Body of their warriors to those Parts, if their Bretheren the English would desire them, and that constantly



this Fall they would furnish parties on those frontiers to annoy the enemy, but said they would expect to be supplied with cloaths from their Bretheren the English, and presents to carry home to their women and children, as they could not subsist without, for while they were employed in War they would loose their hunting which was their Employment at home, and by which industry they supported their families and cloathed them, and they desired that this Mohawk would recommend it strongly to their Bretheren the English here, with whom they had no acquaintance as yet, to be generous to them and they should soon find that they would deserve every thing their Bretheren would give them.

*The 29<sup>th</sup>* about 12 o'clock Mr Smith the Interpreter received orders from Col. Stanwix to take those Indians out to scour the woods about Rays Town<sup>1</sup> and from thence to Fort Cumberland.

*The 30<sup>th</sup>* Mr Smith spoke to them and let them know that the Commanding Officer of the King's troops in those parts had desired them to do such services to which they agreed but told Mr Smith that they expected I would engage to give them some presents to take home to their Families, as by their Staying here now, they would loose their fall Hunt, and said you have seen how our Bretheren of Virginia have served us, after promising us a great deal of goods, they have not given us Cloaths for ourselves, tho we have been 5 months in their Country and have killed some of the Enemy, likewise there has been killed some of our own Men in their Quarrel, but we expect better usage from you.

As I found the Good of His Majesty's Service required their stay on those frontiers agreeable to Col<sup>o</sup> Stanwix's Orders, and a great Body of the Enemy being on our Borders, I promised to recommend it to the Governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland to reward their services generously, and told them I made no doubt but they would on which they agreed to go out to morrow.

After which they insisted that I should let four of their Chief Men go with me to see Col<sup>o</sup> Stanwix whilst the rest was on service in the woods, which I agreed to, then they applied to me and said that they would want some horses to help them home asked me if they found any horses whether they might have them or not. I told them I had several horses of my own running about Wray's town and if they could find any of them they should have them or any others that had no owners.

*July 2<sup>d</sup>* I arrived at Carlisle with some of the Chief of y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees

*3<sup>d</sup>* Col. Stanwix received them in his camp with the whole Battalion under arms, and after drinking a Glass of wine with them at the head of the Battalion he made them the following Speech.

Brothers and Warriors of the Cherokees,

With this String of Wampum I take you by the hands and bid you welcome to my camp in Pennsylvania, and do assure you that I shall strongly recommend it to the Provinces that you may be generously rewarded for any services that you do, and have no doubt but the presents promised shall be delivered to you within the limited time.

Brothers,

I shall be glad to see any of your people or any other of our Friends on these Frontiers to join us in the War against Our common enemy the French and their Indians, and I shall think

<sup>1</sup> Near Bedford, on the head waters of the Juniata, in Bedford county, Pa. — Ed.



it my duty to recommend it to the provinces that you may be supplied with every thing necessary for the War, and well rewarded for your services.

*The 4<sup>th</sup>* I set off from Carlisle in Company with the Mohawk and the three Cherokees who was going to the six Nations country.

*The 7<sup>th</sup>* I arrived at Philadelphia when the Governour acquainted me that Tediuscung with about 200 Delawares and Shawanese were arrived at Fort Allen,<sup>1</sup> and that 100 Senecas were hourly expected.

*Sunday the 17<sup>th</sup>* I set off from Philadelphia for Easton where I arrived

*the 18<sup>th</sup>,* and met Tediuscung with about 200 Delawares, men, women and children, who had been there some days, just after I arrived the Senecas came in number 109, men, women and children.

The Chiefs of the several Tribes met together and bid me welcome to their fire, after which I spoke to them agreeable to the ancient Custom, and after wiping the Tears from their Eyes, and the Sweat from their Body, and pulling the thorns out of their Feet, I let them know that I was heartily glad to see them meet together, and acquainted them that their brother Onas was on the way coming to meet them at this Council fire, which he and his brother Tediuscung had kindled last year, when they both undertook the good work of peace, which I hoped at this meeting would be settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

*Thursday 19.* This day I spent in getting what Intelligence I could of the disposition of the French and their Indians.

I was informed by several Indians of Reputation that the grand Council of the Six Nations which set two Months was broke up, and had unanimously agreed to oppose the French measures, and to hold fast by the chain of friendship subsisting between the English and them, and that most of the Members of that Council was gone down to Sir William Johnson to acquaint him of their Determination.

I was informed that the French at Niagara was very scarce of Provisions, that some Munsey Indians with the King of that tribe who went there this spring had differed with the French Commandant and told him that they could no longer be amused with his false speeches, for we now see your designs: You look on us only as your Dogs; for every old man who is scarce able to walk, or a young boy, who comes among you, you immediately give him a hatchet and say, here child take this and go and kill the English, while you stay at home Yourselves and laugh at us, but I tell you we will be Fools no more. You put the Hatchet into our hands, and I would have you take care how you behave or perhaps you may feel it soon.

I likewise hear from Ohio that the Delawares and Shawanese are differing much with the French, they have declared that as soon as Tediuscung and the Susquehanna Indians make peace with the English that they would come and join the English and strike the French. I understand that it is the Lake Indians that is annoying the frontiers at present with perhaps one or two Delawares with each party, as Pilots; The News I had from the Ohio during the Conferences at Lancaster, that the French and Cunniwagoes had differed, and that a number of each was killed is now confirmed by those Indians, who say it happened at Crown Point, that 40 Indians was certainly killed but they cannot tell how many French, they were not all Cunniwagoes but of several Tribes; of this the Cunniwagoes complained to the Six Nations

<sup>1</sup> This fort was located at the Moravian town of Gnadenhutzen, Northampton county, Pa., on the Lehigh river, opposite the mouth of the Mahoning. It was built in January, 1756, by Benjamin Franklin, who named it after his old friend, Wm. Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VII., 15. — Ed.

at the great Council and further informed the six Nations that the French had formed a scheme to reduce the Six nations to Slavery.

French Margret's husband a Six Nation Indian and a man of good character says that a principal man of the Senecas with a party of Warriors went this Spring to Niagara and demanded of the commanding Officer where he got the hatchet he was giving the Indians to go to war against the English. The Officer made answer he could not tell where it was got it was sent him from the Governor.

To which the Seneca chief said, In old times and when we made peace with the French and took them for our fathers we agreed to sink the bloody Hatchet in the Bottomless Pit and it was agreed whoever took it out and made use of it, all nations should rise up and strike him that took up the Hatchet as a disturber of the public peace and tranquility of his Neighbours. As soon as the Chief returned to his own Country their Council sent a Deputation to the Governor of Canada to know where he got the hatchet; This man adds that all the Six Nations seem impatient for the return of their Messengers, as they are to take their measures from the Answer they receive. An Indian that I sent to Ohio for intelligence is returned and informs me that the French are determined to attempt the reduction of Fort Augusta<sup>1</sup> as they think that will cut off the Communication between the English and their Bretheren the Six Nations Delawares and Shawanese, as they have no other Indians to depend on but the lake Indians.

They have formed a plan that, if they cannot reduce the Fort, they will send a small party to scalp and then expects the garrison will make a Sally, and so draw them into an Ambuscade, so at least cut off the Party.

They have gone so far as to bribe a party of Ottawas to watch the Road Tediuscung came down to attempt the killing some Indians to prevent the success of this meeting. He says that the Chief of the Delawares was sincerely disposed for peace as far as he could find, and much displeased with the French. That Delaware George who is settled on one of the Branches of Bever Creek was rejoiced when he heard that the English inclined to make peace and told him, tho he was no King, yet if I would send for him he would rise up both him and his people, and come down to his Bretheren the English and live and dye with them, he said he had between forty and fifty men besides Women and children, who never struck the English. He says the French use all Artifices to give the Indians an ill opinion of the English, they brought a packet of letters which they told the Indians contained a scheme for destroying all the Indians and that all the English Governours had agreed to it and signed the papers, the letters came this Spring from Canada, and were shewn to all the Indian Nations on the Ohio, and was told them that they were taken from an English Soldier who was made prisoner about Fort William Henery. That Sir William Johnson and myself only pretended to take care of the Indians in order to draw them down to a treaty, and then kill them all, some of the Indians were much alarmed at this News at first, but Delaware George and some of the most thinking Indians suspected that the French had forged those letters to deceive them and told their Minds in Council, which was generally beleived to be truth by all the Indians before he left that, except the Ottawas who will beleive nothing but what the French tells them.

He intended to have gone to Fort Duquesne but was persuaded against it by his friends who told him that if he went there he would certainly be put to death, on which he came by the

<sup>1</sup> Now Sunbury, Northumberland county, Pa. — Ed.

way of Veneango, where he says the French is going to build a strong Fort, to see a great quantity of timber cut ready for hawling.

He says during his stay upon Ohio there was but ten canoes came down the river to Fort Duquesne which were loaded with Provisions.

During his stay at Bever Creek about 50 miles from Fort Duquesne some of the Delawares and the French commander differed, they broke open his store, his own lodging room and took out his wearing cloaths and tore them to peices, and took what they pleased from him.

By this we may see that Garrison was not very strong this Spring, nor does it appear by this Conduct that the French is in much esteem with the Indians.

*Thursday 21<sup>st</sup>* The Indians waited on the Governor at his Lodging and had the following private Conferences relating to this Meeting.

At a Council held at Easton *Thursday the 21 July 1757.*

PRESENT—The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Denney Esq<sup>r</sup>

James Hamilton

William Logan

Richard Peters

Lyndford Lardner

Benjamin Chew

John Miffen

} Esquires

Tediuscung, the Delaware King, and his Counsellors, with some of the Six Nations.

Conrad Weiser Mr John Pumpshire Interpreters

Tediuscung this morning acquainted the Governour by Mr John Pumpshire his Interpreter, that he and a few of his people would wait on his honour whenever he pleased to receive them, and the Governour saying they might come immediately they accordingly did come, viz<sup>t</sup> Teediuscung, James English, Abraham Locquis, Moses Tetamy, John Pumpshire &<sup>a</sup> &<sup>a</sup> &<sup>a</sup>

After a short conversation Tedyuscung delivered himself as follows.

Brother,

You remember you invited me to come and treat with you, and to bring with me the ten Nations, who have joined with me and I with them. In consequence of what you may remember I promised, I have done my best Endeavours. Some of each of the Ten Nations are come. I have faithfully and distinctly told them all that you said to me, you said I must come to the Council Fire, where we might all see one another, and hearken to what you should say to us.

They are now ready to hearken to you at the time which will best suit you.

A String.

Brother, As you sat at home you looked this way and saw Your Bretheren the Indians coming, when they arrived you took them by the hand, you received them kindly and also the ten Nations who were with them, you was glad to see them, observing them fatigued with their Journey and their faces covered with sweat, you kindly wiped it off with an handkerchief, then looking at their leggs and seeing them torn and bloody with briars and thorns you picked the Briars out of their legs, and annointed them with some of that good oil as Your Forefathers were used to do with ours when they met together to renew their Leagues and make a lasting peace. All of us now present are sensible of being used as our ancestors were and of receiving the same kind treatment they did.

A String.



Brother,

I am now arrived at the place appointed for the Council Fire where we are to hold Conferences together. I am come just to the Door, I look into the house. I see a great deal of dirt and blood in it which is grievous to us both, Seeing this I take a wing in my hand, I go into the house and sweep all the Dirt into one place, I wipe off all the Blood, I take up Dirt and Blood together, I throw it all to the Leeward, that it may be no more seen, I make the House quite clean, that we may come together as our forefathers used to do, when they came to transact an affair of so great Importance as to brighten the chain of friendship, and make a firm and lasting peace.

Brother, When I looked at you I saw tears running out of Your eyes, I use the same method to you as you have done to me. I now wipe them off with an handkerchief, I likewise take that soft feather that we make use of to clean our ears,<sup>1</sup> what you may hear what I have to say. All those who are present join me in these things.

Brother, I see some things that are not right, may be in Your heart, from flying stories that are every where going about. Those that are present with me will use their Endeavours with one accord to take them out of Your heart, that they may not obstruct our present proceedings.

Before I have done I open our throat and clean it all within that you may speak to Your Bretheren with freedom.

A String.

Brother, the great being who created us made our hearts alike at first, but of late they are divided and have leaned different ways. We who are now present will use our endeavours to set them upright, and unite them together as firmly as in the Days of our Forefathers.

The cause why we differ at this time from what we were at first is owing to the conduct of our foolish young Men who have separated us from the good Agreement we have lived in before.

A Belt.

Brother, I see you are wounded, you have a sore within you in Your heart. The great God who made us has provided remedies on the Earth for all Diseases which can happen to us if they are properly applied.

The ten Nations now present who are joined with me, they and I will take hold of this remedy with the greatest care, we will apply it to the sore in Your heart, you shall feel it no more. You shall be perfectly cured from the inside to the outside, so that the sore shall break out no more.

Brother, It is our constant usage, when we undertake to cure any wound, to look often in it and take care that it does not fester, if we find any appearance of its festering we loose no time, but instantly use the same good medicine which we applied at first that it may be prevented in time and never come to an head.

A Belt of 8 Rows.

Brother, We have in former years often held Councils together. Let us look around us and behind us, and observe what has been transacted in them, let us not do as they did in several respects, but be more careful, perhaps the Evil spirit was busy in former times but he is busier now than he was then; Let us therefore be exceeding careful in whatever we do, let us try to exceed our Grandfathers in care in our proceedings, let us look up to the Supreme being that we may now by our faithful Endeavours have our End answered to the good of both. In case my endeavours shall be accepted and my faithfulness kindly received and beleived we may then live in lasting peace, and our posterity after us.

A String

<sup>1</sup>; with this I open your ears that you may &c. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VII., 651. — Ed.

Tedyuscung then acquainted the Governour that he had opened the Conference and finished what he had to say, and now the Treaty might begin at any time the Governour should please to appoint, either to morrow or next day as it would be most convenient to him. He added that he had something to mention in the way of Discourse. His Memory he said was weak and as he would have things done regularly he desired he might have a Clerk to take Minutes along with the Governour's Clerk. He further desired that when the Treaty was done which he hoped by the assistance of the Almighty would be to the satisfaction of both, he might have a Copy of all the Proceedings, and that they might be put upon Record. Indians Cabins being often made of Wood, Grass and Straw they are apt to catch fire and if his Cabine should be burned and the papers with it he might then have recourse to the Government for another Copy.

Mr Croghan was then sent for and presented to the Indians as Deputy of Sir William Johnson sole Agent of Indian Affairs in the Northern District, and as such accepted by the Governor.

After this Tedyuscung said it now depends upon the Governor to let the Indians know what he has to say to them, as he invited them to come to the Council Fire. He might open the public Treaty when he pleased to morrow or next day when it would be most convenient for him.

*Fryday 22<sup>d</sup>.* The Governor sent for me and shewed me the above speeches and consulted me upon the answer he should return Tedyuscung, and in the evening returned his answer which here follows: at the same time he introduced me to the Indians and let them know that I was Deputy Agent to Sir William Johnson, who was appointed by the King of Great Britain to take care of all the Indians in this District of America and with whom they were to transact the public business at this Meeting.

The Indians seemed extreemly satisfied with what had been told them in Regard to the mode proposed for holding this Meeting and Expressed their satisfaction at the Appointment of Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson to the care of the Indians and returned the King their father thanks for that appointment and said they were well satisfied that no Person should take down the Minutes of the Treaty but the one appointed by me.

Here follows the Governour's Answer to the foregoing Speech.

*Easton Fryday the 22 July 1757.*

PRESENT — The Honourable The Governour

James Hamilton	William Logan	} Esquires
Richard Peters	Lyndford Lardner	
Benjamin Chew	John Mefflin	

Teedyuscung the Delaware King with his Councillors and some of the  
6 Nations.

Conrad Weiser Esq<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> John Pumpshire Interpreters.

Bretheren,

I return you my hearty thanks for your kind Speeches yesterday, which were very agreeable to me, and evidenced such a good disposition on Your part as gives me the highest satisfaction.

A String.

Bretheren

It is with a particular pleasure I observe all Obstructions are now removed. Be assured that I shall speak with the utmost freedom and Openness to you and the Ten Nations. I am ready to concur with you in devising and executing all such Measures as shall be thought the most proper to bring to a speedy and good issue the great Work of Peace, which is already so happily begun and so far advanced: This Belt Confirms my Words. A Belt.

Bretheren, you told me yesterday that your foolish young men had been the occasion of the late unhappy differences that for some time subsisted between us, and cautioned me not to give credit to any idle stories that might be going about I shall retain in my mind this good advice and as we likewise have many foolish people among us, who may have raised and propagated false Reports to obstruct the good understanding between us, which we are now mutually endeavouring and taking pains to establish on a solid and durable foundation. I desire you will shut Your ears against them and beleive nothing but what comes from me or the King's Agent, in relation to public Affairs. A String.

Bretheren,

You may remember that in the first conferences you attributed the beginning of the present troubles in a great measure to the confusion that had arisen from so many Peoples having concerned themselves in public Treaties, and that therefore the Indians had agreed to put the management of their affairs into the hands of a few, and that two Kings only were appointed to transact public business of which you Tediuscung was one. You were told that the great King of all the English had found the like Inconveniences from so many of his Colonies holding seperate and distinct treaties with Indians and therefore had given one general commission to your good friend and brother Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson to be his sole agent in Indian Affairs for this District. To him I desired you would go and lay all that had passed between you and this Government before him for his approbation.

According as I then promised I have transmitted to that gentleman all our proceedings which he has been pleased to approve of, and by a Commission produced to me, and now ready to be shewn you, he has constituted and appointed M<sup>r</sup> Croghan his Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs in this Province with particular directions to hear any complaints and assist in accommodating the differences you may have with His Majesty's Subjects, and particularly those set forth at Your Treaty with me here in November last. At the same time Sir William Johnson finding in the Conferences sent him, that you designed us a visit in the Spring was kind enough to send a Deputation of the Six Nations to attend at that meeting who waited a long time in expectation of seeing you, but on Your not being able to come and they being under a necessity of returning home I went to Lancaster at their request, took them by the hand and conferred with them. At their Conferences M<sup>r</sup> Croghan the Deputy of Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson was present and settled with me the forms to be observed in the Treaty, and his Secretary only was permitted to take down the Proceedings: No other person being allowed to take Minutes of what passed at those Conferences, not even the Secretary of this Government whose proper business it ever had been till that time when this new Regulation first took place. I am further told it is the Constant practice of Sir William Johnson as well as all others who have the conduct of Indian Treaties to employ their own Secretaries, and as this Method was settled at Lancaster as a precedent to be observed in future Treaties, I shall not take upon me to make any alteration in this Respect.



Bretheren, This Government as well as Yourselves has great confidence in the Interpreters present, M<sup>r</sup> Pumpshire and Moses Tetany. Whatever they speak from you will be faithfully taken down and publicly read at the time that all may hear, understand and know it to be exact. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will afterwards cause the whole to be fairly transcribed and two copies to be made, one of which he will deliver to you and an other to me which shall be put upon record as you desired. In our Conference Yesterday you had an Instance of the exact manner and care of taking down what passed, and I hope it gave you entire satisfaction.

Brother.

Agreable to your Request at our last Meeting I now present you with a true Copy of Your Proceedings with this Government under the great Seal of the Province, which as they will remain on record you may always have recourse to.

At a Council held at Easton, *Saturday 23 July 1757*

PRESENT—

His Honour the Governour

James Hamilton

William Logan

Richard Peters

Lyndford Lardner

Benj<sup>a</sup> Chew

John Mefflin

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan

M<sup>r</sup> Weiser

} Esquires.

Teedyuscung the Delaware King with some of his Counsellors and M<sup>r</sup> Galloway, M<sup>r</sup> Fox, M<sup>r</sup> Masters, and M<sup>r</sup> Hughes, four of the principal Commissioners, having requested a Conference of the Governor, they were received in Council, when they presented to him the following Remonstrance which was read by M<sup>r</sup> Galloway.<sup>1</sup>

July 23<sup>d</sup> 1757 Easton

Sir,

As the method of managing the present Treaty is of the utmost moment to the lives, liberties and properties of the People of this Province and the British Interest in General we beg leave to remonstrate to your honour.

That Tedyuscung on Thursday last came to us and demanded that he might have a Clerk to be appointed by himself to take down the Minutes of the Treaty who should compare his Proceedings with the other clerks, before they leave the Table. This he insisted was the most certain means of searching out the Truth and of obtaining Justice to the persons who should prove to be injured. He was pleased further to add that this was his pleasure and he would have it granted, and that he would not proceed to treat without it. Upon which we informed the Chief that his demand appeared to us reasonable and just, but that we were not the proper persons to grant it. We recommended him to the Governour on that occasion, (as he is the head of the executive part of Government) who we did not doubt would allow it.

<sup>1</sup> JOSEPH GALLOWAY was born in Maryland about the year 1730. Having removed to Philadelphia, he became eminent in his profession as a lawyer, and was subsequently Speaker of the Assembly. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774, when he submitted for its approval the Albany Plan of Union of 1754. In 1776 he abandoned the Whigs and became a Loyalist, and soon after joined the Royal Army in New-York, whereupon his estate was confiscated. In 1778 he went to England, where his pen was constantly employed on subjects connected with the war, and where he died in September, 1803. *Sabine*. — Ed.

This Morning the Chief further informed us that he had made an application to the Governour for the above purpose but that your honour did not think proper to allow his demand, that he was extreemly dissatisfied therewith and declared he would not treat without it. That as the Governour has begun with clearing his eyes and ears with a soft feather that he might hear and see clearly he looked on it both unjust and unkind to attempt now by this refusal to lead him on blindfold and in the dark, and therefore requested that we would assist him in a second Application to Your honour, which if refused he declared he was determined to give over prosecuting the good work he was ready and willing to accomplish with the English, and go home, and further requested that his Demand and refusal might be taken down in writing that it might be represented to the great King in his behalf as the reason of his not concluding the peace he had undertaken.

This he assures us was a thought of his own at Weyoming after the last Treaty held by him at this place, and not suggested to him by any person whatsoever.

In pursuance of which request we beg Your honour would consider the Right and Justice of this natural demand and the dangerous consequences that may attend persisting in a Refusal of it. He appears to us to have an undoubted Right as a King and Chief of a Nation, to have a Clerk or Secretary, to take down Minutes of the Transactions of this important affair, And this seems more natural as he and his people are illiterate Persons.

Your Honour will be pleased further to consider that the Lives and Properties of the People and His Majesty's Interest in General are immediately concerned in the Event of this Treaty and therefore should the Chief do as he declared, the melancholy consequences must necessarily be a farther Devastation of the Province, more Murders of the People, and an alienation of the affections of the Indians of many Nations from the British Interest.

To the Honourable  
William Denny Esq<sup>r</sup>

WILL<sup>m</sup> MASTERS,  
JOS. FOX  
JOS. GALLOWAY  
JOHN HUGHES.

Mr John Pumpshire by Tedyuscung's Direction declared that every word there wrote as said by him, was really his own desire and said by him, and in confirmation of this he gave a Belt of Wampum.

The Governour acquainted Tedyuscung that he would take the matter into consideration and give him an answer, which he did the next day in Council, and is as follows,

Brother,

I have considered the second Application you made to me Yesterday that you might appoint a Clerk of Your own to take down the Minutes of our Proceedings at the present Treaty.

Brother,

I have always taken a particular pleasure in seeing you and been ready on all occasions to hear any thing you had to say or propose to me and treated you with that Respect and friendship due from one brother to another.

Brother,

When you first applied to me for a Clerk I received You kindly as I shall continue to do, and after I had considered Your request I gave you my answer why I could not think myself at

liberty to comply with it and informed you of the Method that had been agreed upon by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan the King's Deputy Agent and Your Uncles at Lancaster in May last in taking Minutes at Indian Treaties and it appeared to me at that Time that my Reasons gave you satisfaction.

Brother,

If on reconsidering the Matter you were dissatisfied you should have come to me as you used to do, and have spoken Your mind freely, and you would have found my arms open to receive you, and my ears to hear you, and not have applied to any other persons for their Mediation with me.

Brother,

I told You before and I again inform you that no one has any right to treat with you or transact any business with you in this Province but myself and M<sup>r</sup> Croghan the King's Dep<sup>y</sup> Agent;

I hope you will remember this.

Brother,

No Indian Chief before You ever demanded a Clerk and none has ever been appointed for Indians in former Treaties nay I have not even nominated one on the part of this Province therefore I cannot help declaring it against my Judgment.

Brother,

I am afraid by Your showing so little confidence in me or the King's Deputy Agent that you have harkned to idle Stories, or the Singing of Birds, tho' you advised me against it. However to give you a fresh proof of my friendship and Regard if you insist upon having a Clerk, I shall no longer oppose it. A Belt.

Tedyuscung immediately answered that he thanked the Governor for what he had said to him, and the favour he did him in not opposing his request, that if he had committed any mistake or given Offence to the Governor in what had been done, he was very sorry for it, and it must be imputed to his Ignorance: That he desired what was past might be done away and forgotten, and we might look on one another with chearfulness and proceed with all Our power in the great work of peace in which we were engaged. A String.

To which the Governour replied

Brother Tedyuscung

What you said last proceeds from an honest heart I overlook Your weakness. You may depend upon the kindness of me and my Council. No uneasiness remains with us now. I shall always be glad to see you and your Interpreter, and discourse with you like loving Bretheren on any matter be it what it will that you may have to say. A Large String.



At a Meeting with Teedyuscung, King of the Delawares, living on Susquehannah, who is empowered by the ten following Nations, viz' Lenopi, Munsey, Mawhickon, Tiawco, or Nanticokes and the Senecas, Onondagas, Cayougas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, to settle all differences subsisting between them and their Bretheren the English; and George Croghau Esq<sup>r</sup> Dep<sup>y</sup> Agent to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir William Johnson Baronet, His Majesty's Sole Agent and Superintendent, of the Affairs of the six Nations, their Allies and Dependants and Colonel of the same.

*At Easton, the 25 Day of July 1757.*

PRESENT—The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Denny Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Counties of Newcastle Kent and Sussex in Delaware.

James Hamilton	Lyndford Lardner	} Esquires, Members of the Gov <sup>r</sup> Council.
Will <sup>m</sup> Logan	Benjamin Chew	
Richard Peters	John Mifflin	

Isaac Norris Esq<sup>r</sup> Speaker of the House of Assembly

Daniel Roberdeau, Member of the Assembly.

William Masters	John Hughes	} Esquires, provincial Commissioners.
Joseph Fox	and Joseph Galloway	

A number of Gentlemen of the City of Philadelphia and others the inhabitants of the Province.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas M'Kee, Interpreter for the Crown.

Conrad Weiser Esq<sup>r</sup> Interpreter for the Province.

Mr John Pumpshire. Interpreter for Tedyuscung.

Teedyuscung King of the Delawares attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations he represents. The Number of the Indians here at present is ab<sup>t</sup> 300 Men, Women and Children.

Teedyuscung sent his Interpreter to call Mr Charles Thompson<sup>1</sup> to the Table whom he had appointed his Clerk, to take the down the Minutes of this Treaty.

The Governor opened the Conference directing his Discourse to Teedyuscung and spoke as follows.

Brother.

I am very glad to meet you once more with Your people and some of Your Uncles the Six Nations according to your Agreement with me at this place in November last. The number of Indians you have brought down with you on this Occasion, and the pains you have taken to carry the news of our good dispositions for peace so great a Distance confirms the good Opinion we have always had of you, shews the sincerity of the Professions you have made of your earnest Desire to restore the friendship and brotherly love that always subsisted between

<sup>1</sup> CHARLES THOMPSON, was a native of Ireland, and born in the year 1730. He landed at Newcastle, Del., about 1741, and afterwards removed to Philadelphia, where he became principal of the Friends Academy, and enjoyed the advice and friendship of Benjamin Franklin. He was appointed Secretary of Congress in 1774, and continued sole secretary of that body throughout the Revolution, and until 1789, when he resigned. He was a patriot of highly moral and religious principles. He died in Lower Merion, Montgomery county, near Philadelphia, on the 18th of August, 1824, aged 94 years. He translated the Septuagint, which was published under the title of—Holy Bible translated from the Greek. 4 Vol. 8vo., 1808. *Allen*. — Ed.

us and the Indians till Your foolish Young Men were seduced by the Evil Spirit and turned against us.

Brother Tedyuscung and Bretheren of the ten united Nations, we are now met together to finish by the Assistance of the Almighty the great work of peace and to make a new chain of Friendship, so bright that it shall never rust, and so strong that it shall never be in the power of wicked Spirits to break it, that we may always hereafter be as one man, with but one heart and one head. I invite you to join heartily and sincerely with me herein by this Belt.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

You may remember that when we were here last Fall I asked you what was the cause of the breach between our bretheren the Delawares and us, whether we the people of Pennsylvania had done you any injury, and desired you would open your hearts and tell me your mind freely. In answer to this you told me that your foolish and ignorant young Men when they saw the Proceedings of our enemy the French King and beleived the things that were told them were persuaded by this false hearted King to strike Your Bretheren the English, and that the cause why the blow came the harder on us was that the Proprietors had defrauded you of some of Your Land, and that you had been treated in the same manner in the Jerseys, but that this was not the principal cause of your striking us. I was willing to enquire into the truth of this charge at that time but you declined it, because few of the Indians then present originally owned those Lands, but said that you would endeavour to bring as many of them down as you could find to the next Meeting.

Brother,

According to the promise I made you at Our last Treaty, I layed all our Proceedings before Sir William Johnson who, you have been often told, is appointed by our great King, his Sole Agent for Indian Affairs in this District to take care of them as a father that no one may wrong them. Sir William Johnson has since deputed Your, and our, friend George Croghan, who is well acquainted with Your affairs and Language to act in his behalf to attend this Treaty, and enquire into every grievance you may have suffered, either from Your Bretheren of Pennsylvania or the Neighbouring Provinces.

Gave a String.

Brother,

I took care also to send Copies of our several treaties with you, to England, where they were layed before the King's Ministers, who being desirous that justice should be done you, ordered that Sir William Johnson should enquire into the foundation of your charge against this Province, in order that you may receive satisfaction, in case of any Injury has been done you.

Brother,

I have freely opened my mind to you and am ready with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan His Majesty's Deputy Agent, whenever you think proper, to hear any thing you may have to say to us about the Grievances you may think you labour under from this Province.

Gave a String.

When the Governour had ended his Speech I spoke as follows

Brother Tedyuscung and you my bretheren the Sachems and Warriors of the ten Nations you represent at this Meeting.

You have been informed by Your Brother Onas that the King of Great Britain Your Father has appointed Sir William Johnson Baronet to be His Majesty's chief Agent and Superintendent of the Affairs of the Six Nations, their allies and Dependants in this District of America, and he has appointed me his Deputy and ordered me to attend this Meeting and hear any complaints you have to make against Your brother Onas in respect of his defrauding you of the lands mentioned in the Conference you held with this Government last Fall in this Town, or any other Injuries you have received from any of His Majesty's Subjects in this District. I am now ready to hear what you have to say, and I assure you in the name of Sir William Johnson I will do everything in my power to have all Differences amicably adjusted to Your Satisfaction agreeable to his Orders and Instructions to me. Gave a Belt.

When I had delivered my Speech the Governor told Tedyuscung that he had done for the present, and that whenever he was ready to give an answer we should be ready to hear him, then Tedyuscung replied that he had something to say now, and addressing himself to the Governour and spoke as follows.

Bretheren,

I will let you know in a few words what my desire is. I kindly receive Your Words this day. They are true and make my heart glad. By this Belt (holding up a Belt) I let you know I will speak to morrow. I think it proper to speak my mind with Openness. I think it my duty to remember the Conduct of my foolish young men. I see a great deal of mischief done. I will first begin to clean up the blood that has been shed and removing the dead bodies out of the way. After that I will make known my grievances. I remember what Sir William Johnson said to me by the Messengers he sent to me. I sent back to him by the same Messengers, and desired him as he was a wiser man than I and of greater abilities that he would be strong and lend his assistance to cure this wound. Gave a Belt.

When Tedyuscung had ended his Speech he told the Governor he thought he should be ready to speak to morrow morning at Eight o'Clock and that time was accordingly appointed for the next meeting.

At a meeting in Easton, Tuesday July 26<sup>th</sup> 1757 A. M.

PRESENT—The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Denny Esq<sup>r</sup> Governor &<sup>a</sup>

The Council

The same Members of the Assembly

The Provincial Commissioners

A number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia and others the inhabitants of the province.

The same Indians.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas M'Kee Interpreter for the Crown.

Conrad Weiser Esq<sup>r</sup> Interpreter for the Province

M<sup>r</sup> John Pumpshire, Interp<sup>r</sup> for Tedyuscung



I desired the favour of M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Duchee to assist M<sup>r</sup> Trent in taking down the Minutes, Tedyuscung spoke to the Governour and myself desiring us to give attention, then directing his Speech to the King of Great Britain and all his Subjects spoke as follows.

Brother,

You remember that you sent to me to come down to you and invited me to bring down with me as many of the 10 Nations as I could by the difficulty of the Times. You then said to me Brother you are weak, I am strong, if you come down I will put away all the difference and uneasiness that has happen'd and will make a lasting peace. Now as I have brought some of the ten Nations with me I would have you remember your promise and exert your power. Also remember Our women and children that it may be well hereafter. Also as you must remember the blood that has been shed, and the dead bodies that lye scatter'd up and down, I would have you join with me to remove those out of the way that we may see one another face to face, and after this we will proceed to other business.

Brother,

As you are a great deal stronger than I you must exert your power when Differences arise between two Brothers, when one comes to make proposals of peace, if the other does not accept them nothing can be done. Now as much blood is spilt I desire you will join with me to clear this away and when that is done we will proceed to other business.

Gave a Belt of 8 Rows.

Brother, According to the promise I made you that I would invite as many of the ten nations as I could, I have now brought with me as many as I could who are here present to witness what shall be transacted but in order to make a lasting and durable peace we must all exert our abilities. When any Persons are engaged to lift a great weight out of the way, if all don't exert their strength they cannot remove it, but if all join together they will easily remove it. We on our parts gather up the leaves that have been sprinkled with blood, we gather up the blood, the bodies and the bones, but when we look round we see no place where to put them. But when we look up we see the great Spirit above, it is our duty therefore to join in prayer that he would hide these things, that they may never be seen by our posterity, and that the great Spirit would bless our children, that they may hereafter live in love together, that it may never be in the power of the evil spirit or any evil minded persons to cause any breach between our posterity.

Gave a Belt of 17 Rows.

Brother,

As you remember you invited me to bring down some of the 10 Nations so now some of each of them are present, particularly some from my Uncles the five Nations. When we had endeavoured, as much as was in our power, to remove the dead bodies and the mischief past, you also invited me to come and take hold of Your hand. We accordingly now come and take hold of one of your hands, and the 5 Nations also come and take hold of the other hand, that we may all stand together as one man with one heart. This now being done when we look up and see the clear light we shall enjoy it, we shall also enjoy in peace and quietness what the land produces, and we shall enjoy the comforts of the day and the comforts of the night, we shall lay down in peace and rise in peace.

Gave a Belt of 12 Rows, strung on Cords.

Brother,

The reason of this great cloud of mischief that has been passt is that our old Standers or Forefathers never took regular methods to have a lasting peace, they never looked forward for their children, they only had a view of this that decays and lies round about on the earth. When they came into Council they only talked about the things on the Earth that are soon gone, they ought to have looked forward, and to have made such agreements on both sides, that their children after might never disagree; and as we see their mismanagement let us do better that we as long as we live may be faithful, and that by this our meeting together, our children hereafter may enjoy a lasting peace.

Gave a belt of 11 Rows.

Brother, You remember according to Your orders that Messengers have been sent to carry Your messages to distant parts among us, in order to promote this good, this important work of peace, on which our lives depend, One of these Messengers is now in a dangerous condition, being shot by one of Your Young Men. Don't be too much grieved but as I desire to be used with justice according to Your laws, I insist if this Young man die that the man who shot him may be tried by Your Laws, and dye also in the presence of some of our people, who may witness it to all the Nations, that their Bretheren the English have done them justice; And if anything of the like kind should happen on our parts, we will do you the same justice, that is if any of our people shall murder any of yours, we will deliver up the murderer to be tried by Your Laws, and as the relations of the Young man must be grieved, I desire as you have it in your power that you would remove the grief and sorrow from their hearts.

Gave a String.

The Governour then acquainted Tedyuscung that he would take it into consideration what he had now said, and when we were ready to give an answer we would let him know.

As we were rising the King by his Interpreter told me that what he now said was of great importance he desired therefore we would take time to consider it well, that he would wait with patience, till we were ready to give him an answer.

So ended the first Conference.

*At a Conference in Easton, Wednesday 27 July 1757. A. M.*

PRESENT — The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Denny Esq<sup>r</sup> Governour &<sup>a</sup>

The Council

The same Members of the Assembly

The Provincial Commissioners.

A number of gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia and others the Inhabitants of the<sup>e</sup> Province.

The same Indians

Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas M<sup>c</sup>Kee Interpreter for the Crown

Conrad Weiser Esq<sup>r</sup> Interp<sup>r</sup> for the Province

M<sup>r</sup> John Pumshire, Interp<sup>r</sup> for Tedyuscung.

The Governor opened the Conference by asking Teedyuscung if he was ready, and letting him know that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan the King's Agent joined him in the speeches he was going to make and then spoke as follows.

Brother,

Your Memory serves you faithfully with respect to what was promised by each of us in the last Conferences.

Our warmest Acknowledgements are due to You for your just performance of Your engagements. You have made known our good dispositions far and wide. You have brought down [y]our Uncles and some of each of the other Nations with whom you are joined. We are pleased to observe they have hearkened to you and are come so well disposed to conclude and establish a firm and durable peace. We return you very hearty thanks in behalf of His Majesty King George, the People of this Province, and all his other subjects.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

We are sensible with you that unless we both exert the utmost of our strength, we shall not be able to accomplish the great work we are mutually engaged in. Whilst we see the dead bodies of our people lying uncovered, and exposed to ravenous birds, It is against Nature and all the principles of Religion and humanity to proceed to the confirmation of peace.

We therefore in conjunction with you diligently search for and collect together not only their dead bodies and scattered bones, but the very leaves, grass and every thing else that their blood has touched. And join with you in looking up to heaven from whence the God of peace beholds with delight our Advance to Reconciliation, Concord and Unity. We pray he may cast a veil over all that has happen'd in these unhappy times that it may be no longer remembered.

We supplicate his Allmighty Goodness to pardon all that is passt. We pray him to dispose all the people of this and the preceding<sup>1</sup> Generations to the latest posterity to live in love together. We entreat he will never permit the evil Spirit to enter so far into our hearts or evil minded men, so far into our Councils, as to interrupt the Course of Friendship, or blost the smallest leaf in the Tree of Peace.

Gave a belt.

Brother,

Having now collected the dead bodies we agree with you to stand together, English and Indians as one Man with one heart, we lay hold with you, Your Uncles and the 10 Nations of the Belt of friendship, we hold it fast with all our strength. We bring with us all the sincerity and warmth of honest and upright hearts. We rejoyce to behold again the light of the Sun shining in a clear sky, we promise ourselves that with the blessing of the good spirit, your endeavours united with ours, will be able to secure us both<sup>2</sup> and to our children and childrens children, durable peace and happiness so that we may quietly enjoy the various comforts of life, with which this fruitful country abounds and sleep in Peace.

Gave a belt.

Brother,

Tho' our forefathers and yours might make some Mistakes and might not see far enough into the consequences of [some of] their Measures, yet in general we can truly say they were ever kindly disposed to one another they were open and upright in their intentions they lived together in perfect peace and the mutual exchange of good Offices.

It is very commendable in you to remind us that they have not been altogether regular, but considered their Views in the then present Times,<sup>3</sup> and to the Interest of their own generation,

<sup>1</sup> succeeding. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VII., 673.

<sup>2</sup> to secure to us and &c. *Ibid.*, 674.

<sup>3</sup> but confined their Views to the then present times. *Ibid.* — Ed.



not so much consulting as they should have done the Good of future generations. We shall be glad to join with you in promoting one general Interest that may extend to the latest posterity, we will lay aside all narrow partial regards and put matters on a lasting foundation, and endeavour to exceed our ancestors not only in the goodness of our measures, but in a more carefull and exact manner of doing business. Gave a Belt.

Brother,

We have observed what you say with respect to one of Your Messengers, the accident grieves us, in such times Indians should not go single, or go into inhabited parts without passports or escorts. We have careless and unthinking Men amongst us, we have bad Men too who have mischievous hearts. The Man who is supposed to have committed this Act is in jail, and in case the Messenger dies shall be tried by our laws, which require blood for blood, in the presence of such Indians as you shall appoynt to attend the Tryal, of which you shall have due Notice.

It is a matter firmly settled by repeated Treaties between us and the Indians that whenever an Englishman kills an Indian, or an Indian kills an Englishman, the murderer or person [offending] shall be tried by our laws, in the presence of both Nations. Gave a string.

Brother Moses Tetamy

You are the father of the young man who has been unfortunately wounded, it gives us great concern that any thing of this kind should happen, we have employed the most skilful doctor we have amongst us to take care of him, and we pray that the Allmighty would bless the Medicines that are administered for his cure. We by this String of Wampum remove the grief from your heart, and desire no uneasiness may remain there: We have assured our brother Tedyuscung that strict Justice shall be done on the Trial and we chuse that you yourself should be a witness of it. Gave a String.

PRESENT— as before.

*Easton July 28<sup>th</sup> P. M.*

Teedyuscung addressing himself to the Governor spoke as follows

Brother,

I desire in a few words to recollect what you told me the other day that the great King beyond the Water has appointed a Man to oversee the Affairs of the Indians, viz<sup>t</sup> Sir William Johnson who has nominated M<sup>r</sup> Croghan his Dep<sup>y</sup>

I am glad to hear the news and to see the Man that is appointed. I hope Brother that it will be accepted by both of us. It is our Duty to respect the person the King has appointed and with sincerity of heart to join together that as the present Business is well begun it may end so. I hope he will execute his Commission with justice.

According to your desire what you mentioned in the last treaty and what you have said now I will answer in a few words, and we hope M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will be faithfull to see Justice done on both sides in the name of the King. Gave a String.

Brother,

After I have opened the passage from Your heart and Mind that you may see and understand, By this Belt I desire that you may fully understand what I now say. It is plain the proceedings

of our ancestors were shorter than they ought to have been in respect and behalf of their children, and also their own everlasting peace in the world to come. You may easily see the reason of the gloomy and dark days, they have proceeded from the earth. [Our misunderstanding or mismanagement has proceeded from the Earth,] as well as our differences and grievances that have passed and repassed: Thò it was not the principal cause that made us strike our bretheren the English, yet it has caused the stroke to come harder than it otherwise would have come: Now it lies much in your power to look strictly into your hearts, as we always prefer and acknowledge you above us in abilities, strength and knowledge. And as it lyes a great deal in your power to know whether what I have said be true or not it depends much on you, Brother, that it may be openly and publicly declared and published to the Province or Provinces under the Government of the great King, both to his satisfaction and to the satisfaction of those appointed to manage this Affair.

Brother,

Now as we have met together face to face to speak with great sincerity I will endeavour to lay everything plain before you not to cover one part but to lay everything before you that you may see plainly in order that we may have true satisfaction from one another, and that what may be proved to be our right and due may be established for ever in a durable and lasting peace.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

I would desire also that you would look with all diligence and see from whence our differences have sprung [. You may easily see they have sprung] from the land or earth which was mentioned before, thò it was not the principal thing. If regular Methods had been formerly taken for an habitation or residence for the poor Indians in this Land, this would not have come to pass. Now as it lyes much in Your power to search particularly into what was mentioned before with respect to the lands which was the cause of our Differences. If I now can prevail with you, as I hope I shall, honestly to do what may be consistent with justice, then I will with a loud Voice speak and the Nations shall hear me. Then it depends on you Brother as I shall speak with a loud voice, and as you are of greater abilities than I to assist me that what I speak to the Nations may be true, and that when I have made Proclamation with a loud Voice by your assistance the Nations may hear and receive it with great joy.

Gave a Belt.

M<sup>r</sup> John Pumpshire being asked to explain what was meant by the first part of this Speech he said the meaning was this. The Land is the cause of our Differences that is our being unhappily turned out of the land is the cause, and thò the first settlers might purchase the lands fairly yet they did not act well nor do the Indians Justice for they ought to have reserved some place for the Indians: had that been done these Differences would not have happen'd.

Brother, I have now in a few words to let you know what my Inclination and Desire is, agreeable to what I have said. I now put it in Your power to make a lasting peace and that I may have my reasonable enjoyment from this Land, as we are sensible this land was made by that Almighty Power that has made all things and has given this land to us, I was the first to whom he gave it. And as it pleased him to convey you to us and unite us in friendship in the manner already mentioned which was well known by our ancestors. It is now in your power and depends entirely on your care and faithful diligence that it may not be broken as it has



been, and if it be broken it will be owing to you. I think it is my duty to mention to you in public that I will comply with all submission; tho I ask that I may have some place for a settlement and for other good purposes in which we may both agree. But as I am a free Agent as well as you I must not be bound up, but have liberty to settle where I please.

Gave a Belt of 9 Rows.

Teedyuscung informed the Governour that he had done for this time and left it to the Governour's pleasure to appoint a time to answer him.

As the Governour had by Letter informed me that Teedyuscung's Speech appeared to him dark and confused and desired me to call a meeting in private with the Indians to know what they meant. I accordingly on the 30 of July at 5 o'Clock in the morning sent for the King and his Counsellors and desired him to call a Council to consider well the Speeches the King had made, and afterwards to explain them to me.

At half after 9 oClock Teedyuscung with Tepiscauhunk Essowego Walund, Penawaghwoollind, Lepaghpelund, Hucklanamakee, Tangekapaway, Weneywalika, his Counsellors and John Pumpshire Interpreter met at my house and explained his Speeches as follows.

The Complaints I made last Fall I yet continue. I think some lands have been bought by the proprietor or his agents from Indians who had not a right to sell, and to whom the lands did not belong. I think also when some lands have been sold to the Proprietor by Indians who had a Right to sell to a certain place whether that purchase was to be measured by Miles or Hours walk, the Proprietors have contrary to agreement or Bargain taken in more lands than they ought to have done and Lands that belonged to others. I therefore now desire that you will produce the writing and Deeds, by which you hold the land, and let them be read in public and examined that it may be fully known from what Indians you have bought the lands you hold, and how far your purchase extends, that Copies of the whole may be laid before King George, and published to all the Provinces under his Government. What is fairly bought and paid for I make no further demands about, but if any lands have been bought of Indians to whom these lands did not belong and who had no right to sell them, I expect satisfaction for these lands. And if the Proprietaries have taken in more lands than they bought of true owners, I expect likewise to be paid for that. But as the Persons to whom the Proprietaries may have sold these Lands which of right belong to me have made some settlements, I dont want to disturb them or force them to leave them but I expect a full satisfaction shall be made to the true owners for these Lands thô the Proprietaries as I said before might have bought them for persons that had no right to sell them.

With respect to our settlement we intend to settle at Wyoming and we want to have certain boundaries fixt between you and us, and a certain tract of land fixed which it shall not be lawful for us or our Children ever to sell, nor for you or any of your Children ever to buy. We would have the boundaries fixed all round agreeable to the Draught we give you that we may not be pressed on any side, but have a certain country fixt for our use and the use of our children for ever.

And as we intend to make a settlement at Wyoming and to build different houses from what we have done heretofore, such as may last not only for a little time but for our children after us; We desire you will assist in making our settlements and send us persons to instruct us in building houses, and in making such necessaries as shall be needfull. And that persons be sent to instruct us in the Christian Religion which may be for our future welfare, and instruct our



children in reading and writing, and that a fair trade be established between us and such persons appointed to conduct and manage these Affairs as shall be agreeable to us.

I then asked him as Fort Augusta<sup>1</sup> was within the lands [he desired] to be assigned to them whether he would acknowledge that Fortress to belong to the King of Great Britain for the use of his Subjects in Pensylvania and all his other subjects, and whether he would not be willing it should continue as a trading house not only for the good of us the English, and the Nations he represents but all the nations that now are or may be hereafter in alliance with us, and whether he will not engage in conjunction with the English to defend it against any of His Majesty's enemys that may come against it.

To which the King in behalf of the Nations he represents replied, that he agrees that that Fort shall belong to the English. That it shall continue as a trading house, and he and his people in conjunction with their bretheren the English engage to defend it against any of his Britannick Majesty's enemies that shall come to attack it.

*At a Meeting in Easton, Sunday 31 July 1757. P. M.*

PRESENT—The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Denny Esq<sup>r</sup> Governour &<sup>a</sup>

The Council

The same Members of Assembly

The Provincial Commissioners.

A number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia and others the  
Inhabitants of the Province. •

The Same Interpreters, and Indians.

King Teedyuscung desired that before the Governour spoke what passed between him and me Yesterday in private Conference should be read in public which was accordingly done and interpreted to the Six Nations.

Then the Governour made the following Speech.

Brother Teedyuscung, and Bretheren, Sachems and Warriors of the ten Nations.

It gives me pleasure to hear you declare Your satisfaction at the Appointment our great King has been pleased to make of Sir William Johnson to be the Superintendent of the Affairs of the Indians and that Sir William hath appointed M<sup>r</sup> Croghan to be his Deputy, and further to hear you so fully and openly acknowledge it to be the Duty of both of us to respect the Person whom the King has thought fit to entrust with so important a Commission. I thank you for those dutyful Expressions and do not in the least doubt but they come from the bottom of Your Hearts. I assure you Bretheren I shall heartily join my endeavours to yours that the good work of peace so well begun may be happily finished to our mutual satisfaction.

Gave a String.

Brother,

You say that the Proceedings of our ancestors were shorter than they ought to have been in Respect and Behalf of their Children, and also of their own everlasting peace.

Brother,

Our ancestors of this Province have been always esteemed a good, honest and wise people and have always been distinguished for their brotherly love and kind treatment of the Indians,

<sup>1</sup> See note *supra*, p. 286. — Ed.

and their Upright Dealing with them in their public transactions. You say that the cause of our differences proceeded from the land, and advised us to look strictly into our hearts for the Truth of this.

Brother

We have according to your desire looked into our hearts and are not sensible that any of our transactions with the Indians either with respect to lands or otherwise could have given reason for the unhappy breach between us, You have been so honest as to declare on all occasions that the land was not the principal cause why you struck us, but was only a reason why the stroke came harder on us. As then it was not the cause of our first difference it ought not to be any obstacle to an immediate conclusion of [the] peace, which we are now met together with such good intentions to establish; However we may differ in opinion about matters of property these are trifling considerations compared to the important affair of uniting together in the firm Bonds of friendship, let us therefore for the present suspend them and all matters of less moment and apply ourselves in the first place heartily to the great work of Peace, so much wished for by both of us, and put things on such a footing that the great King over the Waters and his Subjects and all the Indians will be pleased with it.

Gave a Belt.

Brother.

You say that if you can prevail with us to do you justice in Your complaint about land, you will then with a loud voice speak, and the Nations shall hear you. Brother I must now inform you that immediately after our last treaty I sent to the Proprietaries a Copy of the Complaints you then made of their defrauding you of Your lands, and received their answer to it some days before I set out to meet you here wherein they express the greatest concern that you who they conceive have been so well treated both by their father William Penn and themselves, should charge them with crimes of so heinous a nature as Fraud and Forgery, by which their Reputation (which to them and every honest Man is dearer than life itself) is so deeply wounded: Your Complaint has likewise been laid before the King's Ministers, who looking upon it as a matter of great importance, determined that it should be carefully enquired into and examined before some person no ways concerned in Interest, on whose honesty and Judgement they could depend; and therefore appointed Sir William Johnson to hear the particulars of your charge and the Proprietaries Defence; and lay the whole Matter before His Majesty for his Royal Determination, in order that he may do you justice himself if you are injured. Our great King looks on you as his Children and therefore his Ministers have directed the same method to be taken in hearing the Merits of Your complaints as is used among his own Subjects, with this Difference only that their Disputes are finally settled by Judges appointed for that purpose, whereas in Your case His Majesty will determine himself.

Before I received the orders of His Majesty's Ministers that Your complaints should be heard before Sir William Johnson I fully intended at this Meeting to call on the Proprietaries Agents to answer the charge you made against them and to have the Matter strictly enquired into, but as I am the King's Servant and bound by duty as well as inclination to obey his orders and his Majesty's Deputy Agent M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, who is now present, informs me he has no power to suffer any altercation on this Complaint, and that he does not think it would be for the good of His Majesty's Service.

I must refer you on this occasion to Sir William Johnson to whom I shall send proper persons to represent the Proprietaries, with Records, Deeds and Evidences to show the Justice

of their title at any time he shall appoint, of which he will give notice to you and all persons concerned. As that Gentleman is known to be a good friend to the Indians, and a man of honour and integrity, it gives me great pleasure to find he is well approved of by you, and I do not doubt but you will most chearfully agree to leave the Examination of your claims to him, and concur in the Method his Majesty has directed for settling our Differences in which you will be certain of having strict justice done you.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

I could give you many Instances of the great affection and Regard the Proprietaries have for you and all the Indians and that they set a far greater value on Your friendship than on any private Interest or advantage to themselves. They have lately given to you and the world a convincing proof of this. You no Doubt have heard that the Proprietaries about 3 years ago at a General Meeting of the Six Nations held at Albany fairly and openly, purchased of them a great Country, lying on the West side of the River Susquehannah, but upon its being represented that some of the Indian Tribes were dissatisfied with the Extent of that Grant beyond the Alleghny Hills, the Proprietaries chearfully agreed to surrender and give up again to the Indians the Land westward of those Hills, and have given their agents orders to release it to them at the proposed Meeting before Sir William Johnson and to settle Boundaries with them.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

I have considered what you said about a Settlement for yourselves and your Posterity and am informed by Mr Croghan that Weyoming is the place you would choose to settle at.

Brother.

The Proprietaries have never granted any lands, thó within the limits of this Province, without first purchasing them of the Indians, and having never bought of them the Lands lying between Shamoken and Weyoming, they have therefore never laid claim to them under any Indian purchase and expressly desire this may be told to the Indians, least evil disposed Persons should have suggested any thing to the contrary, and In the name of the Proprietors I now declaim all such Rights of which I would have you take Notice. I am pleased you have made choise of that place, it is perfectly agreeable to me, and I assure you I will heartily concur with you in using all the means in my power to have those lands settled upon you and your posterity, agreeable to your request. As to the other purposes for which you desire this settlement of Lands, they are so reasonable that I make no doubt but on my recommendation of them to the Assembly they will chearfully enable me to comply with them.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

I have now answered the Speeches you made me the other day, and I hope to your satisfaction, as I agree with you to submit the Differences about Lands to the great King, which is Your own desire. I now assure you that I am heartily disposed and ready with the King's Deputy Agent to confirm the peace which you and I have been for some time taking pains to establish.



At a Meeting with the Indians, in Easton *on Monday 1<sup>st</sup> August 1757. P. M.*

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Denny Esq<sup>r</sup> Governour &<sup>a</sup>

The Council

The same Members of Assembly

The Provincial Commissioners,

A Number of Gentlemen from Philad<sup>ia</sup> &<sup>a</sup>

The Same Interpreters and Indians.

Teedyuscung addressing himself to the Governour spoke as follows

Brother the Governour,

By this Belt (holding up a Belt) I remember what you said yesterday in the evening; all was well accepted and very good, only one word or one material thing. When the several different Nations of us that call ourselves the ten Nations that are present, I mean the Counsellors had considered what you said, we approved all except one thing, also this morning early when we came to sit down by ourselves and our Secretary with us, when we had done and fully understood one another and agreed on every word, We then ordered our Secretary to write it down. John Pumpshire said I will just mention this in addition, we ordered him to read it over three or four times and approved it, and having done that we have the words already written down, and if it pleases the Governour to hear it read, this that is written down is what was concluded on.

The Governour in answer told them, Brothers, You know this is quite a new method, and what was never practised before.

Brother,

It is true, replied Teedyuscung, You are right, this was not formerly practised, it never used to be so. Dont you see that I aim by having a clerk of my own to exceed my ancestors by having everything for the best. I endeavour according to my Ideas to look to those that have the Authority, As for Instance if they take up a handfull of Corn or Pebbles, if they drop any, even one grain, I will take notice and will speak of it that they may take it up.

The Governour then applied to M<sup>r</sup> Croghan to know whether this had ever been practised in any Treaty, he said it never was and turning to the King said, Brother, this is quite a New Method and what was never before practised, he well knew the Indians had good Memories, and can remember what was transacted twenty years ago, as if yesterday, he should therefore be glad the King would repeat himself what he had to say, as we are only treating with him. Then Teedyuscung replied, Well Brother the Governor what we have consulted and concluded on this morning is this. I remember you told me last night that what was transacted last Fall was laid before the King's Ministers, and we took particular notice that you told us that some time before you came from Philadelphia, you fully intended to make all Satisfaction to me at this Treaty about Lands and Deeds, but that you received a letter or letters from the King or Proprietaries, I am not certain which, You know best, in consequence of which you told me that you could not act in this Affair, but that Sir William Johnson was appointed to transact Indian affairs, and M<sup>r</sup> Croghan was appointed to act in his name. We remember very well when we had a private Conference with you at Your dwelling, that you and M<sup>r</sup> Croghan rose up shaked hands with me, and you told us this was the very man that was appointed to

act between the English and Indians. Now in Consideration of these things, why should we be obliged to go to Sir William Johnson to have the proof of lands and Deeds examined by him when there is nothing in the way, the Land Affair not being to be compared with the great work of peace, and should not be any hinderance to our making a league of Friendship.

Now I will give you my Reasons for not going. In the first place I do not know Sir William Johnson, he may be an honest and sincere man, We do understand he treats his Indians very well, but we are sensible that some of the Nations are there that have been instrumental to this misunderstanding in Selling lands in this Province, having in former years usurped that Authority and called us women, and threaten'd to take us by the Foretop and throw us aside as women. But after a long space I believe it is evident, nay are there witnesses present who can prove that it is otherwise. Also when I have considered these several particulars, as you told us there was nothing in the way to hinder us from confirming a durable and lasting peace; I at present desire nothing at all of my Bretheren the English for my Lands. I only want for the satisfaction of the Indians of the 10 Nations present and also of all other Indians, that the Deeds may be produced and well looked into, and as you have told me M<sup>r</sup> Croghan was the Man that would settle affairs for our peace, here he is, I want nothing but to see the Deeds fairly looked into, and true Copies of them taken and put with these Minutes now taken, And after they have fairly been taken down, if you agree to this then I shall by two Belts tied together take you by the hand and with my uncles confirm a lasting peace with you, and, if it please the Governour and M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, let the Copy of the Deeds be sent to Sir William Johnson and to the King, and let him judge. I want nothing of the land till the King hath sent letters back, then if any of the lands be found to belong to me, I expect to be paid for it and not before.

Brother, Another Reason for not going is if we cant agree to settle this affair here I am affraid the Nations that are watching and looking into what is done here, will have reason to think we have not acted an honest part, as they expect a real, true and lasting peace will be settled here. I am also concerned on account of our women and children back, and of our Bretheren the English on the Frontiers, for these now present who it was expected would go home with great joy will go home with their finger in their Mouth. As every body expected this would be the time of confirming a real and lasting Peace, I told you I would proclaim it with a loud voice, and those present are witnesses to what I said, and will not be easy if this is not done, I think nothing hinders us at all.

As you told us you had letters from the King or Proprietaries I desire they may be produced and read and put down with the Minutes. Now this is the conclusion, and in Confirmation of what I have said I give you this Belt.

Gave a Belt.

The King further said, I desire also that a Copy of what passed in private between you and me may be given to be entered with these Minutes and that it may be read in public at our next meeting.

As soon as the Meeting was over I told the Governour that the good of his Majesty's service required that Teedyuscung's Request (of having the Deeds and private Conferences read and Copies of them given him, with a Copy of so much of the Proprietaries letters as relates to having the Enquiry made by Sir William Johnson) should be granted.

August 2<sup>d</sup> Teedyuscung with three Nanticokes who arrived yesterday, and three of his Council came to me at my lodging, and desired I would hear what these Nanticokes had to say; upon which the Nanticoke chief made the following Speeches.

Brother,

The chief Man of the Nanticokes has sent me here to see the Governour and you, and desired me in his name to wipe the Tears from Your eyes which these Troublesome Times may have occasioned, and I do it with this String of Wampum. A String.

Brother,

You may have swallowed since these troubles arose something bitter which has given Your heart uneasiness, I with this String of Wampum remove all uneasiness and grief from Your hearts, that Your Minds may be as easy as they were in time of peace. A String.

Brother,

I see a great deal of blood spilt, I with this String clean the blood from off Your Beds that you may sleep easy, and from off Your Council Seats that you may sit with Pleasure in Council with Your bretheren, and with this Feather I open Your ears which the great high winds may have stopped, that you may hear what your Brothers may say to you.

Brother,

We must consider and think it was not the good Spirit that has occasioned this Disturbance. No, it was the Evil Spirit that surely occasioned all this Mischief, and I hope God will direct us to do every thing in our power to assist in the good Work of peace that we may be once more united together and live in Friendship, as the good Spirit has ordered us.

Brother

I am come here to this Council Fire with my Cousins the Delawares and you, to give all the assistance I can to the good work of peace, and to join my Cousin Teedyuscung and the six Nations to gather up the dead bodies and scattered bones together, and will join in prayer to the good spirit to hide them, and when the peace is confirmed I will put both my hands into the chain of Friendship with you and our cousins the Delawares and the six Nations. To confirm my Words I give this string of Wampum. Gave a String.

*Easton, Wednesday 3 of August 1757. A. M.*

PRESENT — as before

The Governor told Teedyuscung that 5 o'Clock yesterday was appointed for the time of meeting but understanding that the King was particularly engaged with some Friends lately come in he had deferred meeting him 'till this Morning.

He then addressed Teedyuscung as follows

Brother

I have well weighed and considered what you said to me at our last Meeting, and am sorry you do not incline to go to Sir William Johnson to have your complaints strictly enquired into and examined by him. It is true Sir William has for some time past had a general Commission from the King to superintend Indian Affairs, and that he has given Mr Croghan a power to act as his Deputy, under which he might have been justified in going into an Examination as well of Your Complaints as of the Proprietaries Defence, had not the King's Ministers lately been pleased to direct the hearing to be before Sir William Johnson himself. Tho you may think



Yourselves at liberty and may refuse to comply with these directions, yet as I told you before I am the King's servant and obliged to obey and cannot take upon me to go into a Defence of the Proprietaries Title at this time. But as you so earnestly desire to see the Deeds for the lands mentioned in Your last Treaty that you may be satisfied whether they are genuine or whether the Indians who signed them had a right to sell those Lands. I have brought them with me, and am willing to show them to you now, or at any other time you will appoint, and give you copies of them agreeable to your own request.

Here the Deeds were layed on the Table.

And now let all further Debates and Altercations concerning Lands rest here, till they shall be fully examin'd and enquired into by Sir William Johnson in order to be transmitted to the King for his Royal Determination.

Brother, After having now gratified you in every reasonable Request, and being sincerely desirous to reestablish that Friendship and Brotherly love, which so happily subsisted between Your Ancestors and ours, I am ready with the King's Deputy Agent to take hold of the two Belts you mentioned, with both Hands, and confirm a lasting peace, and exchange them for one prepared for that purpose, in the Name of the King of England and all his Subjects as soon as we can agree upon the Terms.

Brother,

The orders of His Majesty's Ministers on this occasion have been signified to me by the Proprietaries which is the proper channel thro which they should come. That you may the better understand this it will be necessary to inform you that the Proprietors are Governors in Chief over this Province, and I am appointed their Deputy with the Approbation of the Crown, when therefore the last Treaty was laid before the King's Ministers, they gave the Proprietaries notice of their Resolution that the Matter should be heard before Sir William Johnson only, to whom they would send special Directions for that purpose. The Proprietaries for whom I act in this case have made me acquainted with the Ministers Orders, and desired me to regulate my conduct by them. It would have been irregular and improper to have sent the order itself to me, but I do not doubt the King's Ministers have transmitted it to Sir William Johnson as an Authority for him to hear and examine our Differences, and that he has received it before this time as I could not suppose that you would have required a Copy of such of the Proprietors letters as relate to this matter, I did not bring them with me here, Wherefore it is not in my power to comply with your request, to furnish you with copies of them. And to confirm the Truth of this, I give you this Belt of Wampum

When the Governour had made this Speech he asked the King whether he would have the Deeds read now and Copies taken.

Before the King returned an answer he took up the Belt which the Governour had just deliver'd and rising up spoke first to the Delawares and then to the 5 Nations, then turning to the Governor said,

Brother,

I understand the Words you have said here but they are not agreeable to Your Knowledge, nor a full answer to what I said, there are two things not agreeable. The Governour said will the king please to tell what these two things are. No replied the king, let the Governour find them out. The Governour said he did not know what the king meant he wished he knew what answer to make.

Tedyuscung then said. If it please the Gov<sup>r</sup> in a few words what has been spoken on that Belt, is as a Rumbling over the earth or Confusion about Lands. I did not want you to make mention of them, when I expected an answer in a loving manner. I wanted you should come to the Main Point without having so many words with it. As the Indians seemed very much at a loss about the Governour's Speech, I spoke to the King and told him that the first part of the Governour's Speech was only to inform the King that the Deeds are now produced and Copies will be given to him agreeable to his own request, that they may be sent to Sir William Johnson to be by him transmitted to the King for His Determination.

This Done we in the next place now offer to take hold of the two Belts you mentioned at the last Meeting, that what was said about agreeing upon Terms only referred to the exchange of Prisoners, and other things usual on making peace, which Tedyuscung said he would do after the Peace was confirmed. That in the conclusion of his Speech the Governour only told the King that the Proprietors Letters (for a Copy of which the King asked) were at Philadelphia for which reason the Governour could not comply with what the King requested, but that an Extract of as much of them as referred to this Affair would be delivered to me in Philadelphia. And in Confirmation of which the Governour gave the Belt.

As soon as the King heard this he rose up and taking out the two Belts tyed together he spoke as follows.

I desire you will with attention hear me. By these two Belts I will let you know what was the ancient Regular Method of confirming a lasting peace. This you ought to have considered and to have done, but I will put you in mind. You may remember when you took hold of my hand, and led me down and invited my Uncles, several of whom are present, with some from each of the Ten Nations. When we had agreed we came down to take hold of one of your Hands, and my Uncles came down to take hold of the other hand. Now as this Day and this time is appointed to meet and confirm a lasting Peace. We, that is I and my Uncles as we stand, and you as you stand, in the name of the great king, three of us standing, we will all look up, and by continuing to observe the Agreements by which we shall oblige ourselves one to another, we shall see the clear light, and Friendship shall last to us and our posterity after us for ever. Now as I have two Belts and Witnesses are present who will speak the same. By these Belts, Brothers, in the presence of the ten Nations, who are Witnesses, I lay hold of Your hand (taking the Governour by the hand) and brighten the chain of Friendship that shall be lasting. And whatever conditions shall be proper for us to agree to, may be mentioned afterwards. This is the time to declare our mutual Friendship. Now, Brother, the Governour, to confirm what I have said I have given you my hand, which you were pleased to rise and take hold of; I leave it with you. When you please Brother I am ready if you have anything to say. As a token of confirming the peace I shall be ready to hear, and as you rose I will rise up and lay hold of your hand.

To confirm what I have said I give you these Belts. Gave two Belts tyed together.

The Governour said that he and I would be ready to give an answer presently.

Then the King taking out another Belt said

If the Governours please I have a word or two to say to you in remembring the old ancient Rules of making Friendship. I remember I was formerly represented as a Woman by my Uncles the Six Nations. But they gave me a pipe and good tobacco, those present know it to be true, and what I say is in behalf of all those present and those afar off, that Pipe and Good Tobacco of Friendship I now deliver to you Brother: when you shall smoak that good Tobacco of

Friendship it will give you such a Relish that you shall feel it as long as the Sun shines. That very good Tobacco and Pipe that I shall deliver into your hand represents among us a perpetual Friendship. Now I deliver you an equal part of it and I desire it may be a lasting comfort in this World and the World to come.

Gave a Belt.

After Teedyuscung had confirmed the peace in behalf of the ten Nations he represents, his honour the Governour and myself confirmed it in behalf of the King and all his Subjects, and exchanged the Belts in the following manner,

Brother Teedyuscung and all our Bretheren of the ten Nations,

We Your Bretheren all his Majesty's Subjects now present have heard with satisfaction what you have said and with great pleasure receive the two Belts you have given us, which will confirm a lasting peace to us and our Posterity, and we embrace this Meeting to exchange with you a Belt of Friendship, and take hold of you with one hand, and of the Five Nations with the other, and confirm in the name of the King of Great Britain and all his subjects a lasting peace, that may continue as long as the sun and Moon give light, and we hope this day may be always in remembrance by our posterity and we will be ready to consult with you at any time about settling other Matters, as you Yourself have said we now rise and take you into our arms, and embrace you with the greatest pleasure as Our Friends and Bretheren, and heartily desire we may ever hereafter look on one another as Bretheren and children of the same parents. As a Confirmation of this we Give you this Belt.

Gave a very large Belt with the Figures of three Men in it representing His Majesty, King George taking hold of the 5 Nations King with one hand, and Teedyuscung the Delaware King with the other, and marked with the following letters and Figure, **G. R.** or King George **5 N** five Nations and **D. K.** Delaware King.

This done the King again asked the Governor for a Copy of the Conferences that had been held in private, that they might be read in public and entered into the Minutes. The Governor said it was ready and should be delivered immediately, and one was sent for it. The Governour then asked Teedyuscung when it would be agreeable to him to have the Deeds read, Teedyuscung said to morrow morning between 7 and 8 O'Clock, which time was accordingly agreed on, and the reading of the private Conferences was deferred till that time.

N B. I think it necessary to insert here the following speech of Loboughpeton a Delaware Chief, made to Teedyuscung at the time he seemed at a loss about the Governour's Speech to him which is as follows.

"What! Has not our Brother desired you to bring us down by the hand to make peace, Why "don't you do it? We have been here these 20 Days and have heard nothing but scolding "and disputing about Lands. Settle the Peace and let all these Disputes stand till after."

As soon as the Meeting was over I let the Governor know that I could not help taking Notice that there was one deed relative to those lands wanting, which is mentioned in a Treaty held by this Government with the Indians in 1728, said there to be dated in 1718 and that I expected to see that Deed and have a Copy of it and likewise Extracts of so much of the Proprietors letter to him as relates to the desire of His Majesty's Ministers signified<sup>1</sup> to them that they had ordered the Differences subsisting between them and the Indians to be examined by Sir William Johnson.

<sup>1</sup> signifying, *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VII., 702. — Ed.



And that as Teedyuscung in answer to a Message his Honour had sent by Mr Weiser to him Yesterday Morning (which will appear as follows) said that he would be contented so he see all the Deeds, relative to these back lands now in dispute and have Copies of them, and of the Proprietaries letter, and further said as soon as that was done he would not say one word more about the Differences of Lands. I then let his honour know, as Teedyuscung had now confirmed the peace, I expected his Honour would furnish me with a Copy of that Deed and the Proprietors letter to him.

*Easton August the 2<sup>nd</sup>*

This Morning Teedyuscung sent Samuel Evans for me to come to him at Col. Weiser's lodging. I went there and found him with five of his Counsellors and Mr Weiser.

Upon my coming in Mr Weiser told Teedyuscung that he wanted to have some conversation with him.

Teedyuscung asked him whether it was by order of the Gov<sup>r</sup> Mr Weiser, said it was by consent of the Governour and Council.

Mr Weiser asked then Teedyuscung whether he wanted to see all the Deeds of the Province from the first purchases or only those relating to the back lands where we are. Mr Weiser said the Reason for his asking was that he beleived the whole of the Deeds were not brought up, but such only as was thought necessary, and relating to this complaint and the late purchases.

Teedyuscung answered he should be well pleased to have seen all the Deeds, as the Country to the Sea shore was first ours, but if there be the Deeds for those back Lands which were the main points, he would be, he would see, contented, so that he saw them and had Copies of them and of the letters from the King's Ministers or Proprietors, as soon as that was done he would not say one word more about the Differences or Lands, but confirm the peace as soon as it was done.

This evening the Governour wrote me that his letter from the Proprietaries was in Philadelphia, Extracts of which he would give me as soon as I went to town and he assured me that he would give me a Copy of the Deed mentioned in the Treaty of 1728.

*Easton Tuesday August 4<sup>th</sup> 1757*

PRESENT — as before

The Conferences held in Council between the Governour and King Teedyuscung were produced and read, and to them was added by order of the King and approved of by the Governour, a Paragraph relating to the King's insisting a second time on having a Secretary and the Governor's Answer.

The Deeds shewn Yesterday were again produced and Teedyuscung was told that Mr Charles Thomson his Secretary had got Copies of them, and compared them with the Originals, and was asked whether he chose to see the Originals. The King said I am satisfied as my Secretary has seen the Copies Compared.

If he is satisfied that they are true Copies I am satisfied & that they should be sent to the King of England for his Determination.

Then he asked Mr Thompson if he had seen them compared.

Mr Thompson said he had seen and compared all the Deeds that were delivered yesterday.

The King then desired an account of what Deeds were produced which was accordingly taken and is as follows.

1. A Paper Copy of the last Indian purchase. 28. 6 Month 1686.
2. A Release from the Delaware Indians, Aug<sup>t</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1737.
3. A Release of the Ind<sup>ns</sup> of the 5 Nations of the Lands on Susquehannah River. October 11<sup>th</sup> 1736.
4. A Release from the 6 Nations of Lands Eastward to Delaware River, dated Oct<sup>r</sup> 25, 1736 with another indorsed, dated 9 July 1754.
5. A Deed of Release for Indian purchase, dated 22 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1749.

N B. The above Deeds were shewn in Open Council and Copies of them delivered to Teedyuscung, which his Secretary acknowledged he had compared with the Originals, and that they were true copies.

When this was done the Governour spoke to Teedyuscung as follows.

Brother Teedyuscung and all our Bretheren of the Ten Nations,

As you and all his Majesty's Subjects are now united again in the firm band of peace, it is our duty to do everything in our power to make each other happy and it was stipulated at the Conferences held at this place last summer that all Prisoners you had taken should be delivered up.

The Relations of those who yet remains Prisoners amongst you, have their eyes fixed on me, expecting at my Return to see their Friends restored to them, but as few of them are brought down and this will be a bar of Our Happiness it is necessary for you to do everything in Your power to restore us as soon as possible all our people that remain Prisoners amongst any of Your Nations, and to procure those who are among any other Tribes in Amity with you to be sent with us.

Brother,

It is a rule among Nations upon confirming a peace to deliver up all prisoners on both sides, it is the only Method we can take to convince each other of our sincerity, and we do insist on this being done. You will be so good immediately on Your return to convey them down by some of Your Young Men, who shall be well rewarded for this Trouble. Gave a Belt.

When the Governour had delivered his Speech and gave the Belt, Teedyuscung said I will take no other Belt but the very same I have. Why have you done this now? Why did you not do it before, after we had finished? Why did you make any words about such things? This was Your Duty, you ought to have done it before, if you really beleive I would be honest and faithful, you might be sure I would do it without your delivering a Belt. Now as you have mentioned these things I also will mention that you must deliver me my just Due about Lands. As you mention that your people look to you expecting to see their Relations sent back at this Treaty, so the Nations that lay a claim to those Lands look to me for them.

Returned the Belt.

The Governor told Teedyuscung that he did not do this to distrust his Honour, the King having already given a full proof of that by delivering up some prisoners for which he thanked him that he only meant to put the King in mind of his promise.

I then told Teedyuscung that before the peace was concluded when I was explaining to him the Governor's Speech and that part of it where the Governour says, "as soon as we can agree

upon the terms" related inteirely to the exchanging of Prisoners, and Teedyuscung said that should be settled afterwards.

Teedyuscung then applied to his Secretary to know if any such thing had been mentioned. And being informed by his Secretary that it was entered in the Minutes, he (Teedyuscung) then rose up and having first consulted with his own people and the five Nations spoke as follows.

Brother the Governour,

Please to hear me in a few words. What you told me I have told to my Uncles the Six Nations present and also to all the 10 Nations, we have consulted on the words you have now spoken. We now think they were very proper and very agreeable, we look on it as our duty. Why should we keep Your flesh and blood or any of Your people when we have agreed as one, and look on one another as one, and treat one another as Brothers.

After we have all considered and all present have heard we beg Your pardon that we forgot to give you an answer immediately. As it was written down by our Clerk in the Minutes [of Yesterday] it must be so and as we are now sensible this matter was mentioned Yesterday we accept Your words and look on it as our Duty to answer you and to perform whatever shall be in our power we shall endeavour to do. In confirmation of which I give you my hand

Gave the Governour his hand.

After this Speech the Governour again delivered back the Belt to the King who readily accepted it.

The Governour then told the Indians that a present was prepared and should be delivered to them to morrow as a token of Friendship.

I told Teedyuscung that as the business was now nearly finished with Onas, I had something to say to him in the name of the King of Great Britain, and that I would let him know when I was ready to speak to him.

After the Council broke up the Governour sent for Teedyuscung and some of his Counsellors to his Lodging, from whence we went to Mr Vernons, where an handsom entertainment was provided at which were present the Governor, his Council, the Speaker and Members of Assembly, the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> and Gentlemen in Town. The Delaware King, his Counsellors, Warriors and all the Indian Women and Children in number about 300. After dinner peace was proclaimed in Form and the Proclamation interpreted to the Delawares and Six Nations, at the close of which the Governour by his Secretary expressed his Satisfaction of being one of the happy Instruments of bringing about the peace. His honour recommended it to all Ranks and Professions of Men to cultivate to the utmost of their power a good Understanding with the Indians, and to treat them kindly, that they may daily see the advantage of preserving Friendship.

Having given this in charge to the Freeholders present he desired Teedyuscung to do the same to his People that we might on both sides forget what was past, and live Affectionately together for the time to come. A Detachment of the Pennsylvania Troops was drawn up in Front of the Company, and fired three Volleys.

The Governour afterwards continued his Entertainment at which there was a great cheerfulness. At night was a large bonfire, and Variety of Indian Dances.



*Easton, Fryday 5 Aug 1757*

PRESENT — as before.

This Morning another Sheet of Conferences in Council were produced, which the Governour said were omitted to be delivered yesterday, for which Reason they were delivered now, and publickly read and ordered to be annexed to the Conferences in Council [ , delivered and read yesterday ] and after it was read Teedyuscung rose and said,

Brother,

I am oblidged to you, I hope as it lyes in Your power you will act for our mutual good, I take you as a Brother if anything is omitted I hope you will mention it to me ; And I likewise will mention anything that I find you may have forgotten. I hope we both speak with an honest heart. I trust much to my Interpreter, I thank you for making that addition and in token of Friendship I give you my hand.

Then the Governour addressed the Indians as follows,

Bretheren,

The peace so happily concluded gives an universal joy. I shall proclaim it far and wide that all may hear and know it, the Peple of this Province are disposed to observe it faithfully and will do the Indians every good Office in their Power.

Altho we have now so solemnly entered into this peace with each other, yet you are sensible there are still many Enemy Indians who are daily doing mischief on our Frontiers ; Yesterday I received an account of one Woman's being killed, and four persons taken Prisoners, between Tolhas and Monaidy. As it will therefore be very difficult to distinguish between our Friends and our enemies, I should be glad you would favour me with Your Advice how to Act in such a manner as not to hurt our friends, and suffer our enemies escape.

Gave a String.

Bretheren

The Governour and People of this Province observe with a Brotherly Compassion the many difficulties to which the Indians are exposed in those troublesome Times, and have therefore provided a quantity of goods to supply them in this Distress.

You will in Your return home proclaim the peace, Union and Friendship, which is now established between us, and let every one know, as you have opportunity how well disposed you have found us.

Accept these Presents as a testimony of the sincere affection of us Your Bretheren towards you.

To this Tedyuscung replied,

Brother. I am oblidged to you for putting me in Remembrance of these things, I will take them into consideration and to morrow when I am ready to give You an answer I will let you know. Brother, There is something which we intended to say before but forgot as we have not the use of writing, but better late than never, we will therefore mention it now. The Copy of the Deeds and the Transactions of this Treaty we entrus' to our clerk we beleive him to be an honest Man, every thing is done to perfection.

We hope you will not be against his making out a Copy, and giving it to M<sup>r</sup> Isaac Norris, whom we also appoint for us to transmit to the King a Copy of the Deeds and Minutes, that if one should miscarry the other may be safe.

On which I acquainted Teedyuscung that the Gov<sup>r</sup> and myself had no Objection to M<sup>r</sup> Norris having true Copies of the Minutes of this Treaty and Deeds, to send to the King as he requested.

Then, by order of the Governor, Proclamation was made that no one should cheat, defraud, or purchase any of the Goods now ready to be given to the Indians, upon the pain and penalties that may fall thereon.

Then Teedyuscung said he had yet one thing more to mention which is this.

Brother,

I have some Complaints to make about Lands in the Jerseys in behalf of myself, John Pumpshire Moses Tetamy and others which complaints are contained in these two Papers, and as you represent Sir William Johnson the King's Agent here, I desire you may take them under your consideration and see that Justice is done us on that account, as it is the King's orders to You to see justice done to all the Indians in these Parts. Tedyuscung then ordered M<sup>r</sup> Thompson to read the papers and give me true Copies of them which he did immediately in public Council.

The papers delivered me are a Copy of an Old Indian Deed and a Letter of Complaint about Lands in the Jerseys signed by John Pumpshire. I then acquainted him that I would take the Papers under my consideration and give him an answer.

*Easton 6 August 1757*

This Morning I expected to have had a Meeting with the Indians but as the friendly Society of Quakers had called the Indians together to deliver them a present, the Indians thought proper to putt off the Meeting for this time.

After this the three Nantikoke Messengers came to me and congratulated the Governor and myself on the happy conclusion of the peace, and said they had put both their hands into the Chain of friendship as they were ordered by their Chief when they left home and by a string of Wampum desired that the Governor might send some person with them to Lancaster to take care of them, and supply them with necessaries on the road as they were come to take the bones of their friends which died at Lancaster to their own Town, to be buried with their Relations.

Gave a String.

This afternoon Poxinosa the Shawanese Chief with Abraham a Mohickon Chief, and about 50 or 60 of their people came to town soon after M<sup>r</sup> Peters<sup>1</sup> and Conrad Weiser went to them, and with a string of Wampum bid them welcome agreeable to the ancient custom of their Forefathers. Tedyuscung and the 6 Nation Chiefs did the same

<sup>1</sup> Rev. RICHARD PETERS, D. D., was born in the year 1704, and came to Philadelphia from England in 1735. After his arrival, he officiated for a short time as assistant pastor of Christ Church in that city. On the 26th October, 1737, he was appointed Proprietary Secretary, with charge of the land office; in February, 1743, succeeded Dr. Patrick Baird, as Provincial Secretary and Clerk of the Council, and in May, 1749, took his seat as member of the Provincial Council. After filling many offices of honor and trust in the Province of Pennsylvania, he resigned his place as Secretary and Clerk of the Council on the 2d January, 1762, (*Pennsylvania Archives*, I., 545; *Colonial Records*, IV., 639; V., 382; VIII., 671.) when he was invited to return to Christ Church, of which and of St. Peter's he was unanimously elected Rector, on the 6th of December following. He visited England in 1764 and returned in 1765 to Philadelphia, where he continued to discharge the duties of this sacred office until September, 1776, when he resigned in consequence of age and infirmities. He died the year following, and his remains were deposited beneath the centre aisle of Christ Church, near the Chancel rail, with this inscription:

In Memory of  
the Reverend RICHARD PETERS, D. D.  
Rector of Christ Church and St Peter's,  
Who departed this Life  
July 10th 1776, aged 72 years.

*Dorr's History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 283, 312. — Ed.





Brother,

The Papers you delivered me Yesterday [containing] Your, John Pumpshire, Tundy alias Moses Tetamy and others Complaints of Lands you say you have been defrauded of in the Jerseys. I assure you I will do everything in my power to have a strict Enquiry made about them, and when I can get the fair state of the Case I will lay it before Sir William Johnson for him to send to the King for his Royal Determination unless the Difference can be settled here to Your satisfaction.

Gave a String.

To this Teedyuscung answered

Brother,

I will in answer to what you tell me let you know what I intend to do, I shall, Brother, as I promised to speak with a loud Voice to the Nations perform my promise and speak to the different Nations. I will faithfully let them know what you have promised and as we are witnesses that you are wealthy and powerfull and well disposed to assist such as shall come in [as] Brothers, I will let them know it, and also as I think it is very proper [that I should do so, and as I think it] my Duty to do so whatever Nation I see coming against the English; Whenever I see them I will make ready and do every thing in my power, to vindicate the cause of myself and of my Bretheren. If I am able I will let them go no further than where I tell them to stop, If they will not by reasonable terms turn about and join with me, I will there either make an End of them or they of me, and if there is a great number, so that I may not be able to withstand them, I will take all prudent Steps to let my Bretheren the English know. And also if I perceive that there is so great a number that it is not safe for my Women and Children, I will acquaint my Bretheren the English that they may assist me in defending my Women and Children, and I will leave my country and bring them down to you.

Now you may remember I was stiled by my uncles the 6 Nations a Woman in former Years, and had no Hatchet in my hand but a pestle or hominy pounder. But now Bretheren here are some of my Uncles who are present to witness the truth of this, As I had no Tomhawk and my Uncles were always stiled Men and had Tomhawks in their hands, they gave me a Tomhawk, and as my uncles have given me the Tomhawk and appointed and authorized me to make peace with a Tomhawk in my hand I take that Tomhawk<sup>1</sup> and turn the edge of it against Your enemies the French. In confirmation of what I say I give you this String.

Gave a string.

Brother,

I have just a word or two more, I remember what you have spoken, in order that we may prevent any mischief by having a Signal, I should be glad that the French may not deceive us, that not only one but several signs and Methods may be fixed on by you, and whatever you shall think proper I will agree to.

Gave a Belt.

I then returned Teedyuscung thanks for his kind Speech and let him know that I would consult with the Governor about settling the Signals and would give him an answer.

Teedyuscung then taking up four Belts and a String spoke to his Uncles the Six Nations telling them that as they had empowered him, he had in the presence of these witnesses they had sent, made a firm peace with their Bretheren the English. He therefore by these Belts desired that they would perform their part, and as they said they would take hold of the English by one hand, and he by the other, he had now done it. And as the chain of Friendship

<sup>1</sup> This word is only another form of the Algonquin *Tamahicun*, a club. — Ed.

was now brightened he desired they would be strong, and if they see any enemies coming against us that they would look on it, that whoever strikes any one of us strikes all Their Belts he gave to Anaquateeka and desired he would carry them to the Six Nations.

Teedyuscung then acquainted me that he had done whereupon Paxinosa spoke to me as follows

Brother

I heartily thank you for wiping the sweat from our faces, picking out the Briars and taking away all bad thought from our Minds, and clearing the passage from the heart to the throat, that we may see our bretheren and be well from all our wounds.

By these Strings we return You thanks

Gave a String.

The same he said by another String to the 6 Nations and Delawares.

Then the Young Warrior Anaquateeka arose and directing his Speech to the English and his cousins said

Bretheren,

My Cousins have entrusted me with all that was here transacted, respecting the great work of Peace here confirmed to lay it before the six Nations. [I assure you I will execute the Trust reposed in me with Faithfulness, and lay it before the Six Nations.] particularly before the Senecas to whom I belong. I do not pretend to be a Councillor, I am a young Warrior yet the Affairs of war and peace belong to us Warriors, and as I am entrusted I assure you I will take care that all the Six Nations may know what is here done.

Then his Honour the Governour, Mr Logan, and Mr Peters came into Council, I acquainted the Governour that I thought it was proper what had been transacted this Morning should be read, and it was accordingly done, after which the Governour addressed Paxinosa as follows.

Brother Paxinosa

You have been frequently invited by this Government to come and give us the pleasure of a Visit. I am glad to see you, I take you by the hand and bid you heartily welcome, and thank you for bringing along with you Abraham the Mohickon Chief he is [likewise] extreamly welcome.

Gave a String.

Brother,

We have often enquired after you and always heard you continued to be our hearty Friend and a lover of peace. Sir William Johnson was kind enough to send me an Account of the Conferences he lately held with you at Fort Johnson and they gave me great Satisfaction.

Brother,

With pleasure I acquaint you that Peace is now concluded and it will add much to the joy all feel in this Successfull Issue of our Conferences, and I am glad to see you and Abraham here to take hold of the Peace Belt.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

We were in hopes to have seen you with Teedyuscung when he came here, we heard you was not come but would follow, I have stayed some time in Expectation of Your Arrival. I should have been glad to have spent more time with you but the business of the Government oblidges me to return to Philadelphia this afternoon, so that you will please to use Dispatch in letting me know any thing you have to say to us.

Having finished this speech the Governour told Paxinosa that some Presents were reserved for him and his friends, which should be delivered presently.

Teedyuscung then addressing himself to the Governour spoke as follows.

Brother,

I have a word or two more to say. You know when you employ Your Soldiers they are paid for their services. As I am joined with you, you being rich and I poor, as I am going against Your enemies and carrying my Flesh against them. I think it would be proper for the Encouragement of my Young Men to appoint some reward for Scalps and Prisoners, and that some place may be fixed where the scalps and prisoners may be brought, and the Reward Received. That my Men may return quickly from thence.

Then the Governour said he would take into consideration what he, Tedyuscung, had said, and in half an hour would return an Answer.

Tedyuscung further added, You may Remember when I mentioned Isaac Norris the Speaker, I mentioned him alone, but I did not intend to mention him alone, but that he with the Assembly should look into it and send Copies home. I then told Tedyuscung that I had no Objection to Mr Norris with the Assembly sending authentic Copies of the Minutes of this Treaty and Deeds home.

*Eod: Die, P. M.*

PRESENT —	The Honourable The Governour
	William Logan } Esquires. Members of the Council.
	Richard Peters }
	Conrad Weiser Esq <sup>r</sup>
	Mr John Pumpshire. Interp <sup>r</sup> .

#### INDIANS

Teedyuscung	Seneca Chief
Paxinosa, Shawanese Chief.	Daniel.
Abraham, Mohickon Chief.	A Nanticoke.
4 other Delaware Indians.	

Teedyuscung addressed the Governour as follows.

Brother,

We have now finished, the Treaty is over, Peace is confirmed, and I told you I thought of going to Philadelphia, but upon considering the Matter with more attention, I think it will be more for the public service to proceed immediately to Diahogo.<sup>1</sup> Many Nations will be uneasy to know what has been done at this Council Fire, and will take their Measures accordingly. I shall therefore make the best of my way to Diahoga, and proclaim there and to Nations still more distant the Confirmation of the Peace with our Bretheren the English. This will take up three or four Months, after which I may perhaps come and see you at Philadelphia. I wish the Governour a good journey and that we may both live to enjoy the Fruits of this happy peace, which gives my people great Joy.

To which the Governor returned the following answer.

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 110. — Ed.



Brother Teedyuscung,

It gives me great pleasure that we have brought the important Bussiness we met about to so happy an Issue. You have very agreeably prevented my mentioning to you the necessity of Your returning home, in order to publish to the Indians what has been transacted here, I thank you for the change of Your purpose it is a further sign of Your Zeal of Peace and I make no Doubt but you will use your utmost Dispatch.

In answer to what you requested this Morning I assure you that Your Warriors will always find this Government ready to reward them for any service they shall do against the Enemy.

I cannot at present give you a more particular answer, but shall lay before Your proposals before the Assembly who meet to morrow, and consult with them thereupon.

Tedyuscung replied

Brother the Governour,

You have not so much as given us a Rusty Iron to defend ourselves, if we meet an Enemy on the Road what are we to do? We cannot defend ourselves against them, we have nothing to do it with. Our Young Warriors think as much of themselves and their lives are as dear to them as white Peoples but you have not given them any Encouragement to go against the Enemy. Can this be right? You know you have not. Consider this well Brother.

Further, Brother, I think it proper to tell you, if Indians and English shall go to war together, my young Men will not be Subject to an English Captain and if any of Your people will go to war with me I expect they will be Subject to my Directions: we understand our own way of fighting better than you.

The Governour then said he had given Directions to Col<sup>o</sup> Weiser, to agree with him on proper signals for the Indians when they were coming towards the inhabited parts of this Province as this was a Matter that ought not to be spoken of in public.

They then took a kind leave of Each other, and the Governour set out for Philadelphia.

And then the Meeting broke up.

A true Copy from the original Minutes taken in the presence of and examined by me

GEO. CROGHAN

Dep<sup>y</sup> Agent.

NOTE.—The words within brackets, in the preceding Document, are added from the copy of the Treaty published in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VII. — Ed.

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*Captain George Croghan to Sir William Johnson.*

To Sir William Johnson Baronet.

Sir.

I think it is my Duty to report to you the conduct of some of the People of Pennsylvania at the late Treaty, which I held at Easton in Conjunction with the Governour of that Province

by Your orders, with Teedyuscung the Delaware King or chief, and the Deputies of the ten Nations he represented there, as some things happened during the course of that Treaty that seemed to me very extraordinary and like attempting to wrest the Management of Indian affairs out of the hands of those whom the King had been pleased to appoint to that service at this critical juncture.

July 18. 1757. I arrived at Easton where I found the Indians were all gathered waiting the arrival of Governor Denny and myself, I immediately called a Meeting of their several chiefs and after the usual Ceremonies were over I acquainted them that I was ordered by you to attend that Treaty and hear what complaints they had to make against the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or any other of His Majesty's Subjects, that I had brought a Clerk with me to take down the Minutes of the Treaty and that they might depend on the strictest justice being done them, that if their Complaints should appear to be justly grounded they might depend on your taking the most speedy and effectual Measures to have their grievances amply redressed.

Teedyuscung took some time to consult his Counsellors then made me the following answer.

Brother,

We return Sir William Johnson our thanks for sending you here on this occasion. we all know he is appointed by the great King to take care of all the Indians in this Country, and it is from him we expect justice, when we have made our complaints we will send them by you to him, that he may know how we have been used, that he may write to the great King, and whatever he and Sir William Johnson will please to order us for our lands we will receive as a full satisfaction, and as soon as our complaints are put on this footing we will be ready to confirm a peace with you and all our Bretheren the English, and we are very glad you have brought a Clerk with you as there was at the last Treaty we held here some confusion by too many writing at onest.

On the 20. The Governour, his Council, the Speaker of the Assembly and the Provincial Commissioners arrived in Town and a great number of Quakers.

The 21 Tedyuscung desired a private Conference with the Governor at his Lodging where they had two more on the 22<sup>d</sup> and 23, what past at those Conferences I refer Your Honour to the Treaty where they are at large.

The 22 in the Evening after the Conferences was over I met some of the Provincial Commissioners in the Street who asked me if the Governor had allowed the Indians a Clerk, I told them that Teedyuscung was well satisfied that none but the Clerk I had brought with me should take down the Minutes: On which Mr Galloway and Mr Masters two of the Provincial Commissioners said, if the Governor did not allow the Indians a Clerk, they would set off home, and take the Provincial present with them and not give a single shirt to the Indians. Now as I found Tedyuscung and his Council was well Satisfied without one, both before those people come to town and in the Conferences this day, I can't help thinking that those people have insinuated to him that Justice would not be done him, and put him on asking one to carry something that might favour themselves in some of their Views, and indeed I was the more confirmed in this Opinion when I found he had chosen a quaker schoolmaster for his Clerk. As to his having a Clerk or not having one I think it a matter of little consequence, but the having a Clerk was not the thing.

Those People, by his having a Clerk, they had a Counsellor for themselves, to put Tedyuscung in Mind what they wanted him to say, and it appeared very clearly one day when he had got

his Speech drawn up in writing, and desired his Clerk to read it off as a lawyer would put in a plea at the bar, which I beleive your honour will think very extraordinary and the most unprecedented procedure ever known at an Indian treaty before this made. I was obliged to object to and obliged Teedyuscung to deliver his Speech himself and I can't help thinking had not those People interfered, that ever Tedyuscung would have thought of chusing Mr Norris for their Agent to send home their Complaints but the whole conduct of the Quakers seemed to me as if they wanted to make themselves popular with the Indians, and carry the management of Indian Affairs out of the channel His Majesty had ordered them to go in, indeed they took every step in their power to distinguish themselves, as a separte Body of people from all His Majesty's Subjects, notwithstanding the Governour before he left Philadelphia let them know by letter that their former conduct had given great Offence to His Majesty's Ministers, and that my Lord Halifax had wrote to the Proprietaries letting them know that the conduct of the Quakers in Pennsylvania was very extraordinary in holding Conferences with the Indians and taking upon them the making peace with foreign Princes, or distinguishing themselves as a particular body of people who was only on the same footing with the rest of His Majesty's Subjects, that it was the highest Invasion of His Majesty's Prerogative Royal (his letter to them I referr you to the copy of in the letter Book). This they paid no Regards to but called the Indians together on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August and delivered them a considerable present from themselves separate from the Governors which conduct appeared to me no less than their endeavouring to alienate the Affections of the Indians from all the rest of His Majesty's Subjects, how far such conduct might tend to the good of His Majesty's Indian interest I leave you to judge, and during the time the Governor and I was confirming the Peace or Treaty with Tedyuscung in behalf of the King and all his Subjects Israel Pemberton told the Governor's Sec<sup>y</sup> that I should not handle the peace Belt which appeared to me as if they had in view to make a separate Peace for themselves only.

I beleive the whole of the Proceedings at that Treaty will appear to Your honour very extraordinary, all parties in that Government seeming only to endeavour to carry their own private views and Interest, and neglect the general Interest. This conduct of theirs has in a great measure destroyed His Majesty's Indian Interest to the Westward, it is very well known that during the late War all the Western Nations of Indians was stedy in the British Interest, and carried on a considerable trade with his Majesty's Subjects, no less advantageous to them than to us, but in the beginning of the troubles in America before the present war was declared when those Indians called on the Government of Pennsylvania particularly to protect their trade and prevent the French from settling and building Forts on Ohio, they were deaf to all their entreaties, their chief Views then seemed only to be making extensive purchases of land and settling the Indian Country which conduct drove the Indians into the Arms of the Enemy. After the defeat of Col<sup>o</sup> Washington that Government rejected the services of the Western Indians when they had offered their services. What could those Indians do who had no trade with us that time, and the Enemy seated in their Country? They were obliged to go into the Service of the enemy, in my opinion contrary to their Inclinations.

Your honour will see there is a peace or rather a truce made with the Delawares, how long it may continue I ca'n't tell or what Regard the Indians may pay to them Engagements as they see how divided his Majesty's Subjects was in that Government, but I shall not wonder if I hear of their committing fresh hostilities on his Majesty's Subjects whenever they want a present of goods.



I assure you I have done everything in my Power without any partiality or private attachments to promote the good of His Majesty's Indian Interest during my stay in that Government, and I hope my Conduct will deserve Your Honours approbation. I am with great Esteem and Regard

Your Honours most obedient humble Servant

[circ. September.]

GEO. CROGHAN

*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 22.]

Fort Johnson. 31 July 1757.

Sir William in conjunction with those Indians of the Six Nations who were present performed the ceremony of condolance to the Cherokees, with wipeing of their Tears, and other particulars according to the Indian Custom.

Gave a String. Wm<sup>pm</sup>

The Cherokees Replied

Brother Warraghijagey and Bretheren of the Six Nations,

Perhaps you will expect a formal answer upon the ceremony of condolance to us. Bretheren we are Warriors and do not understand these Matters and hope you will excuse us. All we can say is that we are glad to shake you by the hand, and by this string of Wampum remove all trouble and disquiet from Your breast.

Gave a String.

Bretheren,

It gave our people great pleasure that you were so kind to visit and send to us in the wilderness\* and to acquaint us with the scituation of Your Affairs. We have listened to it and are sensible of the agreements made between you and our people, and hope to give you now a convincing proof of our zeal and brotherly towards you. You may be assured we will take the State of Your Affairs under our mature consideration and do our Best Endeavours.

Gave a String.

Bretheren,

We have now agreed on our Destination, it is towards Ohio we intend to bend our arms, and to the French Fort there. Exert yourselves therefore Bretheren on Your side, and assist your Brother Warraghijagey, you shall soon hear the sound of our arms, and more so next spring early, quite as far as to Harris' Ferry as there is a great deal of murder committed that way. We the Indians shall be first in the field.

We thought it not sufficient to acquaint you of this by only sending our words, but we have thought proper to come ourselves to the Fire Place of the Six Nations, and here you see all the Cherokees Nation.

We dont intend to return immediately but shall stay to see you go upon Action, that we may confirm our report with some Trophy of War from you.

Gave a Belt.

\* French Peter a Mohawk was sent to the Cherokees in their Encampment at Harris' Ferry in Pensilvania with a Message from the Mohawks.

Extract of Sir William Johnson's Speech to the Oneida Indians of the 17 Sept<sup>r</sup>  
at w<sup>ch</sup> were present sundry Indians of the Six Nations.

Bretheren,

Your Bretheren the Cherokees have sent Deputies here, I would recommend it to the Six Nations to strengthen their alliance with those brave people, and good Friends to the English, and send such a Message by them as will be both for Your Interest and ours

Gave a Belt.

Fort Johnson 12 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1757

At a Meeting of three Mohawk Chiefs, two Seneca Sachems and two Cherokee Indians.

PRESENT—

Sir William Johnson, Bart.

George Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Peter Wraxall Sect<sup>y</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Montour, Interpreter.

Sir William spoke to the Cherokee Indians as follows,

Bretheren,

I am glad to see you here at the Council Fire of the Six Nations, where they and all their allies, friends to the great King of England and his Subjects are always welcome.

Bretheren,

I have summoned our Bretheren the Mohawks here present that they might in conjunction with me hear whatever Business you may be charged with from our Bretheren of the Cherokee Nation, and we are now ready to hear it.

Gave 3 Strings. Wampum.

One of the Seneca Sachims named the Belt spoke in behalf of the Cherokee Indians and returned Sir William thanks for the welcome he had given them. And then the other Seneca Sachim called George rose up and spoke for them as follows.

Brother Warraghijagey and Bretheren of the Mohawks,

We are not charged with any particular affairs of consequence, but as we heard a noise of Fighting this way our chiefs sent us hither to look and see how things were. We are Warriors and our Nation have lifted their Ax against the French, and are determined not to lay it down, whilst there is a man amongst us left alive.

The parties we belong to have killed and taken 16 of the Enemy, and we have lost two of our people, one of them was a Chief Warrior, and we the Cherokees are determined upon Revenge. We will make war upon the Ohio, and spare neither the French or their Indians if they fall in our way. The hatchet we began with was but a small one, but we hope to get one of a larger size,\* which will enable us to do more execution than we have hitherto been able to do.

Gave 3 Strings Wamp<sup>m</sup>

Sir William Replied.

Bretheren,

I as well as our Bretheren the Mohawks are greatly pleased to hear Your steadfast Resolutions against our common Enemies, and hope Your Bravery will meet with its deserved

\* By this they meant to receive from the English Arms, Ammunition &c. requisite for war.

Success and Encouragement. As several of the chiefs of the Mohawks are at present absent from their castle, both they and I shall defer saying anything more to you at present 'till what you have now said be reported to them, when we shall desire another Conference with you before Your Departure.

Sir William added,

That as they knew he had constantly and warmly recommended it to them to strengthen themselves by fixing firm and extending their alliances by which means they might recover their former consequence amongst all the Nations of Indians, They had now a good opportunity of pursuing this advice by sending proper Messages by these Cherokee Indians.

Fort Johnson, 10 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1757.

At a Meeting of Indians as before mentioned.

The Speech of the Six Nations to Sir William Johnson.

An old Oneida Sachem spoke as follows.

Brother Warraghiyagey

After holding up the 3 Strings of Wampum which Sir William gave them yesterday to consider of a proper message to be sent by the Cherokee Indians and repeating what he had said on that Subject the Speaker proceeded.

We have indeed taken a great deal of time to consult upon this affair for ever since you spoke to us we have been debating upon it. We are no more than infants in comparison of our forefathers, and not having their abilities and experience we are obliged to take more time in forming our Resolutions in matters of moment.

Brother,

When you have heard and taken down in writing what we propose to say to the Cherokees (which you are to understand as the Voice of the whole 6 Nations, for we who are here present are a sufficient Body to represent and Act for them) then if there is any alteration you think proper to make or add any thing farther to it, we shall be glad to know it from you, for we would have this Message go in your name as well as ours, which will give it the greater weight, and render it the more acceptable and prevailing with our Bretheren the Cherokees.

Then Canaghquiesha stood up and said.

Brother,

Now listen to the Message we propose to send, First of all, we would invite them to send a Deputation of their Chief Sachims and Warriors to come hither to the Council Fire of the Six Nations, and to no other place, as this at present will be the safest for them it being in the Neighbourhood of the Mohawks and Oneidas who are the heads of the Confederacy and here the Chiefs of the Six Nations will meet them

Secondly, we would admonish them not to let our message meet with the Fate which many of ours formerly did to the Ottawawaes, namely not to make it known to the French, who took measures to obstruct our meeting together — that as we send this Invitation with sincerity of heart and from motives of a brotherly regard for our common welfare, so we hope our Bretheren the Cherokees by whom we send it will take care to deliver it to their Nation with



Fidelity and Truth, and that it will be received with a Reciprocal heartiness and good will, and produce the Meeting we have proposed.

Thirdly, we would acquaint them that we have had experience of the French, and have found them a perfidious people who deceive with inticing words and at the same time mean no such thing in their hearts, and therefore we would warn them against being imposed upon by the arts and Schemes of the French who will if they hear of our proposed Meeting use every cunning and wicked Method in their power to prevent it, for they are enemies to the Union and harmony of Bretheren, and jealous of their having friendly Interviews with each other.

Fourthly, we shall desire them to communicate our present Message to all their friends and Allies in those parts, and use their best endeavours to gather all their hearts together as one heart, and to have but one ear and one mouth.

Lastly, our Brother of Cayouga now here will on his return acquaint the upper nations of the Message we now send, and with the meeting proposed, that all their Young Men may be kept from going to War, towards the Country of these our bretheren, lest any mistake should happen which might obstruct or prevent the proposed Meeting.

They said this was the Message they proposed to send and that now he might diminish or add to it as he judged proper.

Sir William withdrew with Mr Croghan and the Secretary, and upon his return said,

Bretheren,

I have heard and well considered the Message you propose to send by the Cherokees now here, and I approve of it, I have only one addition and which I think very necessary to make to it, and at the same time I recommend it to you as what I will heartily join in.

You know our bretheren the Cherokees have taken the ax in their hands, and made use of it in Conjunction with our people, with good Success against our enemies the french and their Indians, and as they have lost some of their people by it, and have sent you and me word they were determind not to leave off while they had a man left alive I think it would be very proper to encourage them by a joint Belt of Wampum which I have ready, to persevere in their Resolutions go on, and get satisfaction, in which I doubt not they will be assisted by their Bretheren the English. Such a Belt to encourage them I think very necessary for another reason, the French will doubtless set every art at work to prevail on them to lay down the Hatchet, and very probably endeavour to work them about to their Interest and Views.

This addition was approved of by the Six Nations.

Fort Johnson 19 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1757.

At a Meeting of sundry Indians,

the Mohawks of both Castles, the Oneidas, the Cayougas Sachims, and two Seneca Sachims with the River Indians met in Council and sent to acquaint Sir William that they proposed this Afternoon to deliver the Message agreed on the 18<sup>th</sup> Instant to the Cherokee Deputies.

When Sir William, Mr Croghan, Cap<sup>t</sup> Butler, the Secretary, and Interpreter came in and were seated the four Cherokee Indians were introduced to the Council by Cap<sup>t</sup> Montour, and taking their Seats in four chairs placed purposely for them, Sir William then lighted the Calumet or Pipe of Peace and Friendship and after smoaking a Whif or two presented it to the four Cherokee Deputies holding it to them, while each drew a Whif, then the Gentlemen

present took it and Mr Montour handed it round to every Indian present. The Tobacco from whence it was filled was then put in a Bag to be carried home together with the Calumet by the Cherokees.

Then The Belt a Seneca Sachem, stood up and delivered to the Cherokees the Message proposed by the Six Nations at the conclusion of which he delivered them a very long and Broad White Belt which Sir William furnished.

Then he delivered to them the Additional Message proposed by Sir William with his black belt for their Warriors.

The Speaker then acquainted them that what he had said was agreed upon by Sir William and the Six Nations in Conjunction—that the time of their Departure was left to Sir William who would take care to see them well provided for their journey home and send them to New York by water.

The Chief of the four Cherokee Indians then spoke and said,

Brother Warraghijagey and Bretheren of the Six Nations

The Reception we have met with from you both is such as fills our hearts with satisfaction and gratitude.

We have diligently attended to all you have now said to us, it is locked up in our hearts, and firmly fixed upon our Memories—We shall take care to deliver it to our Nation word for word as you have spoke it. We expect to find some of them on the Frontiers of Virginia, or Maryland, to whom we shall repeat it if they are there, and by whom it will be forwarded without delay to our Country. We doubt not but it will be very agreeable to all our people, and that the Meeting you propose will be agreed to, and when our Deputies are on the Road you may expect to see me running before them to give you timely Notice.

Then George a Seneca Sachim stood up and said he proposed to accompany their Bretheren the Cherokees as far as Philadelphia, and if his Shoes would hold out perhaps he might go farther with them.

Fort Johnson 20 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1757.

At a Meeting of the several Indians as before mentioned, and with them the four Cherokee Deputies.

Sir William in conjunction with the Six Nations took a String of<sup>W</sup> Wampum, and told the Cherokees that Business being now finished between them, herewith they removed all Obstructions, and threw out of the Road all stones and Logs in order to make their Return home easy and pleasant.

Upon which the Cherokee Chief returned his thanks and said that if nothing extraordinary happened to prevent or detain him, he expected to be in his Country within this Month.

True Extracts from the Original Records

Exam<sup>d</sup> by me

PETER WRAXALL

*Sir William Johnson's Remarks respecting Purchases of Lands from the Indians.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 28.]

Remarks upon the Observations of the Proprietors of Pensilvania on a Paragraph of Sir William Johnson's letter to the Right Honourable The Lords of Trade and Plantations bearing date the 10<sup>th</sup> September 1757.

The whole Paragraph of the above letter which gave birth to the Observations is as follows.

"I think I have before now hinted to Your Lordships my opinion that the Hostilities which Pensilvania in particular had suffered from some of the Indians living on the Susquehanna did in some measure arise from the large purchase made by that Government two years ago at Albany: I have more reason every day from talking with the Indians to be confirmed in this suspicion. I am inclined to beleive that this purchase was publicly consented to at Albany, *some* of the six Nations are disgusted at it, and others repent their consenting to it, and that part of them do underhand connive at the Disturbances between the Susquehannah Indians and the Province of Pensilvania whose raising forces and building Forts on the Susquehana, tho it hath very plausible pretences is at the bottom bad policy and really intended to secure Lands, which it would be more for the true Interest of the Community to give up at least for the present. I conceive the most effectual method of producing tranquility to that Province would be a voluntary and open surrender of that deed of sale, fix with the Indians in the best manner they can the Bounds for their settlements, and make them Guarantees to it.

"The Proprietors are pleased to introduce their Observations with a challenge to Sir William Johnson and all the world to shew any one Instance of their conduct that has given dissatisfaction to the Six Nations and which they those Nations will readily acknowledge in any free Conference."

Tho the real Intent of the above paragraph from Sir William Johnson's letter was, and its obvious meaning is, to assign a cause to which he suspected the Indians' Hostilities in Pensilvania were in a great measure owing. Yet upon Sir William Johnson saying he was inclined to beleive &ca. The Proprietors are pleased to sound this unprovoked challenge, which tho to answer as well as to have given is departing from the main Argument Yet Sir William Johnson begs leave to say some what in answer to it.

First, He will now presume to assert that from any Private Conversations he hath hadd with severall of the chiefs of the Six Nations, they are not satisfied with the conduct of the Government of Pensilvania in general, nor with the aforesaid purchase in particular.

Secondly, He will adduce some facts publick and upon Record in support of the above assertion.

At the Treaty of Lancaster in the year 1744 the six Nations complained to Governour Thomas that the Connoye<sup>1</sup> Indians had not been satisfied for their Lands. The Governour promised redress. In the year 1749, the six Nations renewed the aforesaid Complaint to Governor Hamilton.

(N B. It doth not appear upon Record that the Connoye Indians are to this day satisfied)

<sup>1</sup> See note *supra*, p. 268. — Ed.



In the year 1750 Connageriwa a Sachim of the Six Nations living on the Ohio came at the head of a Deputation from thence to Mr Croghan's house, and told Mr Peters he was sent down from Ohio to inquire about the purchase they had heard the Governour had made on the East side of Susquehannah the year before, from the Onondaga Council and said they were entitled to part of the Goods paid for those Lands as well as the Onondaga Council but they had received no part.

That they were come down to desire the Governor to purchase no more Lands without giving them notice and desired the Governour might send that Belt of Wampum to the Onondaga Council and let them know what the Ohio Indians had said on this head. Gave a large Belt.

The Indians of the Six Nations who were settled on the Ohio were so dissatisfied with the Albany purchase made by the Proprietary Agents and saw such bad Consequences arising from it that they left the Ohio and returned to their own Countrey.

In a Speech of the Six Nations at a publick Meeting with Sir William Johnson on the 3<sup>d</sup> July 1755 They said

Brother, You desire us to unite and live together and draw all our allies near us, but we shall have no land left either for ourselves or them, for your people when they buy a small piece of land of us by stealing they make it large. We desire such things may not be done and that Your people may not be suffered to buy any more of our lands. Sometimes its bought of two men, who are not the proper owners of it. The land which reaches down from Osweigo to Schahandowana (Wyoming) we beg may not be settled by Christians. The Governour of Pensilvania bought a whole track and only paid for half, and desire you will let him know that we will not part with the other half but keep it. These things makes us constantly uneasie in our minds and we desire you will take care that we may keep our land for ourselves.

At a Meeting between Governour Denny, George Croghan Esqr Sir William Johnson's Deputy, and sundry Six Nations and other Indians held at Lancaster in May 1757, a copy of the proceedings of which lays before the Board of Trade. There is a Speech of the Six Nations bearing date Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> May from the whole letter and Speech of which it appears that the Six Nations have been, and are, very far from that satisfaction of mind, with the conduct of the Province of Pensilvania, which the Proprietors boast of and sound their challenge upon.

The Proprietors are further pleased to add to their challenge this assertion, that the Six Nations will readily acknowledge the truth of it in any free conference.

As the truth of this Assertion can depend only upon a Contingent event, Sir William Johnson begs leave to be of a very different opinion, and from a variety of Circumstances is well perswaded the Six Nations never will be reconciled to the conduct of the Proprietors, their Deputys and Agents unless the deed of the Albany purchase be surrendered and the claims founded thereupon in a great measure given up.

The Proprietors say the cannot conceive that the last purchase made of Land to the Westward of Susquehana could possibly be the cause of the hostilities committed by the Indians living on that River &ca.

Sir William Johnson gave it as his opinion that the hostilities which Pensilvania had suffered from some of the Indians living on the Susquehana did in some measure arise from the large purchase made by the Governour two years ago.

This is the Point to be proved and more than this it is apprehended will be proved by the following Quotations from authentick Records and Papers.

“Before the year 1742 the Delaware Indians complained that they were defrauded out of some lands or not paid for them.

“It is well known that the purchase made at Albany 1754 gave a great uneasiness to the Susquehanna Indians and from the time the County Surveyor began to survey on Juniatta, and at the Susquehana: The Delawars, Shawanese, and Nanticokes then settled on the River began to remove farther back, some to Tiyahoga some to Ohio.

“The Ohio Indians at a Meeting with Mr Wiser (the Pensylvania Interpreter) at Aughwick, after the defeat of Col<sup>o</sup> Washington asked Mr Wiser how those Lands came to be sold. He said in answer that the Six Nations had only made over their right of sale, and taken an earnest price, and that when the lands came to be settled, that they should receive a Consideration for them. At the same time John Schecelany, a Delaware Indian, burned some Houses that were built on Penns Creek (below Shamokin on the West side) and said there should be no plantations made on their hunting grounds, and all the Indians at Shamokin seemed very uneasie, and indeed oblidged the Surveyor to come away, and quit Surveying.”

In the Spring 1756 Governour Morris sent several Messages with Belts and strings of Wampum by an Onondaga Indian to the Five Nations, amongst which is the following just and remarkable Confession

“That he found by woful experience that making purchases of Lands was the cause of much blood having been shed, he was determined therefore to buy no more.”

As a Confirmation of Sir William Johnson's said opinion he refers himself to the following extract from Margaret Williams' deposition who was a prisoner amongst the Delaware Indians, sworn before him the 8<sup>th</sup> day of September 1756.

“The said Margaret says she often heard the Indians say and declare most solemnly they never would leave off killing the English as long as there was an Englishman living on their Lands that they were determined to drive them all off their lands, naming Minisinck almost to the North River East (in the provinces of New-York and Jersey) also Bethlehem and the lands on a parallel line to it West which the English have cheated them out of.”

In further support to his opinion Sir William Johnson refers himself to the Treaty Governour Denny held with Tediucung the Delaware chief at Easton last Autumn, and which is before the Board of Trade.

Sir William Johnson also refers himself to the Extract from a Speech of the Six Nations to Gov<sup>r</sup> Denny and Mr Croghan (before mentioned in these remarks) in answer to their earnest call upon the Six Nations to assign if they knew the cause of the hostilities and Discontents of the Susquehana Indians.

The Indian proceedings this summer which past at Easton between Governour Denny, Mr Croghan and the sundry Indians therein mentioned, and which Sir William Johnson transmits herewith to the Right Honourable the Lords of Trade puts beyond dispute and demonstrates the Truth of what Sir William Johnson gave as his opinion in the aforesaid letter to the Lords of Trade and he apprehends it doth very fully evidence the conclusions of belief which he then drew from that opinion.

Lastly Sir William Johnson refers himself to the following Extract from the examination of John Morris of Lancaster County, who was taken by, and made his escape from, the Delaware Indians sworn before him the 27<sup>th</sup> August 1757.

The Examinant says he often heard the Delawares say that the reason of their quarrelling with and killing the English in that part of the Country was on account of their lands which the people of Pensilvania Government cheated them out of, and drove them from their settlement at Shamokin by crowding upon them, and by that means spoiled their hunting and that the people of Minisinck used to make the Indians always drunk whenever they traded with them and then cheated them out of their furs and skins, also wronged them with regard to their lands. This he has heard from many of the Chief and Oldest Men amongst them both in the English and the Delaware Language which he sufficiently understands.

The Proprietors say that as the Six Nations are not well satisfied with the sale of those lands on the Ohio, they are willing to wave that part of the Treaty provided &ca.

As Sir William Johnson has never seen the deed of sale for the Albany purchase, he cannot to his knowledge tell how far the purchase extends, but he hath in his possession a Report of several Indian Transactions, relative to the Government of Pensilvania signed by George Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup> who was for several Years employed as an Indian Agent by that Government, in which report M<sup>r</sup> Croghan says as follows.

"I never understood from any of the Six Nations that they deemed the Lands West of the Susquehanna as a purchase, but rather as a Deed of Trust, and received 1000 Dollars as an Earnest peice, and looked on it that when the lands came to be settled they should receive the Consideration and the Commissioners who were sent from Pensilvania to make that purchase at Albany in 1754, viz<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Norris & M<sup>r</sup> Peters, with the Interpreter M<sup>r</sup> Wiser have repeatedly acknowledged to me, *that tho the land West of Allegany Mountains cross to Lake Erie was included in the deed of 1754, that it was neither purchased nor paid for, and which will appear by a private conference in M<sup>r</sup> Peters's hands at the time of signing.*"

Certainly the Proprietors are not apprized of the fact here asserted, or they would not have made an Offer to relinquish Land they have never purchased, nor allowed it to have been put in a Deed of sale.

In answer to Sir William Johnson's opinion about the Government of Pensilvania raising Forces and building Forts on the Susquehanna River.

"The Proprietors say this Insinuation is without any sort of Foundation, as it never would have been attempted had not the Chiefs of the Indians living on Susquehannah and Delaware River on their own motion entirely desired they should be built at Shamokin and near Wyoming for their own Security.

"In this the Proprietors must certainly be misinformed for none of the Indians on Susquehanna or Delaware ever requested any Forts to be built there. Indeed after the defeat of General Braddock, Scahrayade, Cayseunteneo, and two or three more Ohio Indians, who had left their Country on the first approach of the French in the year 1753 did desire the Government of Pensilv<sup>a</sup> to build a Fort at Shamokin, in order to protect their interest with the Susquehanna Indians, but the request of those four or five dispossessed Indians, can never be fairly construed as an authority of application from the Six Nations, or any other Body of Indians. Neither did these Indians at that time desire War might be declared against the Ohio Indians. However this request for a Fort was not complied with at that time."



In a Message Sir William Johnson received the 23<sup>d</sup> May 1756 from the Onondaga Indians they say as follows.

"Tell our Brother further that since we took the hatchet out of the hands of the Delaware and Shawanese they have told us there is an army of the English coming against them, (they mean the Provincial Troops of Pensilvania under Colonel Clapham) and that they think it unreasonable and unnatural for us to hold them in Our arms, and prevent them defending themselves when People are just on their backs to destroy them."

"We are informed the English are building a Fort at Shamokin. We ca'n't comprehend the method of making war which is made use of by our Bretheren the English. When we go to war our manner is to destroy a Nation and their's an End of it. But the English chiefly regard building Forts, which looks as if their only scheme was *to take Possession of the Lands.*"

Here is an evident proof of the jealousy which the Pensilvania levies and Fort building occasioned, and a strong hint of the Ends intended by them, as it stood in the minds of the Indians.

Sir William Johnson well knowing how extreamly tender the Indians in general are with regard to Forts, near to their Country or hunting grounds and naturally judging a body of armed men, to support as it were the building of those, at a time, and in places, where he had many reasons to beleive the neighbouring Indians (as it hath since fully appeared) were dissatisfied with the Government on the score of lands, and encroaching, by their purchases, on their hunting grounds, and crowding too near upon them by their extended settlements he judged this conduct in the Government of Pensilvania was impolitick, and he must beg leave to be still of the same Opinion, and as he looked upon those proceedings to be contrary to the true interest of the Community, he did suspect they were pushed forward upon other motives.

And to conclude, Unless the Province of Pensilvania is both able and willing to maintain their land pretentions by force of arms against the Indians. Sir William Johnson hath not altered his opinion but doth with a yet stronger degree of conviction than formerly, humbly offer his conception of the matter in the same words as before. Namely "that the most effectual method of producing tranquility to that province would be a Voluntary and open surrender of that Deed of sale, to fix with the Indians in the best manner they can the bounds for their settlements, and make them Guaranties to it."



*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 27.]

New York, 15 October 1757.

My Lords,

His Excellency Governor Pownall having taken out of the Records of this Province a Copy of a Dutch Commission to Governor Anthony Colve, a copy of which I enclose in which the bounds of his Government are described, as is therein said, according to the provincial treaty of Hartford for settling the limits, in the year 1650; and as Gov<sup>r</sup> Pownall and I were of different sentiments on the construction of the Bounds in that Commission I shall take leave to lay mine before Your Lordships, submitting them to Your Lordships' judgments. The only

words which can have any relation to the Controversy between this Province and Massachusetts Bay, are, after describing the Extent Eastward, to the East End of Long Island and Slutter Island, it says, and from hence Westward half way up the sound to the township of Greenwich situate on the main land and thence running into the land Northerly, remaining or keeping ten miles from the North River: Upon these words I would observe that Greenwich is said to be half way up the Sound, so full ten Dutch miles or forty English distant from Hudson's River; secondly that ten miles when used in the Dutch Language can only signifie the Miles of that Country, thirdly that a Dutch Mile has always in this Country been understood to be equal to four English, fourthly that as the Dutch were extremely jealous in regard to their Indian trade, which was very extensive and carried on with the River Indians and the five Nations through Hudson's River, they were particularly carefull after the English had got Connecticut from them to keep the English at such a distance from the North River, as should put it out of their power to interfere with them in the very beneficial trade carried on through that River, & fifthly Greenwich was at that time understood to be at least forty Miles from the City of New York and is in fact near that Distance & I think not less than thirty Miles from Hudson's River. So that if any argument can be drawn from this Commission it is that the New England Governments cannot approach nearer to Hudson's River than ten Dutch or forty English Miles. While Gov<sup>r</sup> Pownall was here at New York I told him I had heard that Your Lordships had delivered it as Your Opinion that a straight line to be drawn Northerly from that point where the boundary line between New York and Connecticut ends at twenty miles distant from Hudson's River to another point at the same distance from the said River on that line which divides the Provinces of New Hampshire & Massachusetts Bay, will be a just and equitable line of division between the said Province of New York & Massachusetts Bay and we had some discourse how we should carry it into execution and I told him, if his Government would come into it I should make no difficulty to cooperate with him on the part of this Province, put an end to the disputes & adjust in friendship our division line according to Your Lordships Opinion, which I am persuaded we shall do amicably I am,

My Lords,

Your Lordships most obed<sup>t</sup>

& most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

Right Honourable

Lords Commissioners of Trade

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P. 130. ]

To James De Lancey Esq: L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

Since our Secretary's letter, to you, inclosing his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s order in Council respecting the Exportation of provisions from New York to S<sup>t</sup> Augustine; We have received your letters of the 30<sup>th</sup> of July and 24<sup>th</sup> of August.

The papers, which you have transmitted to Us, as well as several others which we had before received from Sir Charles Hardy, respecting the illicit Trade carried on from Hollaud to the Northern Colonies, and to the fraudulent practice of supplying the Enemy with provisions, by means of the trade to the neutral Islands, are now under our consideration, and it will give us the greatest satisfaction if any method can be found of putting a stop to frauds, which operate so greatly to the disadvantage of the Trade of this Country, and the security and interest of the Colonys.

As we had long since submitted to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> our opinion upon the means of putting a stop to the disorders, which have arisen in consequence of the disputes concerning the boundary-line, there remained nothing further for us to add upon the papers transmitted with your letters of the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, than to lay copys of them before His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, which We have accordingly done.

The danger and distress, to which great part of the remote settlements in the province of New York must be exposed from the loss of Fort William Henry, will, we hope, induce the General Assembly, to exert themselves with vigour, to cooperate with and assist His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops in all such measures, as may be thought proper for putting a stop to the further progress of the Enemy. We are

Sir

Your most obedient humble servants

DUNK HALIFAX

SOAME JENYNS

W<sup>m</sup> SLOPER.

11 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1757.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 36. ]

New York 1<sup>st</sup> December 1757.

My Lords,

I had the honour of Your Lordships' Letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of June directing me forthwith upon the receipt thereof to take the most effectual method for obtaining an account of the quantity of Iron made in this Province from the year 1749 to the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1756: I accordingly wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Robert Livingston who has the only Iron work in this Province which is carried on and I send Your Lordships inclosed the account I received from him as soon as it came to my hands. This Country abounds in Iron Oar especially in the Highlands, and several works have been begun but were dropt through the mismanagement or inability of the undertakers; of these there were two Furnaces in the Mannor of Cortland & several Bloomeries; but they have not been worked for several Years past; it is probable after the war upon the Encouragement the Parliament of Great Britain are giving the Colonies in this Article these and several others will be carried on in this Province. I have the honor to be,

Your Lordships' most obed<sup>t</sup> & most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Right Honorable

JAMES DE LANCEY.

Lords Commissioners of Trade



*An Account of the Iron made at Ancram.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 37.]

An Account of the Iron made at Ancram in the Manour of Livingston, By Rob<sup>t</sup>  
Livingston Jun<sup>r</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup> viz<sup>t</sup>

	T	C	qrs	lb		T	C	Castings			
In the year 1750	43	3	3	13	Made into Bars	195	15	5	2	3	7
1751	606	6	3	17		164	12	6	1	2	
1752	354	7	3	0		183	14	3	2	1	14
1753	22	9	2	0		215	6	2	3	0	21
1754						211	5	4	2	2	
1755	722	2	3	0		149	16	36	2	3	7
1756	267	14	0	14		182	0	10	0	0	0
	2016	4	3	16		1302	8	66	15	0	21
	1302	8	0	0							
Total	3318	12	3	16							

Pr DIRCK JANSEN, Storekeeper

*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[New-York Entries, B., P. 184.]

To Ja<sup>s</sup> De Lancey Esq<sup>r</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

Since our letter to you dated the 11<sup>th</sup> of last month, we have received your's of the 6<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of October, and the papers transmitted therewith, and were glad to find by the first of these letters, that the Assembly had so readily agreed to the proposition made to you by Lord Loudoun, of retaining such a number of the Troops voted by them for the service of last year, as might be sufficient to form two companies of Rangers, which we hope will be employed by His Lordship to advantage during the Winter.

We have fully considered, what you have proposed in your letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of October, with respect to an alteration, which you seem desirous should be made in the argument for the settlement of a Line of partition between the Provinces of New York and the Massachusets Bay, as stated in the minutes of our proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May last; and having communicated the same to the Agent of the Massachusets Bay, he has, upon a full consideration of it, acquainted us, that he does not think himself authorized to acquiesce therein, and therefore, we do not think it adviseable to make any alteration in the argument, as stated in our Minutes of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, which would wholly defeat all means of an accommodation, in favour of a proposition, which, if it could be executed, would not in our opinion operate, either to the advantage of the Crown, or the benefit or interest of any of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> subjects. We are

Sir

Your most obedient humble servants

DUNK HALIFAX  
SOAME JENYNS  
W<sup>m</sup> SLOPER  
W. G. HAMILTON.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 9. 1757.

*Minutes of certain Proceedings of the Lords of Trade.*

[Board of Trade Journals, No. 65.]

At a Meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade & Plantations. Wednesday  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 21. 1757.

PRESENT —	Earl of Halifax	Mr Hamilton,
	Mr Jenyns,	Mr Sloper.

Their Lordships took into Consideration the letters from Mr Charles, mentioned in the minutes of the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, and after some time spent therein, Mr Charles, who was attending without, pursuant to notice given him by the Secretary for that purpose, was called in, and he desired that Mr Franklin, lately arrived from Pennsylvania as agent for the People of that Province, together with Mr Wedderburne, Mr Charles' Counsel, and several other gentlemen, whom he stated to be interested in what relates to the subject matter of his letter mentioned in the minutes of the 15<sup>th</sup> of November last, might be permitted to be present, which request was comply'd with, and they were accordingly called in, and Mr Charles after having questioned the propriety of the Orders and Resolutions of the Board with respect to the delivery of Copies of papers, and the conduct of their Officers in relation thereto, and also complained of the Conduct of the Secretary of this Board upon occasion of an application made by Mr Charles for leave to have Copies of certain papers in the Office—he proceeded to state what he had to offer respecting the several matters contained in his letters of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of November last.

With respect to the first of these Letters Mr Charles stated the grounds whereon he founded his claim of right to have a copy of the Paper of Observations made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania upon an extract of a letter to their Lordships from Sir William Johnson Bart Agent for Indian affairs, respecting the effect which the purchase of lands made by the said Proprietaries from the Indians in 1754 had had upon the general interests of the Crown amongst the said Indians.

With respect to his letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of November last, concerning the proceedings with the Indians at Easton, in Pennsylvania, in July and August last, being informed by the Board that the minutes of those proceedings had been transmitted to them by Sir William Johnson, he moved for a copy of those minutes provided the same were not printed Minutes.

With respect to his letter of 25<sup>th</sup> of November concerning a matter in which he states himself to be misrepresented, Mr Charles proceeded to enter into several remarks and animadversions upon the Representations and Reports of this Board to His Majesty and to the Lords of the Committee of Council, respecting the Boundary line between the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, and also between the Provinces of New York and Massachusetts Bay, and more particularly as to those parts of such Representations or Reports where he is stated to have submitted the determination of those matters to the Crown and its Ministers.

Mr Charles having been reprimanded for his improper and indecent behavior in the several matters stated by him, he submitted the whole to the Board, and then the several persons present having been ordered to withdraw, Their Lordships upon full consideration of what had been offered by Mr Charles, were of opinion that the Resolution of the Board on the

17<sup>th</sup> of November last, not to grant him a copy of the Paper of Observations mentioned in his Letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of November, was just and proper.

That M<sup>r</sup> Charles request of having a copy of the minutes of the proceedings with the Indians at Easton in July and August last be granted, and that a Copy thereof be accordingly made and delivered to him.

That M<sup>r</sup> Charles' conduct in desiring to appear before this Board in order to make remarks and animadversions upon Reports and Representations long since made by their Lordships to His Majesty, and to His Council, is irregular and unprecedented, inasmuch as those Reports and Representations are now under the Consideration of His Majesty and His Council, and that such behavior is also arrogant and indecent with respect to the Board, and unbecoming his Character as an Agent.

That the calling in question the propriety of the rules & orders made by this Board with respect to the delivery of Copies of papers, and to the Conduct of their officers in relation thereto, is highly insolent and indecent, and that M<sup>r</sup> Charles' Complaint against the Secretary with respect to a declaration made to him by the said Secretary concerning a Motion which M<sup>r</sup> Charles desired might be made to the Board for leave to have Copies of Certain papers is groundless and injurious; inasmuch as it is the Secretary's duty to arrange the Business for the Board, and to bring the several matters before them for their Consideration in such method time and place as he shall judge best for the convenience and despatch of business, or as their Lordships shall think proper to direct.

DUNK HALIFAX.

At a Meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 22.

PRESENT—

Earl of Halifax

M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton

M<sup>r</sup> Jenyns

M<sup>r</sup> Sloper.

Their Lordships took into Consideration their Resolutions of yesterday, respecting the matters stated by M<sup>r</sup> Charles, and also M<sup>r</sup> Charles' letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, mentioned in the minutes of the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, together with a letter from him dated the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, desiring to be informed whether the articles of Surrender of New York to the Crown of Great Britain in 1664 are upon record in this office and that he may have a copy of a letter from the President of the Council of New York to this Board, about the year 1719, or an extract thereof, so far as relates to the Boundary line between the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, and after some time spent therein, ordered the Secretary to write the following letter to M<sup>r</sup> Charles. viz<sup>t</sup>

Sir,

I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to acquaint you that so soon as yourself and the other gentlemen who attended them yesterday were withdrawn, they took the several matters offered by you into Consideration to the end that they might acquaint you with their Resolutions thereupon, but being informed you had left the office Without waiting for their Lordships determination, I have now their directions to acquaint you that they are of opinion that the Resolutions of the Board of the 17<sup>th</sup> of November last, not to give you any copy of the paper of observations made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania upon the Extract



of a letter to this Board from Sir William Johnson Agent for Indian affairs, was just and proper. Their Lordships have given directions that a copy of the minutes of the Proceedings with the Indians at Easton in July & August last, as transmitted by the said Agent, should be made and delivered to you.

I am further to acquaint you that their Lordships have this day taken into Consideration your letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, desiring Copies of the Grant of New Jersey to the Duke of York, and his grant to Lord Berkely Copys of which I am also ordered to prepare and deliver to you, but as to your application for Copys of papers in the Office relative thereto, their Lordships cannot form any judgment of the propriety of so general a request, but if you think proper to particularize any papers, their Lordships will Consider what may be proper for them to do.

Their Lordships have also considered your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, and I am directed to inform you that the Articles agreed upon at the surrender of New York to the Crown of Great Britain in 1664, are upon Record in their office and that they have given directions that an extract of the Letter to this Board from M<sup>r</sup> Schuyler in 1719, so far as relates to the affair of the line, be made and delivered to you.

I am Sir,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> Servant

JOHN POWNALL

Sec<sup>y</sup>.

To

Robert Charles, Esq<sup>r</sup>

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*Secretary Pitt to the Governor of New-York.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 75.]

Circular from Sec<sup>r</sup> Pitt to the Governors of Massachuset's Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey. Whitehall. Dec<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1757.

Sir,

His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having nothing more at heart than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts, to avert, by the blessing of God on his Arms, the dangers impending on North America; and not doubting, that all his faithful and brave subjects there, will chearfully co-operate with, & second to the utmost the large expence, and extraordinary succours supplied by this kingdom for their preservation and defence, and His Maj<sup>ty</sup> considering that several provinces in particular, from proximity and accessibility of situation, more immediately obnoxious to the main irruptions of the Enemy from Canada, are, of themselves, well able to furnish, at least twenty thousand Men, to join a body of the King's forces for invading Canada, by the way of Crown Point, and carrying war into the heart of the Enemy's possessions; and His Maj<sup>ty</sup> not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and ardor of any of his Provinces, by making a Repartition of the Force to be raised by each respectively, for this most important service; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do, forthwith, use your utmost endeavours and

influence with the Council and Assembly of your Province, to induce them to raise, with all possible dispatch, as large a body of Men, within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, as the number of its Inhabitants may allow, and, forming the same into Regim<sup>ts</sup>, as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them, to hold themselves in readiness, as early as may be, to march to the rendez-vous at Albany, or such other place, as His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief in America, shall appoint, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the King's British forces, and under the supreme command of His Majesty's said Commander in Chief in America, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the campaign by the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, if possible, or as soon after, as shall be any way practicable by attempting to make an irruption into Canada, as above, by the way of Crown point, and, if found practicable, to attack either Montreal, or Quebec, or both of the said Places, successively, with the whole force in one body, or at one and the same time, by a division of the Troops into separate and distinct operations, according as His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s said Commander in Chief, shall, from his knowledge of the Countries, thro which the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances, not to be known here; judge any of the said attempts to be practicable, and the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you, to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Pro<sup>ve</sup> as you shall judge, from their weight and credit with the People, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed & enabled to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the greatest Number of Men; in the dispositions of which Commissions, I am persuaded, you will have nothing in view, but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole, when joined, to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief; and all officers of the Provincial forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have rank, according to their several respective Commissions, in like manner, as is already given, by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s regulations, to the Captains of provincial Troops in America.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised, as above, with Arms, Amunition and Tents, as well, as to order provisions to be issued to the same, by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commissaries, in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces; a sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided, at His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s expence, for the operations of the Campaign and the Ship, that conveys this, carries orders for timely providing at the King's charge, with the utmost diligence, and in an ample manner, Boats and Vessels, necessary for the transportation of the army on this expedition. The whole therefore, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> expects and requires from the several Provinces, is: the levying, cloathing and pay of the Men; and on these heads also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary attempt; the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above, according as the active vigour & strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall justly appear to merit.

Altho' several thousand stands of Arms, will be forthwith sent from England, to be distributed to the Troops, now directed to be raised in the Northern and Southern provinces - yet, as it is hoped, that the numbers of Men, levied in all parts of America, may greatly exceed the quantity of Arms, that can at present, be supplied from England; it is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do, with particular diligence, immediately collect, and put into the best condition, all the serviceable arms, that can be found within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, in order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go, in this exigency.

I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent, by this conveyance to Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey, the Southern Governments are also directed,<sup>1</sup> to raise Men in the same manner, to be employed in such offensive operations, as the circumstances & situation of the Enemy's posts, in those parts, may point out, which, it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their attention and Forces, as will render the several attempts more easy & successful.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your zeal, in the execution of His Majesty's orders on this great occasion, where the safety and preservation of America, *and of your own province in particular are at stake*; and the King doubts not, from your known fidelity and attachment, that you will employ yourself, with the utmost application and despatch in this urgent and dangerous crisis. Altho' the knowledge of an intention to invade Canada, is apprehended to be not only unattended with any inconvenience, but necessary to be propagated in the provinces, in order to give success to the Levies, yet, as secrecy, in all enterprizes on particular places, is of the greatest importance, the King is persuaded, that you will use all proper discretion in communicating, by name, any of the immediate objects before pointed out, further, than to such persons, to whom it may be necessary for the good of the service, confidentially to intrust the same.

I am etc.

W. PITT

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 40.]

(Duplicate.)

New York, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1758.

My Lords,

My last to Your Lordships was of the first of Dec<sup>r</sup> last enclosing an account of the Iron made in this Province, pursuant to Your Lordships' directions to me by Your Letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of June last. The Assembly met in the outward of this city to avoid the small pox on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December but before I give you an account of their proceedings it may be proper to acquaint Your Lordships that we had the misfortune on the 12<sup>th</sup> of November to loose a valuable settlement on the North side of the Mohawks River opposite to Fort Haremeyer, called the German Flatts, the loss is estimated at twenty thousand pounds this money, it is as fertile a piece of ground as any perhaps in the world the settlers were generally rich, and had good buildings on their lands, some of the inhabitants were slain, about one hundred carried into captivity, their houses and barns with the Crops destroyed by Fire. This was done by a party of about three hundred Canadians & Indians: the people there thought themselves in great security and though advertised of the approach of the enemy, they neglected the advices they received and so fell an easy prey.

We have also had another Loss by Fire in Fort George the 15 of December, which consumed the West Range of Barracks in that Fort with the stores therein occasioned as it is

<sup>1</sup> The letter to the Southern Governments, will be found in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VIII., 27. — Ed.



supposed by a number of Taylors employed by Colonel Prevost in one of the Rooms who had been careless of their fire; it luckily happened that the wind was at North East, otherwise as it was a very cold night it would have endangered the Governor's house in that Fort, in which my Lord Loudoun lives; the Asthma I am often troubled with obliging me, to live at my own house half a mile out of town: I have ordered an estimate to be made of the loss and it is reported to me to amount to the sum of five hundred & thirty pounds, which it will require to put them in the condition they were in before, besides the loss of the stores as mentioned in the paper inclosed.

I herewith transmit to your Lordships a State of the Case of the Schooner Joseph lately brought into this Port, as it was drawn up by the Register of the Admiralty at my request: the short of it is this, the persons who carry on an illicit trade by importing tea and other goods from foreign Parts, enter into a pretended charter Party to carry them to a Dutch or other neutral Island, with liberty to touch at one of the English Ports on this Continent (Rhode Island in this Case) where they privately land their cargoes in fraud of the laws of Trade: I doubt whether this case will come within the words of the Act of Parliament, but upon my being informed of it, by the Collector of the Customs here, I told him it was my Opinion the matter should not only be tried here, but carried home, that the practice might be fully understood and if the laws in being were not sufficient to suppress it, some new remedy might be applied.

The Assembly met the 6<sup>th</sup> of December & broke up the 24<sup>th</sup> when I gave them a Recess 'till the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant. Your Lordships will see in page first & second of the inclosed Printed Proceedings of the Assembly, my message to them & in page the twentieth what Bills I have given my assent to: they were mostly Acts to continue former acts which Your Lordships have already before you.

The New ones are, an Act to enable the Corporation of this City to raise £3500 for Barracks & providing firewood & candles for his Majesty's troops.

An Act to raise £1125 by lottery to finish a New Goal in this City similar to one past by Sir Charles Hardy for the like purpose.

An Act for the payment of the Salaries for one year in the same form as that passed the year before.

An Act to levy £50 for the Coroner for his service. So that they require no particular observations. There is one Bill which the Assembly have very much at heart, which is to empower Justices of the Peace throughout this Colony to try causes to the value of Five Pounds this currency, which is nearly fifty three shillings sterling. This Bill was postponed by the Council till the next Meeting & from what I can observe will be rejected there. The Nature of the Bill is to try causes of that value in a summary way, with Expedition and at a small expence & there is a provision in the Bill that if either plaintiff or defendant choose he may demand a Jury which is to be immediately summoned by the Constable. There is at present such an Act subsisting which expires at the end of next Sessions, but does not extend to the City of New York, tho the Justices of this City being the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen are generally much better qualified to decide such causes than the Justices in the Country and therefore there is the greater Reason to give them such a power, but the chief objection is that this would be taking a great profit by writs, declarations, pleas &c out of the hands of the Attorneys of this City & their Influence with some of the Council will, I suppose, occasion the Miscarriage of this Bill, which appears to me a very beneficial one for

the poor. I beg the favor of Your Lordships sentiments on this head & have the honor to subscribe myself, My Lords,

Right Honorable

Lords Commissioners for Trade.

Your Lordships most obedient

& most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to Secretary Pitt.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 71.]

New York 17. March 1758.

Sir,

I had the honor of three of your letters of the 30<sup>th</sup> December last which I received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Loring on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, with dispatches for the several Governors to the Northward and Southward, which were the same day forwarded by express, as were also the dispatches for General Abercrombie to Albany; and on the 7<sup>th</sup> I received duplicates by Commodore Durell.

I take this opportunity of the Packet, which the General sends away today, to assure you that I shall do my utmost to execute His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> commands in the best manner I can. I have now only time to acquaint you with the steps I have taken: On the 9<sup>th</sup> instant the Assembly made a house; the next day I made my Speech to the Council and General Assembly; on the 13<sup>th</sup> General Abercrombie dined with me in his way to town from Albany, where we conferred together; on the 14<sup>th</sup> he wrote me a letter which I communicated to the Council the same day, and an Embargo was laid on all ships and vessels above fifty Tons; on the 15<sup>th</sup> I sent an extract of the General's letter to the Assembly with a Message to prompt them to come to vigorous and speedy resolutions; they the same morning voted two thousand six hundred and eighty Men, as the full proportion of this Colony, and voted a bounty of ten pounds for every able bodied Man, who should enlist voluntarily. I should have been glad the circumstances of the Province would have allowed a greater number; the Country is drained of many able bodied men, by almost a kind of madness to go a privateering, many enlist in the Battoe service, and numbers are necessarily impressed for waggoners to carry up provisions ettc, so that the Assembly have voted more Men, than I had encouragement to expect from them.

I shall have very good Officers for the Men raised in this Province; My Brother Oliver De Lancey having undertaken the Command, his example will I believe have a good effect on other Gentlemen, and facilitate the raising men, and if there be not a sufficient number of Volunteers, I shall be enabled to complete our Troops by draughts out of the Militia.

I had attended the Earl of Loudoun to Hartford in Connecticut, when his Lordship proposed a plan of operations for the ensuing Campaign, a copy of which I send, but as I had received his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> commands from you before the Assembly met, I made no use of it.

I received a letter from Gov<sup>r</sup> Pownall the 15<sup>th</sup> at night acquainting me, that the General Court of Massachusetts Bay have voted seven thousand Men for the service, & it is reported that Connecticut have voted either 4500 or 5000 men on this occasion.

I have the honor to be with the greatest esteem.

Sir.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> and most humble servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

The papers inclosed are: My Speech to the Council and Assembly; The Council's address and my answer; The Assembly's address and my answer; The General's letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> March; My Message to the Assembly 15<sup>th</sup>; Resolutions of the Assembly 15<sup>th</sup>; Lord Loudoun's plan at Hartford.

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*Secretary Pitt to General Abercromby.*

[ Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 76. ]

Whitehall 10<sup>th</sup> June 1758.

Sir,

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, I received the favor of your letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> March, and on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant: Mr Johnston arrived with those of the 28<sup>th</sup> April; all which were immediately laid before the King, and tho' I have no new orders to send you from His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, I would not omit this opportunity to inform you, that the King entirely approves your conduct and diligence in this service. His Maj<sup>ty</sup> saw, with great satisfaction, the forwardness of several preparations you had been directed to make, for an early and vigorous campaign in the different parts of North America, and the King doubts not, but you will continue to exert your utmost efforts in the execution of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders for the operations of this great, and it is hoped, decisive Campaign. As the Vessels with the ordnance, Arms, Tents, stores, etc for New York and Philadelphia, sailed from Spithead, the very first days of April, it is hoped they will have arrived soon enough not to occasion any material delay in the operations under your own command, and that of Brigadier Forbes;<sup>1</sup> at all events, however, the King extremely approved the timely precautions, you had taken for procuring all the arms, that North America can furnish for the supply of the Provincial levies.

The King who has a true sense of the active zeal, Colonel Schuyler has so often showed for His service, saw with concern, the disagreeable situation of that Gentleman, from the difficulties that have arisen, with regard to his being exchanged, and tho' His Maj<sup>ty</sup> will readily agree to any measures, that shall be proper and practicable to obtain the release of so good a subject, yet it is thought, that no steps can be taken here for that purpose, till it is known what answer Mons<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil shall have returned to the proposal you had made to him; and in case that answer should, as Colonel Schuyler apprehends, prove to be negative, you may assure him, that no time will be lost in endeavouring to effect in Europe, an exchange for him.

With regard to the memorial Col: Schuyler had given you, desiring the payment of the sum of £211.8.7. New York currency, which he had advanced to supply the necessities of several prisoners in Canada; I am to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do direct

<sup>1</sup> Brigadier-General JOHN FORBES became Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, on 25th February, 1757, and proceeded the same year with his regiment to America, where he accompanied Lord Loudoun's expedition. (*Supra*, p. 36, note.) On 28th December following, he was appointed Brigadier in America, and put in command of the Southern District. He reduced Fort du Quesne in 1758, and died in Philadelphia, on Sunday, 11th March, 1759, and was buried on the 14th, in Christ Church. The particulars of the funeral are published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the following day. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., 579. — Ed.



the said sum to be issued to Mr Schuyler, and charge the same to the account of contingencies for the service in America.

I cannot conclude without returning you my particular thanks for the Map, you have been so good to send me by Mr Johnston, and shall be much obliged to you, for the others you give me reason to hope for.

His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having thought proper to employ a considerable body of his Land forces, amounting to 14000 Men, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, with a number of ships of War, under that of the Honorable Capt<sup>a</sup> Howe, on an expedition against the coasts of France, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that on Thursday night, an officer arrived with an account, that on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> inst: His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops had been so fortunate as to make good a landing, with little or no opposition in cancale Bay, ab<sup>t</sup> seven miles from S<sup>t</sup> Malo, and the inclosed extraordinary Gazette, will give you a full account, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s forces under the Command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had, by the best concerted plan, executed with the greatest ability, happily passed the Rhine on the 2<sup>nd</sup> inst.: There is the greatest reason to hope that this fortunate coincidence of events, will not fail to have the best effects in disconcerting and distracting the views of the Enemy, and distressing the French in such distant parts.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

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*Secretary Pitt to the Governors in America.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 76.]

Whitehall 18<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1758

Sir,

The King having judged proper, that Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Abercromby,<sup>1</sup> should return to England; & His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having been pleased to appoint Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst to be Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in North America, with the same powers and authorities; I am commanded to signify to you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do apply to and correspond with Maj: Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst, on all matters relating to the King's service, and that you do obey such orders, as you

<sup>1</sup> General JAMES ABERCROMBY of Glassaugh, Banffshire, Scotland, was born in the year 1706. Having obtained a Company, he was commissioned as Major in 1742, and in 1744 was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st regiment or Royal Scots. He served throughout the war in Flanders as Commissary of Musters, on General St. Clair's Staff, and on the 16th April, 1746, was promoted to the rank of Colonel in the Army, and served as Quarter-Master-General in the expedition to Port l'Orient in Brittany; in April, of the following year he was wounded in a sortie from Hulst in the Low Countries, then besieged by the French. On the 18th December, 1755, he was appointed Colonel of the 50th regiment, about to be raised for service in America; on the 31st January 1756, he was promoted to be Major-General, and on the 13th March following succeeded Colonel Ellison in the command of the 44th Regiment of Foot. He arrived in America in June, of that year, and in 1757 commanded the second brigade in the expedition of Lord Loudoun against Louisbourg. (*Supra*, p. 36, note.) On succeeding the latter in the command of the American Army, Major-General Abercromby became, ex-officio, Colonel of the 60th or Royal Americans, and immediately set about organizing an expedition against Crown Point. He was defeated at Ticonderoga by Montcalm, on the 8th July, 1758. He was thereupon suspended in his command, and returned to England; became Lieutenant-General on 31 March, 1759, and General in the army on 25th May, 1772, having previously been appointed Deputy-Governor of Stirling Castle. General Abercromby died at his seat at Glassaugh, on the 23d of April, 1781, aged 75 years. *Gentlemen's Magazine, Army Lists.* — Ed.

shall receive from him, in the same manner, as you have been directed to do with regard to the several former Commanders in Chief in N. Am:; and you will from time to time, give Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst all the assistance and lights in your power, in all matters relative to the command, with which the King has honored him.

I am particularly to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure, that in case Maj: Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst or the Commander in Chief of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> forces, shall, at any time apply to you to lay an embargo on all ships within your prov<sup>ce</sup> You do strictly comply with the said request, for so long a time as the Commander in Chief shall desire—I am. etc.

W. PITT



*Archbishop Secker to the Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[“American Colonies MS” Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 121.]

Lambeth, Sept 27. 1758.

Good Dr Johnson

I have received a very obliging letter of congratulation from you and ten more of the clergy of the provinces of New York and New Jersey: for which I desire, not knowing any other way, to return them my thanks by your means, who stand so justly at their head; and whose private affliction in the loss of your excellent son, I hope God will recompense with much public usefulness.

His providence hath permitted me to be raised, without seeking or wishing for it, to a high station: in which I have by far a greater prospect of undergoing difficulties and uneasinesses, than of doing good or enjoying comfort. But my gratitude to His Majesty and his Ministers, for their favourable opinion of me, must not and shall not be the less. And I promise myself the prayers of all pious persons, related to this nation, that I may be enabled, inclined, and directed to do my duty. In the concerns of the Society for propagating the Gospel, I have scarce taken hitherto more than a common share. Some further attention is required of me now: and I shall endeavour to give it in the best manner that I can; depending greatly on the information, advice, and assistance of the Missionaries and other Clergy in our Colonies, but on yours in particular.

There are many things, of which it is needful that the Society should have accurate intelligence; and there may be from time to time not a few, with which it will be less proper to acquaint the body in general at first, than some of the discreeter private members, or the Secretary, or me. It will be requisite to know, not only if any Missionary is guilty of gross vices, or teaches false doctrines; which last I am sorry to say we learnt, in the case of Mr Beach, from the Dissenters, not from any of our own Church: but, who are remiss, or impudent, or defective in abilities or attainments; who on the contrary are diligent, wise, judicious, learned: and likewise what Missions demand superior degrees of knowledge, temper, and conduct. We should also know, as nearly as we can, what each congregation is able to contribute, and doth contribute, to the support of its Missionary: and, which are able to support them entirely; that we may not lavish away what is intrusted with us: and, where it may be fit to establish new Missions.

I suspect that we ought to have more upon the frontiers; at least when it shall please God to bless us with a peace. For Missionaries there might counteract the artifices of the French Papists; and do considerable services, religious and political at once, amongst the neighbouring Indians; both which points the Society hath been heavily charged, on occasion of the present war, with having neglected. I fear that in some of our back settlements there are very few opportunities of public worship and instruction; and we have been accused of slighting these, whilst we have crowded with Missionaries, regions which had already a sufficient number of Pastors; and are told, with threatening intimations, that this is a breach of our Charter. We have answered, that our Charter was granted for the encouragement of an orthodox, that is a Church of England, Ministry: to which it is replied, that the evils specified in the Charter, against which this Orthodox Ministry was to be employed, are only those of Infidelity and Popery; and that we have no right to presume any other ends to have been in view than are expressed. Still indeed we can urge with justice, that both these evils will be best obviated or remedied on the principles of our Church; for the establishment of which throughout our American dominions, there are strong motives of various kinds, to wish most earnestly. But too many who call themselves of our church, have no notion of any material distinction in this respect. And our Dissenters have alleged against the Society, with remarkable zeal, amongst all who are indifferent about us, and all who are adversaries to us, a formidable multitude when put together, that we have unwarrantably changed our object, from the propagation of Christianity and Protestantism, to the propagation of one form of it, in opposition to other Protestants; and make the gaining of proselytes from these our Chief business, which was not designed to be any part of it: nor was attempted they say, I want to learn how truly, by our predecessors in the Society for many years after its erection. And this accusation hath prevailed so far over all which we say in our own defence, that not only future collections are like to be greivously hurt by it, as the last though a very good one upon the whole, was in some degree; but if it should be brought into parliament by some popular speaker, especially at one of those times of epidemic vehemence and wildness which are frequent in this Country, it may produce very disagreeable consequences to the Society; nay possibly may overturn and dissolve it. Therefore we must be extremely cautious, how we appoint new Missions, where Presbyterians or Independents have Assemblies. Indeed I do not see how we can safely appoint any in such places, unless a competent number which must not be a very small one, of persons of character, shall declare to us under their hands, that they cannot in conscience comply with the mode of worship and church Government in use there, and that they approve ours, but cannot raise a fund to support it amongst them. For then we shall be authorized to argue if we are questioned on the subject, that either we must assist them, or they must be destitute of religious Offices: the thing, which our Charter was designed to prevent.

The Dissenters in America are so closely connected with those in England; and both, with such as under colour of being friends to liberty, are many of them enemies to all Ecclesiastical Establishments, and more than a few to the Gospel Revelation; that we have need to be continually on our guard against them. And for this reason, amidst several others, the Society or some of its members, ought to have constant advices from the Clergy, in each of our Colonies, of every thing likely to forward or obstruct our great work; which it hath by no means had of late. More especially we should have early accounts of all facts, concerning which we may have cause to complain of the Dissenters, or they may think they have cause to complain of



us, that we may be ready to say and do about them what is requisite. And in these accounts all circumstances of weight must be stated fully and impartially, without omissions, alleviations, or aggravations; and we must be informed of the pleas which the other side make for themselves: else we shall often be put to shame, when they come to represent their own case. But above all, when any thing appears in print among you, reflecting on the Society here, or any part of the conduct of our Clergy abroad, from whatever Quarter it proceeds, it should be immediately sent over to us: and also the answers given to it by our American bretheren. Indeed we ought to see everything, which tends to show the real state of religion in our plantations: and I shall gladly bear the expence of your furnishing us with all books pamphlets and papers, conducive to this end. It will further be of importance, that we should understand how the principal Laymen and Dissenting Ministers are severally affected towards our Undertaking; and what their connections with men of note in this Kingdom are.

All these things will contribute, directly or indirectly, to facilitate what we must ever pray and labour for, till we obtain it, the establishment of Bishops of our Church in America. This I have long had at heart: and not only said but written a great deal in favor of it to such as I hoped might be brought off from their prejudices, either wholly or in some measure. Nor, unsuccessful as the attempts have been shall I ever abandon the scheme, as long as I live. But pushing it openly at present would certainly prove both fruitless and detrimental. They alone are judges of opportunities, who know the dispositions and influences of persons and parties: which cannot always be explained to others. The design when some years ago it seemed to be in great forwardness, received a most mortifying check, by means of an unseasonable step, which a worthy and able prelate took to promote it, and of which its opposers made their advantage. The time is not yet come for retrieving the ground then lost: though I believe the King to be well disposed; and those, whom he consults, to be, in general, either not averse, or only so through groundless fears. But in the mean while, both you and we may be seeking occasions, in friendly and seemingly accidental discourse, and with better effect as we can truly affirm, that no plan for this purpose lies now, or will be laid soon before our superiors, to shew men, that nothing was ever intended, at which Christians of any denomination have cause to be alarmed: but merely a provision that those of our Communion in the Colonies might have that complete and easy exercise of every branch of their religion which others there have, and would complain bitterly if they had not; and ought therefore from the love which they profess of universal harmless liberty, not only to consent that our people should have but join to procure it for them. The powerful objection made at home against our proposal, is, that the Dissenters abroad have terrible apprehensions of being injured by it. And in proportion as their remonstrances are vehement, our endeavours will be unpromising. Therefore the principal point is to convince them, that whatever the Bishops were, from whom their ancestors fled into the New World, those of the present age are, and have always been, most sincere patrons of extensive toleration; and that we are for sending persons of our own order into America, not to claim the least jurisdiction over them, but merely to ordain Ministers for Episcopal Congregations, without the trouble, expense, and hazard of a voyage to England; a burthen, to which if they were subjected, they would think insupportable, to confirm from time to time the Youth of those congregations; a practice which rightly or wrongly we hold in high esteem; and to exercise such discipline in those congregations only, as they exercise by ordained Presbyters or lay Elders; which discipline of ours would no more hurt them, than theirs hurts us. To these Representations they will

pay more regard, if we are careful not to give them unnecessary offence in any thing: but in every thing to oblige them; as far as there is room for it, without betraying the doctrines, the interests or the honour of our Church.

I conceived it would be best to lay before you, thus plainly and distinctly, my judgment concerning the due method of conducting the affairs of the Society. If in any article we differ, I beg you will communicate to me your opinion and your arguments for it, with the utmost freedom; and be assured, it will give me pleasure. Where we agree, you will have the goodness to lead others into the same way of thinking, and a suitable course of behaviour. Thus let us each be doing the best we can, and leave the event to God. That his blessing may be on all who serve him in the Gospel of his Son, particularly on you and your College, our Clergy in America and their people, is the fervent prayer of

Your loving brother  
(signed) THO: CANT.

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*Governor Pownall to Under Secretary Wood.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.,) No. 71.]

Boston, 30 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1758.

Sir,

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> inst: I was honored with your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of June informing me of the success of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s arms against the Enemy in Europe and Africa, and in return I have the pleasure to congratulate you on the success of His Majesty's arms in America. By the reduction of Cape Breton and its Dependencies, the uninterrupted Dominion of these Seas and the Powers of Trade are again restored to his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects; by the destruction of Fort Frontenac, and the Naval armaments and Stores at Cadaraqui, the dominion of the Lakes, which sooner or later will be the Dominion of America is restored to the British Empire: and from the prosperous way in which the Western operations now are, by the reinforcements brought by Major General Amherst, I cannot even entertain a doubt, but that the very gates of Canada (as Lake Champlain is truly called by the Indians) must be put into our hands, so that for the future the Enemy must live with us either in Peace, or not at all.

By the same Vessel in which this comes, I do myself the honor to write to M<sup>r</sup> Pitt at the desire of both houses of Legislature, expressed in their address to me, to represent the State of the Services of this Province, and the difficult circumstances under which they exert them, humbly praying M<sup>r</sup> Pitt's favorable acceptance and report of them to His Majesty. And in this matter tho' there is one point, which it is of the last importance should be known yet is such, that I could not possibly write in a public letter; It is this: the People of this province have exceeded their resources, upon hopes of the recompence promised them; if it be necessary that they should next Spring be in Arms, it will be absolutely necessary that at the same time that such call is made upon them, either that the recompence itself, or a certain assurance of it should accompany that call, without such, any call will, I fear, have little effect, but with it they may be induced (I will be answerable) to give the lead next year, with the same spirit, tho' perhaps not just in the same manner, as they did this; and if the notice thereof come first

to this Province, it would have the surest effect, for this Province ever did, ever will, and ever must, take the lead when a spirited measure is expected.

I am sensible of the delicacy and perhaps danger of my taking the liberty to write in this manner, but certain of the service it must be to His Majesty's service, that such matters should be known, I had rather run the risque, than omit the service.

Amid all my public obligations I beg leave to subscribe myself with the highest respect

Sir

Your most obedient and most humble servant

Rob<sup>t</sup> Wood Esq<sup>re</sup>

J. POWNALL.

*Secretary Pitt to the Governors in North America.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.,) No. 76.]

Circular from Secr<sup>try</sup> Pitt to the Governors of Massachuset's Bay New Hampshire Connecticut Rhode Island New York New Jersey. Whitehall 9. December 1758.

Sir,

His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having nothing so much at heart as to improve the great and important advantages gained the last campaign, as well as to repair the disappointment at Tionderoge, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts to avert, by the blessing of God on his arms, all dangers, which may threaten North America from any future irruptions of the French; and the King not doubting that all his faithful and brave subjects, there, will chearfully cooperate with, and second to the utmost, the large expence, and extraordinary succours supplied by this Kingdom for their preservation and defence and his Maj<sup>ty</sup> considering that the several provinces in particular from proximity and accessibility of situation, more immediately obnoxious to the main irruptions of the Enemy from Canada, are, of themselves, well able to furnish at least twenty thousand Men, to join a body of the King's forces, for invading Canada by the way of Crown Point, and carrying war into the heart of the Enemy's possessions; and His Maj<sup>ty</sup> not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and ardour of any of his Provinces, by making a repartition of the force to be raised by each respectively for this most important service; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do forthwith use your utmost endeavours and influence with the Council and Assembly of your province, to induce them to raise with all possible dispatch, within your Government at least as large a body of Men as they did for the last campaign, and even as many more, as the number of its inhabitants may allow; and forming the same into Regiments as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness as early as may be to march to the Rendez-vous at Albany, or such other place, as his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Commander in Chief in America shall appoint in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the King's British Forces, and under the supreme Command of his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> said Commander in Chief in America, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the campaign by the 1<sup>st</sup> of May if possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable, by attempting to make an irruption into Canada, as above,



by the way of Crown Point, and if found practicable to attack either Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said places, successively, with the whole force in one body, or at one and the same time, by a division of the Troops into separate and distinct operations, according as His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief shall, from his knowledge of the Countries thro' which the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances not to be known here, judge any of the said attempts to be practicable; and the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your prov<sup>ce</sup>, as you shall judge from their weight and credit with the people, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed and able to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the greatest number of Men; in the disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view, but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole, when joined to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief; and all Officers of the provincial forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have rank, according to their several respective Commissions, agreeable to the regulations contained in His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Warr<sup>t</sup> of the 30<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> last year.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with arms, amunition and Tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the same by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commissaries, in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces. A sufficient Train of Artillery, will also be provided at His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s expence for the operations of the Campaign, and the ship, that conveys this, carries orders for timely providing, at the Kings charge, with the utmost diligence, and in an ample manner, boats and vessels necessary for the transportation of the Army on this expedition. The whole therefore that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> expects and requires from the several Provinces, is, the levying, cloathing and pay of the Men; and on these heads, also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary attempt, the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall justly appear to merit.

It is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do, with particular diligence, immediately collect, and put into the best condition all the arms, issued last campaign, which can be, any ways, rendered serviceable or that can be found within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, in order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go, in this exigency. I am at the same time to acquaint you, that a reasonable supply of arms will be sent from England, to replace such, as may have been lost, or have become unfit for future service.

I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent by this conveyance to N. Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachuset's Bay and New Jersey; the Southern Govern<sup>ts</sup> are also directed to raise Men in the same manner to be employed in such offensive operations, as the circumstances and situation of the Enemy's Posts in those parts may point out, which it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their attention and forces, as will render the several attempts more easy and successful.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your zeal in the execution of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders on this great occasion, where the future safety and welfare of America, *and of your own province* *in particular* are at stake; and the King doubts not from your known fidelity & attachment, that you will employ yourself with the utmost application and dispatch in this urgent and decisive crisis.

the words underlined omitted to Connecticut & Rhode Island.

Altho' the knowledge of an intention to invade Canada is apprehended, not only to be unattended with any inconvenience, but necessary to be propagated in the Provinces, in order to give success to the Levies; yet as secrecy in all enterprizes on particular places, is of the greatest importance the King is persuaded, that you will use all proper discretion in communicating, by Name, any of the immediate objects before pointed out, further than to such persons, to whom it may be necessary, for the good of the service, confidentially to intrust the same.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 67. ]

New York, 13 December 1758.

My Lords,

Yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Brigadier General Forbes dated Pitt's Bourgh late Fort Duquesne the 26<sup>th</sup> November 1758 informing me that on his approach the French on the 24<sup>th</sup> of the same Month had burnt and abandoned that Fort, of which he took possession the next day; that the Enemy had made their Escape down the River part in Boats and part by land to their Forts and settlements upon the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends the Indians, whom he had previously engaged to act a neutral part, and who now seem all willing and ready to embrace His Majesty's most gracious protection; he adds that he had sent for all the Indian Chiefs, with whom a few hours will not only content them, but settle everything secure and firm. I have seen a Copy of another letter, said to be from Lieut. Colonel Bouquet<sup>1</sup> wherein he says the French seemed to have been about 400 Men at Fort Duquesne that part are gone down the Ohio, 100 by land, supposed to Presqu' Isle and 200 with the Governor M<sup>r</sup> De Lignerie to Venango, where he told the Indians, he intended to stay this winter with an intention to dislodge us in the Spring.

I congratulate Your Lordships on this favorable event as it will be productive of good consequences to the general service.

I beg leave to acquaint Your Lordships that a French letter of Marque of 26 twelve pounders which went up to Quebec last Spring, in her return towards Cape Francois on Hispaniola, stopped to cruise on this Coast and has taken 25 Vessels coming to or going from this Port, Philadelphia and Virginia among whom one with the cloathing and Baggage of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. I mention this to Your Lordships to shew the necessity of having some of the King's Ships to cruise here: The great Success this Ship has had will without doubt encourage others of the Enemy to infest these Coasts next year. I am, My Lords, Your Lordships

Most Obedient & most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES DE LANCEY.

<sup>1</sup> Brigadier-General HENRY BOUQUET was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 60th or Royal Americans, 3 January, 1756; served under Brig. Forbes in the expedition against Fort du Quesne in 1758, and became Colonel in the army on the 19th February, 1762. He distinguished himself in 1763 and 1764 by his successful expeditions against the Indians; an Historical account of that of 1764, was published in the following year. Brigadier Bouquet died at Pensacola in February, 1766, leaving behind him the character of a gallant and meritorious officer. — Ed.

*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 68. ]

New York 17<sup>th</sup> December 1758

My Lords,

Yesterday Evening the Assembly of this Province finished the business of the Sessions when I gave my assent to the several Bills prepared of which I shall give Your Lordships an account in my next. The same day the Council & Assembly presented the inclosed Representation to me desiring I would transmit it to His Majesty's Ministers. I now send one to Your Lordships, It consists of two parts, one to desire a reimbursement of their Expences for provisions in the year 1756, which we are informed Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut have already obtained, the other some consideration for the great expence the Province has been at this year and which from the Right Honorable Mr Secretary Pitt's letter of December last they had some encouragement to hope for: I can add nothing to the motives they have set forth in their Representation (the facts I beleive to be true) but only humbly to beg Your Lordships favourable Countenance and assistance whenever His Majesty shall be pleased to order the affairs of the Northern Colonies to be laid before his Parliament.

As soon as I had given my assent to the Bills I by advice of his Majesty's Council dissolved the general Assembly, for this reason, because this Assembly being to expire by the limitation of the Septennial Act sometime in February next, and his Majesty's Commands to these Provinces for the operations of the ensuing year not being yet come and probably will not get hither till about February next I apprehended there would not be time enough left for this Assembly to do the business necessary whilst they were to continue, and therefore thought it most advisable to dissolve this now and call a new one to meet in January, so as to be early enough to go through such things as shall be laid before them by His Majesty's Command, accordingly the writs for a new Election being before prepared were sealed yesterday returnable the latter end of January, so that I shall have an Assembly in being as early as his Majesty's service can call for one. I am with the greatest Regard, My Lords,

Your Lordships most obedient

&amp; most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

I inclose the titles of  
the Acts passed the 16<sup>th</sup>

Right Honorable  
Lords Commissioners for Trade &c

*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., p. 140. ]

To Ja<sup>s</sup> De Lancey Esq<sup>r</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

We have had under our consideration an Act passed by the Legislature of the province of New York in July 1755, during Your Administration as Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of that province, intituled :



*An Act for the more easy collecting His Majesty's Quit-Rents, in the Colony of New York, and for partition of Lands in order thereto.*

We shall not now enter into any remarks upon the particular provisions of this Law, or its general propriety or impropriety, which we shall humbly submit to His Majesty, when we make our Represent<sup>tn</sup> upon it; but the duty of our station obliges us to say, that your having given your assent to a Law of this kind, which so materially relates to and may so greatly affect His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Rights and Revenue, without a clause suspending its execution until His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> pleasure could be known, and more especially, as the Crown had repeatedly signified its disapprobation of Laws to the same purport and effect passed at different periods, is in our opinion a deviation from your duty in the trust devolved upon you, and a departure from the Directions of His Majesty's Instructions, by which you are ordered to regulate your conduct in the execution of that Trust. We are — ettc.

SOAME JENYNS  
W. G. HAMILTON  
T. PELHAM  
W<sup>m</sup> SLOPER.

19 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1758.

*Secretary Pitt to the Governors of North America.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 76.]

Secretary Pitt to the Governors in N<sup>o</sup>. America except Georgia, Nova Scotia, & Newfoundland. Whitehall. 29. Dec<sup>r</sup> 1758.

Sir,

In transmitting to you the inclosed Duplicate of my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst: I have the King's particular commands to renew and enforce, in the strongest manner, the necessity of a punctual compliance with the orders therein contained; and you will accordingly urge, in the most expressive terms, to the Council and Assembly of your Province, the importance of their exerting themselves in the present critical and decisive moment, in which, their own interests and security are so nearly concerned, that It would seem superfluous to add the further motives of their duty to the King, and of the gratitude they owe to this Country, for the very great expence, and succours, supplied for their immediate defence, and for the future safety of all their rights and possessions in America; & the Levying the Men, to be furnished by the the several Provinces, without any delay, and in such time, that they may not fail to be at the Rendez-vous that shall be appointed for them, so as to be ready to commence the operations by the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, is so essential, as well for preventing the extraordinary efforts, which, it is supposed, the Enemy is preparing to make, to stop the further progress of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> arms in America, as for pushing, with success, the ensuing Campaign; that it is the King's pleasure, that you do employ the utmost diligence, & every means in your power, to forward, and expedite this service in the most effectual manner, and to avoid any disappointment happening from the slowness of the Levies, or from the Men, who shall be raised, not proceeding in due time to the Rendez-vous.

to be omitted to the  
Govr of Massachu-  
setts Bay

With regard to the expences, incurred by your province, for the last Campaign,

I am further to acquaint you, that as soon as the agents of the respective provinces, duely authorised, shall produce the necessary documents, the same will, without delay, be recommended to Parliament, for a reasonable compensation, agreeable to the gracious assurances, which the King was pleased to allow me to give, in my letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> last year.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

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*Secretary Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 76.]

Whitehall Dec<sup>r</sup> 29. 1758.

Sir,

His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having nothing so much at heart, as to improve the great and important advantages gained the last Campaign, as well as to repair the disappointment at Ticonderoga, &, by the most vigorous and decisive efforts, to establish, by the blessing of God on His Arms, His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s just and indubitable rights, and to avert all future Dangers to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects in N<sup>o</sup> America; I am now to acquaint you, that the King has come to a resolution to allot an adequate proportion of his Forces in N<sup>o</sup> America amounting (as you will see by the inclosed paper, containing the destination of the Troops) to 12005 Men, to make an attack upon Quebeck, by the River St Lawrence, against which place they are to proceed from Louisbourg, as early in the year, as on, or about, the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, if the season shall happen to permit, under the direction of Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe, whom the King has appointed for the Command of that operation and who will have the rank of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> for that expedition only; And I am to signify to you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do cause the several Regiments, appointed by the said list, to be employed accordingly on that service, without making any change therein, unless some alteration should be found absolutely necessary, from extraordinary inconvenience, that might otherwise arise to the service, from the unforeseen circumstances or situation of any particular Reg<sup>t</sup> or Reg<sup>ts</sup> in the allotment, herein transmitted, of the forces destined for the above operation; and, in case it should be found absolutely necessary to change any Reg<sup>t</sup> or Reg<sup>ts</sup> in the said allotment, you are to take especial care, that, notwithstanding any such change of particular corps, the total of regular forces prescribed and fixed for this service, do amount to the full number, allotted in the inclosed paper, for the same. It is also the King's pleasure, that you do forthwith cause such part of the Troops above mentioned, except Gen<sup>l</sup> Brag's Regiment<sup>1</sup> which is already at Louisburg, to be so disposed, that they may be ready, and embarked, at New York, Boston, Halifax or such other place, as shall be most convenient, on board the transports, which shall be provided for that purpose, in such time, as that all the troops above named for this service, may be rendezvoused at Cape Breton, as nearly as may be, on, or about the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, if the season shall happen to permit, and you will without loss of time, dispatch all necessary

<sup>1</sup> The 28th Regiment of Foot, of which PHILIP BRAGG was appointed Colonel as early as October, 1734. He became Major-General 5 July 1743; Lieutenant-General 10 August, 1757, and died in 1759. He did not serve in America. — ED.

orders and in particular, to the Gov<sup>r</sup> or Commander in Chief at Halifax, and to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Louisburg, with regard to any troops in their respective Departments, destined for this expedition, as by the inclosed state of the Troops, in order, that no disappointment may happen, in proceeding from Louisburg, in case the season permits, by the River St Lawrence, to Quebeck, on, or about the 7<sup>th</sup> of May as directed in the former part of this letter; and you will not fail to order, forthwith all proper provision, (and particularly fresh provision as far as may be) to be immediately procured for the subsistence and refreshment of the Troops, during the stay they may happen to make at Cape Breton, the place appointed for their Rendezvous, and that all the preparations there and elsewhere, for this service, be quicken'd and pressed, with the utmost diligence. And you will particularly direct, that the Battering Train, and the stores of every kind thereunto belonging, (which by your letter of Aug: 28<sup>th</sup> you informed me, was sent to Halifax, under the Command of Col<sup>l</sup> Williamson, and which, I am now informed, by the Office of Ordnance, has been sent to Boston) be forthwith put into most perfect repair & order, for immediate service, so as the same may be in readiness to be employed in the expedition against Quebeck, as early as is already pointed out in this letter; and the necessary additions, to the said Train and Stores, are now preparing, & will shortly be sent from England. You will also direct Col<sup>l</sup> Williamson,<sup>1</sup> and the Chief Engineer, to obey all such orders, as he or they shall receive from the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> and Board of Ordnance, with regard to the detaching part of the Royal Reg<sup>t</sup> of Artillery & Engineers on this expedition, and you are to cause the Battering train and stores, together with three Companies of the Royal Reg<sup>t</sup> of Artillery to be embark'd, in such manner as you shall judge proper, and sent to Louisburg, so as to be there as near as may be by the 20<sup>th</sup> of April.

Twenty thousand Tons of Transport vessels are actually preparing here, and will shortly proceed to New York, to be in readiness to convey the Troops above mentioned to Louisburg, from such Ports, and in such Divisions, as you shall judge most expedient for the service proposed.

But to prevent, as far as possible any delays or Disappointments happening in this essential service, from a deficiency in the Transports to be sent from England, either on account of their late arrival from England, or from any of the same being rendered, thro' accidents during their voyage, unfit, when they arrive, for immediate service; it is the King's pleasure that you do forthwith take up, at such place or places, as you shall judge proper in N<sup>o</sup> America, six thousand Tons of transport Vessels, or any additional quantity, that you shall find necessary, for the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and the other requisites, to be employed in the expedition up the River St Lawrence, and you will order the said Vessels to be fitted and prepared, in every respect, and ready, wherever you shall direct, for the embarkation of the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and all other requisites for this service. And that you may not fail in being able timely to procure a sufficient quantity of transports, I am particularly to recommend it to you, and you are hereby directed to order an embargo to be laid, as soon as necessary, on all ships in the different ports of the respective Provinces in N<sup>o</sup> America, the Gov<sup>rs</sup> of which were directed by my letter of Sept<sup>r</sup> 18 (copy of which was transmitted to you) to comply with any application from you for this purpose; and you will direct the said Embargo to continue until such time as all the transport Vessels, with the Troops, the Train, the stores and all other

<sup>1</sup> GEORGE WILLIAMSON became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Artillery on 3d February, 1757, and Colonel-Commandant 29 November, 1759. He was raised to the rank of Major-General 10th July, 1762, and Lieutenant-General 25th May, 1772. He died in 1781. *Army Lists*. — Ed.



requisites for the expedition against Quebeck shall be actually sail'd for their destination ; but I am persuaded, you will, of yourself, see the necessity of not mentioning the above circumstance in your orders to the Gov<sup>rs</sup> to lay such an Embargo ; and as it may possibly happen notwithstanding the greatest care to the contrary, that all the transports necessary for conveying the Troops, Train and Stores, may not be altogether ready so nearly at the same time as is to be wished ; I am to signify to you, that it is the King's pleasure, that you do send the above forces, to Louisbourg (so as that they may be there by the time above directed) in such Divisions as you shall judge proper, without making the whole of this important service wait, on account of some part only of the Troops, destined for the same, not being quite ready ; and in that case, such remaining part thereof is to be sent, with all expedition, as soon after as possible, so as to join the main body, assembled at Cape Breton for the service before directed.

His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to keep up and raise, as considerable a number of Rangers, as may be practicable, for the various operations of the Campaign ; and in particular, that you do not fail to cause a body of the said Rangers amounting to not less than 600, to be sent with the forces to Cape Breton, for the expedition to Quebeck. but at the same time, it is His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> pleasure, that you shall not, on account of the said Rangers, should they not happen to be ready, detain the Troops from repairing with all expedition, to their destination, as directed, and you are to order the said Rangers, when ready, to follow and join the Troops as soon after as possible.

I am also to signify to you His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> further pleasure, that you do forthwith take the proper steps to engage Colonel Gridley<sup>1</sup> (whom you appointed on the death of Mr Meserve, to command the Carpenters at the siege of Louisburg) or such other Officer as you shall think proper, to collect the number of eighty Carpenters, and to proceed with them, without loss of time, to Cape Breton, in order that the said Carpenters may be employed under the Command of Colonel Gridley, on such works, as shall be necessary for the operations of the Troops in the above expedition, or in such other manner, as the Commander in Chief of the King's Troops on that expedition shall judge proper ; and in case you shall think it expedient, you will endeavour to prevail on Mr Gridley, to decline accepting any Command in the Troops of his Province, the ensuing Campaign, in order that his whole time and attention, may be employed on the above most essential service.

It having been represented, that a number of schooners and sloops together with whaleboats will be of the greatest utility to the operations to be undertaken by the way of the River St Lawrence ; It is the King's pleasure, that you do immediately cause a number of schooners & sloops, not less than 40, as far as may be, to be provided, in the most expeditious manner, and held in readiness at New York, for the service of the River St Lawrence, and 70 Whaleboats, to be built, with the utmost diligence, which schooners, Sloops and Whaleboats, are to be sent to Louisbourg, for the same service, and you will exert every means in your power to forward this essential service, in such manner, that the above number of Schooners, Sloops and Whaleboats, may not fail on any pretence whatever, to be finished by the 1<sup>st</sup> April, at the latest, & that they be, in every respect, ready, and that they do proceed to Louisburg

<sup>1</sup> Colonel RICHARD GRIDLEY was born in Boston in the year 1711, and in 1746 was Engineer in the reduction of Louisburgh. In 1755, he again entered the army as Chief Engineer and Colonel of Provincials, and served in the expedition against Crown Point, in 1756 ; also under General Amherst, in 1758, and was with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. At the commencement of the American Revolution, he was appointed Chief Engineer, and skillfully laid out the works on Breed's Hill, the day before the battle of the 17th June, 1775, in which he was wounded. He died at Stoughton, June 20, 1796, aged 84 years. *Allen.*

with the Troops ordered to assemble there; you will see, by the inclosed copy of my letter to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, that he has the strongest orders, to give you all possible assistance, in the execution of this very necessary work, and you will accordingly concert with him, the proper measures for the punctual and full performance of the said service, so as that no delay or disappointment may happen therein.

You will observe in the allotment herewith transmitted to you, of the forces to be employed ag<sup>t</sup> Quebeck, that the 25<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> is to be taken from the Garrison of Louisburg; and in order to provide for the security of that most important place, during the absence of the said Regiment, it is the King's pleasure, that you do employ all proper means in order that a Battalion of the Provincials, consisting of not less than 1000 Men, may, in case it be consistent with the terms of their enlistments, as well as with their inclinations, repair to Louisburg, and there remain in Garrison, on the express condition of being relieved, at the end of the Campaign, by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s regular forces; and you will also take proper and effectual measures for the safety and defence of the Town of Halifax, and the Province of Nova Scotia, during the absence of such part of the Troops, now there, and which are destined for the expedition above mentioned.

I come now to that part of the operations for the ensuing Campaign, in N<sup>o</sup> America, which are to be under your own immediate direction, and which, from their importance difficulty & extent, as well as from the correspondence and intercourse that they will constantly demand with the several Governors, throughout the whole of North America, must necessarily require the presence of the Officer on the Continent of America, vested with the Command in Chief of the King's forces there, by his Commission under the great seal; and His Maj<sup>ty</sup> hopes, from your distinguished zeal for the honor of His Arms, and your known abilities and experience, that the execution of a plan of operations of such weight, and formed at such expence for an irruption into Canada, will be attended with a happier and more honorable event than heretofore.

I am therefore to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do immediately concert the properest measures, for pushing the operations of the Campaign with the utmost vigour, early in the year, by an invasion of Canada, with such part, as you shall judge proper, of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops (not allotted as above for the expedition against Quebeck) in conjunction with such a numerous body of the Forces of the Northern provinces, as you will have seen by the copy of my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst to the Gov<sup>rs</sup> thereof, it is hoped, will, in consequence of those pressing orders to that effect, which are renewed and enforced in the strongest manner by my letter of this date (copy of which I now inclose) be ready to join in this most important service, & to this great end, it is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure that you do attempt an invasion of Canada, by the way of Crown point, or La Galette, or both, according as you shall judge practicable, and proceed, if practicable, and attack Montreal or Quebeck, or both of the said places successively with such of the forces, as shall remain under your own immediate direction, in one body, or at one and the same time, by a division of the said forces with separate and distinct operations, according as you shall, from your knowledge of the Countries, thro' which the War is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances, not to be known here, judge all, or any of the said attempts to be practicable. It is also the King's pleasure, that you should give a due attention to the Lake Ontario and facilitate, as far as possible, consistent with other main operations of the Campaign, the re-establishment of the important post of Oswego, a place so highly essential to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s possessions in North America in time of peace, as well as war; and you will accordingly not fail to concert with the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, within whose



province Oswego is situated, all necessary and effectual measures, for re-establishing that Post in the course of the ensuing year, and for building a sufficient and proper Fort for the security & defence thereof, and the inclosed copy of my letter to Mr De Lancey, will shew you, that he has similar orders to concert with, and assist you, in the execution of this very important service. It were much to be wished, that any operations on the side of lake Ontario could be pushed on as far as Niagara, and that you may find it practicable to set on foot some enterprize against the Fort there, the success of which would so greatly contribute to establish the uninterrupted dominion of that Lake, and, at the same time, effectually cut off the communication between Canada, and the French settlements to the South; and the utility and importance of such an enterprize against Niagara is, of itself so apparent, that I am persuaded, it is unnecessary to add any thing to enforce your giving all proper attention to the same, as far as the great and main objects of the campaign shall permit.

You are already by my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst directed to exert your utmost endeavours to incite & encourage the several provinces to the full and due execution of the King's commands, and the success of the ensuing decisive campaign, depends so much on commencing the several operations as early as shall be practicable, and thereby preventing the last efforts, there is reason to suppose the Enemy is preparing to make, to save their possessions in N<sup>o</sup> America from total ruin, that you cannot be too urgent with the Provinces to quicken and expedite the levies, so as that the said Provincial Troops may be assembled at the Rendez-vous, and be, in every respect, ready, in conjunction with the regular forces, to open the Campaign by the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, as nothing can contribute so much to the success of the operations to be undertaken, in different parts of N<sup>o</sup> America, and particularly of the attempt on Quebeck, as putting the forces early in motion, on the other frontiers of Canada, and thereby distracting the Enemy and obliging them to divide their strength.

With regard to the Southern operations, I am to signify to you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do continue Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Forbes in that Command, or if his health shall not permit him to undertake that service, that you do appoint such other officer as you shall think proper to command such Forces as you shall judge proper to leave in the southern provinces, & that Brigadier Forbes, or such other Officer to proceed, without loss of time, to Pennsylvania, or such other of the southern provinces, as shall be thought most expedient in order to concert any operations, to be undertaken by the said Troops, who, in conjunction with the Forces, directed by my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst to the Southern Gov<sup>rs</sup> to be raised in those Provinces, are to be employed, under the Command of Brigadier Forbes, or such Officer whom you shall appoint as above, or any such offensive operations as you shall judge most expedient for annoying the Enemy, & most efficacious towards removing all future dangers from the frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the continent of America.

You will have observed by my letters to the Gov<sup>rs</sup> that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has been pleased to promise, that His Commissaries shall issue provisions to the Men, raised by the several provinces, in the same proportion and manner, as is done to the rest of the King's forces, I am therefore to signify to you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do give the necessary directions to all the Commissaries, and other Officers, who may have the charge of the Provisions, to furnish the said Men, with the same, in the proportion and manner above mentioned. For which purpose the contractors have received directions to have constantly in store, a sufficient quantity of provisions as well for the regular National Troops, as for the Provincials, which shall be raised in consequence of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders; and it is the King's pleasure that you should



keep a particular account of the same, and that no provisions should be delivered to the Provincial Troops, but in consequence of an order from you, or from the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces, in those parts, where the said provisions may be wanted; and you will in case of necessity, draw Bills for any extraordinary expences incurred for this service. And I am here particularly to recommend it to you, as a principal means to preserve the health of the Men, that you do cause them to be furnished with fresh meat whenever the situation and circumstances of the Troops shall make the same any ways practicable; and you will take care, that for so long time as fresh meat shall be provided for the Forces, the inclosed clause of the Contract be duely observed on the part of the Contractors, or their Agents, and that the delivery of provisions of Beef and Pork by the Contractors, be accordingly in part, or in the whole suspended, and a proportionable allowance only made for the several other species, as shall be agreed upon & certified by you.

Such a considerable number of Arms and Tents, have been already sent to North America, that it is hoped, a sufficient quantity will be found there for the service of the next Campaign; I am, however, to acquaint you, that the King has been pleased to order 10,000 Arms & 6000 tents, to be forthwith sent to New York for the service in North America, which you will cause to be distributed according as the same shall be necessary.

In my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst you were directed to refit and build Boats for the service of the Troops on the Lakes, and I am now to signify to you, the King's pleasure, that you do procure such a number of Battoe Men, as you shall judge necessary for the boats attending the Troops, and Men sufficient for navigating the vessels.

The King having been pleased to direct that the two Engineers and the officers to act as Engineers, as mentioned in the inclosed list, should be employed on the Expedition against Quebeck, you will give the necessary orders for the said Engineers and Officers to repair, in due time, to Louisburg, and to serve accordingly under the command of Major General Wolfe.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

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*Report of the Right Reverend Dr. Sherlock on the Church in the Colonies.*

[ Plantations General Entries, ( B. T. ) XVI., p. 9. ]

To the KING in Council

Some considerations humbly offered by Thomas Bishop of London relating to Ecclesiastical Government in His Majesty's Dominions in America.

The first Grant the Crown made of lands in America was dated the 10<sup>th</sup> April in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of James the 1<sup>st</sup> anno 1606 and made to the two Virginia Companies.

The King grants that each of them should have a Council, w<sup>ch</sup> sho<sup>d</sup> govern and order all matters & causes within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws Ordinances and Instructions as sho<sup>d</sup> in that behalf be given and signed by His Majesty's hand or sign manual & pass under the Privy Seal of England.

1606. On the 20<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1606 the King in pursuance of the right reserved to himself, gave divers orders under his Sign manuell and the Privy Seal, one of which was as follows: "That  
The Rites & Doctrine of the Church of England established in yo Plantations. "the President Council and Ministers should provide that the true word and  
 "service of God should be preached planted and used, according to the Rites and  
 "Doctrin of the Church of England."

1609. The second grant was made separately to the first Virginia Company dated May 23<sup>d</sup> in the 7<sup>th</sup> of the said King 1609 w<sup>ch</sup> orders that there sho<sup>d</sup> be a Council resident here and gives them power to establish *all manner* of laws concerning the governm<sup>t</sup> of the said Colony, with power to punish, pardon, &<sup>c</sup> according to such ordinances constitutions &<sup>c</sup> as by such Council should be established; so always as the *said Ordinances* &<sup>c</sup> as near as conveniently might be agreeable to the *Laws, Statutes, Government and Policy of the Realm*.

1620. The third Grant was made to the 2<sup>d</sup> Virginia Company (then called the Council at Plymouth) and bears date Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> James I. Anno 1620, and is to the same effect with the former, with this addition that all persons who sho<sup>d</sup> pass in any voiage to the said country sho<sup>d</sup> take the *Oath of Supremacy*, which was meant to exclude Papists from settling in America.

The affairs of the Company went on but slowly, & after twelve years and a great sum of money spent, the Colony consisted but of 600 persons, men women and children. Under these circumstances nothing was done and nothing could be expected to be done towards settling the Church there.

In 1620. there were but five Clergymen in the Plantations. The Comp<sup>y</sup> had ordered an 100 acres in each of their burroughs (w<sup>ch</sup> were in number eleven) to be set apart for a glebe, and for a further maintenance laid upon every planter a certain portion of tobacco to be paid to the Minister.

The next care was to get more Clergymen to go abroad to the Plantations, and this was to be provided for by the Virginia Council that sat at London. The *Bishop of London* was a great promoter of the Plantations and had collected and paid in £1000 towards the College in Virginia, and was himself one of the Council for Virginia. The Company therefore, as  
The Company require the Bp. of Londons help in procuring Ministers. it was natural for them to do, applied to the Bishop of London, a member of their own Society, for his help and assistance in procuring Ministers. And this is the first instance I meet with of the Bp. of London's concern in the Ecclesiastical affairs of the Plantations.

1624 But so little was done towards settling the Church that it appears by the report of the General Assembly of Virginia in the year 1624. that divers of those who acted as Ministers *had no Orders*. In this Assembly there passed laws consisting of 35 articles. The first seven related to the Church and Ministry, but not the least intimation that the Bp. of London had any authority or jurisdiction there.

By Proclamation 15<sup>th</sup> July 1624. the Virginia Company &<sup>c</sup> was suppressed; and from that time the King has appointed Governors.

1626. S<sup>r</sup> George Yardly was appointed Governor of Virginia; his instructions bear date 19<sup>th</sup> April 1626. The 2<sup>d</sup> Article relates to religion and is as follows:—

That in the first place you be careful, "That Almighty God may be duly and daily served, both by your self and the people under your charge, which may draw down a blessing on all your endeavours."

1650. S<sup>r</sup> William Berkely was Governor. His instructions bear date 1650. The first article relates to Religion:—

That in the first place you be careful Almighty God be duly and daily served, *according to the form of Religion established in the Church of England.*

Church of England  
established in Vir-  
ginia

“Let every Congregation have an able Minister, build for him a convenient Parsonage House with 200 acres of glebe land. Suffer no innovation in matters of religion, and be careful to appoint sufficient and conformable Ministers to each congregation.”

1675. At a Committee of Trade and Plantations 21<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1675. I find the following entry:—

Bp. of London's  
Jurisdiction.

“Their Lordships desire that enquiry be made touching the Jurisdiction which the Bp. of London hath over the Foreign Plantations; in order to w<sup>ch</sup> see the Charter of Virginia and New England, or by any other order since, but most probably about the year 1629. when Bp. Laud was in Chief Authority.”

What gave rise to this inquiry I cannot find, but as there was nothing relating to this jurisdiction to be found, there does not appear any return to be made to this Enquiry. And the part allotted to the Bp. of London in the next Governor's instructions shows that the Bp. was not thought to have any *jurisdiction*; for he has nothing but a mere Ministerial Office appointed him, as appears in Lord Culpepers Instructions in 1679.

1679. Thomas Lord Culpeper was Govern<sup>r</sup> of Virginia. His instructions bear date 6<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1679. The 15<sup>th</sup> articles decrees that God be duly served, *The Book of Common Prayer as is now established, read each Sunday and Holy Day, and the Blessed Sacrament administred according to the rules of the Church of England.*

Bp. of London to  
certify the conform-  
ity of Ministers.

The 16<sup>th</sup> article “And our will and pleasure is that no Minister be preferr'd by you, to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that Our Colony *without a Certificate from the Lord Bp. of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine of the Church of England.*”

#### JAMAICA.

1661. Lord Windsor was Governor of Jamaica; his instructions bear date March 21<sup>st</sup> 1661.

The 11<sup>th</sup> article concerns religion:—“You are to give the best encouragement you can to such conformable Ministers of the Gospel as now are or shall come and be sent unto you. That Christianity & the Protestant Religion *according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England*, may have a due reverence and exercise among you.”

1681. S<sup>t</sup> Thomas Lynch was Governor. His instructions bear date 1681. The 35<sup>th</sup> Article relates to religion:—“Our will and pleasure is that no Minister be preferr'd by you *without a Certificate from the Bp. of London*, of his being conformable to the Doctrine of the Church of England.”

And you are to enquire whether any Minister preaches or administers the Sacrament without being in *due Orders*; whereof you are to give notice to the Bp. of London.

What the Bp. of London could do upon such notice, does not appear. The Plantations being no part of his Diocese, nor had he any authority to act there.

1685. At the Committee of Trade 15<sup>th</sup> April 1685. a letter from the Bp. of London proposing, 1<sup>st</sup> “That he may have all *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* in the West Indies, excepting the disposal of parishes, licences for Marriage & Probate of Wills.

2<sup>d</sup> “That no Schoolmaster coming from England, be received without Licence from His Lordship, or from other His Majesty's Plantations without they take the Governor's licence.

3<sup>rd</sup> “That orders may be given for establishing the Donation of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews Parish in Jamaica.”



"Whereupon their Lordships agree to take these proposals into further consideration when  
"my Lord Bp. of London shall be present."

At the Committee of Trade the 27 Apr. 1685.

"The Proposals from the Bp. of London contain'd in a letter to Mr Blathwayt are again  
"read, His Lordship being present; which being approved, their Lordships agree to move His  
"Majesty that the Governors of His Majesty's Plantations have instructions according to the  
"two first particulars, and that a clause be added to S<sup>r</sup> Philip Howard's instructions, to that  
"effect; as also for applying the Donation at S<sup>t</sup> Andrews Parish in Jamaica to the  
"proper Uses."

In consequence of this application from the Bp. and the Resolution of the Board, a clause  
was added in the same year in S<sup>r</sup> Philip Howards instructions, as follows:—

And our will and pleasure is, that *no Minister be preferr'd* by you, to any Ecclesiastical benefice,  
*without a certificate from the R<sup>t</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> the Bp. of London*, of his conforming to the *Doctrine and*  
*Discipline of the Church of England.*

"*And to the end the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the s<sup>d</sup> Bp. of London may take place in that our*  
*Island, as far as conveniently may be, we do think it fit that you give all countenance and encouragm<sup>t</sup>*  
*in the exercise of the same excepting only* the Collating to Benefices, granting licences for Marriage,  
"and Probate of Wills, which we have reserved to you our Governor and the Commander in  
"Chief for the time being.

And we do further direct that no Schoolmaster be hence forward permitted *to come from*  
*England* and to keep school within that our Island, *without the licence of the said Bishop.*"

The like Instructions were given to other Governors.

Under this authority Bishop Compton,<sup>1</sup> Bp Robinson,<sup>2</sup> and Bp. Gibson<sup>3</sup> for the first two or  
three years after he was promoted to the See of London, exercised the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*  
in the Plantations; with exception to the Collation of Benefices, Marriage Licences & Probate  
of Wills w<sup>ch</sup> were reserv'd to the Governors at the respective Colonies.

1725. In the year 1725 Bp. Gibson desirous of having a more explicit authority and direction  
from the Crown, for the exercise of the said Jurisdiction, applied to the King in Council for  
that purpose. The Petition was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor General & by their  
report their opinion appears to be that the authority by w<sup>ch</sup> the Bps. of London had acted in  
y<sup>e</sup> Plantacōns was insufficient, and that the Ecclial Jurisdiction in America did belong neither  
*to the Bishop of London*, nor to *any Bp. in England* but was solely in the Crown in virtue of the  
*Supremacy*, and that the most proper way of granting to any person the exercise of such  
jurisdiction, was by Patent under the Broad Seal. Accordingly, a Patent was granted to  
D<sup>r</sup> Gibson late Bp. of London, but it was granted to him *Personally* & not to him as Bp. of  
London and his successors; so that the Patent expired with him and the Jurisdiction is now  
solely in His Majesty.

By the grant to D<sup>r</sup> Gibson his exercise of the Jurisdiction was subjected to certain limitations  
and restraints, and 'tis not clear what powers he had in virtue of the s<sup>d</sup> grant. The Patent  
gives him authority by himself or Commissaries (1) *To visit* all Churches in which the Rites

<sup>1</sup> HENRY COMPTON, was consecrated bishop of Oxford, April 18th, 1674, and translated to London, in 1675.

<sup>2</sup> JOHN ROBINSON, was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, 19th of November, 1710, and succeeded Bishop Compton, in the see  
of London, 1718.

<sup>3</sup> EDMUND GIBSON, was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, February 12, 1715, and succeeded Bishop Robinson, in the see of  
London, in 1723. He died in 1748. *Percival's Apostolic Succession.* — Ed.

& Liturgy of the Church of England were used. (2) To *Cite* all Rectors Curates and Incumbents and all Priests and Deacons in *Church of England Orders*, *et non alias quascunque personas*, cum omni et omnimodo jurisdictione potestate et coercione ecclesiasticâ, in premissis requisit. and to enquire *by Witnesses duly sworn* into their morals &c with power to *Administer* Oaths in the Ecclesiastical Court, and to Correct & punish the said Rectors &c by suspension excommunication &c (3) A power to appoint Commissaries for the exercise of this Jurisdiction and to remove them at pleasure. (4) An appeal is given, to all who shall find themselves aggrieved by any sentence, before the Great Officers of State in England

#### Observations on this Patent.

1. A power is given to *visit all churches*, but he has no power to *cite* the Churchwardens or any of the Parishioners to appear; and should any of them appear voluntarily he has no right to give them any orders relating to the Church or Church affairs; his whole power and jurisdiction being confined to the Clergy only.

2. He has power to cite all Priests and Deacons & to examine into their conduct *provided they have Church of England Orders*; but if a man should counterfeit Episcopal Orders and administer the Sacraments, he has no power to proceed ag<sup>st</sup> him

3. He has power to examine into the Conduct of the Clergy, upon the *Oath of Witnesses*, and power to *administer Oaths* for the purpose; but he has no power to *cite* any man, at least no *Layman* to give testimony before him: yet the Laymen may be many times necessary witnesses as in such cases; and they see daily how their Curate behaves, which other Clergymen, who serve distant parishes can give no account of.

4. The Bishop has power to appoint Commissaries to exercise such jurisdiction as is granted him by the Patent, and as the Bp. of London cannot be supposed to reside in America, he can do nothing by himself, as soon as he has appointed Commissaries, the Bishop can neither direct, nor correct, their judgment. No appeal lyes to the Bp. nor indeed can there; for in judgment of Law, the Commissary's Sentence is the Bp's sentence, and the Appeal must go to a higher Court.

But this shows at the same time how very improper it is to give such power to a Bp. of England, which he cannot execute, but must be obliged to give it over to somebody else, as soon as he has it. So that the Bp. receiving with one hand what he must necessarily give away with the other, remains himself a Cypher without any authority power or influence.

If these observations are well founded the Bishop's jurisdiction, as under the Patent, seems to be defective.

But the Episcopal Churches in America suffer greater hardships still, by being under a Bishop who never can reside among them. There are some things necessary to such Churches w<sup>ch</sup> the Bp. only can do himself. Such for instance are *Confirmation* and *Ordination*, which are not acts of jurisdiction or transferable to Commissaries, but are acts peculiar to the *Episcopal Order* and the Episcopal Churches abroad are *totally* deprived of Confirmation. As to Orders, since the Bp. *only* can give them, there is not in this vast tract of land, one who can ordain Ministers for the Church of England. In which respect the Dissenters of all kinds, upon the mere foot of Toleration are in a better case: for they all appoint Ministers in their own way, and were the Dissenters in New England and elsewhere in America, to send all their Ministers to be ordained by their Brethren in England, they wo<sup>d</sup> think it a great hardship and inconsistent with the rights they claim by Toleration.



From these considerations it appears that several Colonies abroad where the Church of England is established, are, with respect to their religious principles, put under great difficulties. They are absolutely deprived of confirmation for all their youth and children, and they are oftentimes ill supply'd with Ministers to perform other duties of religion among them; for as the families settled in the country and which are able to provide otherwise for their children, will not send their Children at a great expence and hazard to be ordain'd in England, where they often (as by experience has been found) catch the Small Pox, a distemper more fatal to them than to others, and several who have come over hither for Orders have dyed here of this disease. In consequence of this the Plantations are furnished with such Ministers from hence, as can be prevail'd upon to go among them, or such as are forced through necessity to seek a maintenance in a foreign country. And they are chiefly *Scotch & Irish* who offer themselves for this service; and there is reason to apprehend that the Scotch Episcopal Clergy who cannot be employed at home, may think of settling in the Plantations; which may be attended with bad consequences in regard to the government.

The Churches abroad of the Episcopal Communion have been under a necessity of submitting to these difficulties; for as Protestants they cannot apply to Popish Bishops for Confirmation or Orders; and as Episcopal Churches they could resort for Orders only to English or Irish Bishops. But since the Moravians have been recognized by Parliam<sup>t</sup> to be a Protestant Episcopal Church and have liberty to settle in His Majesty's American Dominions, should the Churches abroad admit of Ordination by Moravian Bps. it may be attended by consequences not easily foreseen, but easily prevented by suffering the Episcopal Churches of England in America to have one or more Suffragan Bishops residing among them.

As the Dissenters at home and abroad may possibly think themselves concern'd in this question; it is necessary to observe that Bps. abroad are not desired in behalf of an *inconsiderable* party there, and that the Independents and other Dissenters do by no means (as the case is sometimes mistaken to be) make the body of the Inhabitants in His Majesty's American Dominions. But previously to stating how the fact is at present, it is proper to recollect how the law stands with respect to the establishment of the Church of England in America, according to the royal Charters and Instructions given to the King's Governors abroad herein before mentioned.

For the Church of England being establish'd in America, the Independents and other Dissenters who went to settle in New England, co<sup>d</sup> only have a Toleration and in fact they had no more, as appears by their several Charters, and more particularly in Rhode Island Charter, granted in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Cha<sup>s</sup> II<sup>nd</sup>.

Thus stands the right of the Church of England in America. And in fact, at least one half of the Plantations are of the established Church, and have built Churches and Minister's houses and have by *laws of their respective Assemblies* (confirm'd by the Crown) provided maintenance for Church of England Clergy, & no others are capable of having benefices among them.

This is the case of S<sup>o</sup> Carolina, N<sup>o</sup> Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antegoa Nevis, and the rest of the Caribbee Islands.

On the other side—Pennsylvania is in the hands and under the governm<sup>t</sup> of the Quakers, and New England and the adjoining Colonies are in the hands of the Independents. But in some of them are great members of Churchmen.

It is sometimes said that it wo<sup>d</sup> be hard to send Bps: among the Dissenters in America; many of whom left their own Country to get from under their power.



If Bps. were proposed to be established in Pensilvania and New England, with *Coercive Powers*, there wo<sup>d</sup> be some colour in the complaint. But as it never has been propos'd to settle Bps. in those Colonies, nor in any other Colonies, with *Coercive* powers, there is no ground for it. And whatever prejudices the Independents of New England may have to Bps. themselves, surely it can never be thought reasonable that because the Northern end of America is possessed chiefly by the Independents, therefore the Southern and Midland parts and the Islands, who profess the Established Religion of England and are Episcopal Churches, sho<sup>d</sup> be denyed the benefit of Episcopal administration, which according to their religious principles they think necessary to them.

If the Supremacy of the Crown be (as it has been often styled) a rich jewel in the Crown of England, it should be considered that the Supremacy is maintained and obeyed by the *Establish'd Church only*. Dissenters of all kinds are discharged from all regard to it, and are at full liberty to act for themselves in religious affairs, without taking the consent or even advice of the Crown: and therefore they make what Ministers they please. But the Episcopal Churches of England in America want their first and most necessary Member, a Bp. to reside with them; and have waited with patience for the consent of the Crown; and their bretheren at home, the Bps. of England and the Society for Propagating the Gospel, have often been intercessors to the Crown on their behalf.

The objections to settling Bishops in the Plantations are chiefly these two.

1. It is doubted whether it will be agreeable to the People there.

2. It is doubted whether any maintenance can be had for such Bishops.

As to the first point: As no Bishops are propos'd to be settled in Pensilvania, or New England, or the Colonies thereto belonging, it is to no purpose to enquire of their inclination; they are not concern'd *themselves* and have no right to judge for *others*. This question therefore can relate only to those parts where the Church of England is established and profess'd, and with respect to them and to know clearly what their sentiments are, it is necessary to consider Episcopacy with respect to the *Duties* belonging to it as an *Order* in the *Christian Church*, and with respect to the *Powers of Jurisdiction* derived to it from the *Civil Magistrate*.

In the first view, their own laws will shew that they have no objection. To begin with—

*South Carolina*. By Acts of Assembly there, all Churches and Parishes are to be served by Ministers *Episcopally ordained*. (vide the Act called the Church Act) & with respect to the Schoolmaster of their own Free School, it is enacted that he shall be of the religion of the *Church of England* and conform to the same. (Vide Free School Act) and by an Additional Act to the Free School Act, special encouragement is given to the Ministers recommended by the *Bp. of London*.

*North Carolina*. It is enacted that all Statute Laws made in England for the *Establishment of the Church, shall be in force here*.

*Virginia*. Enacted, that no Minister be admitted to officiate in this country, but such as have received *Ordination from some Bishop in England*.

*Maryland*. All places for Public Worship according to the *Usage of the Church of England*, shall be deemed settled and established Churches.

Barbadoes. *The Church of England established* by Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly; and the maintenance, provided for the better encouragem<sup>t</sup> of the Clergy, is appropriated to the *Orthodox Ministers of the Church of England*.

*Antegoa.* By act of Assembly, none capable of being presented to Benefices, unless they produce testimonials that they are *qualified according to the Canons of the Church of England; by having taken Deacons and Priests Orders.*

*Nevis.* By Act of Assembly Maintenance provided for Ministers of the *Church of England,*

*Leeward Islands.* By Act of Assembly, the Governor may suspend an Incumbent giving notice thereof to the *Bp. of London,* that *his Lordship* may give such directions therein, as to him shall seem meet.

*Jamaica.* None to be capable of a Benefice unless they produce testimonials that they are qualified according to the *Canons of the Church of England by having taken Deacons and Priests Orders.*

By these Acts of Assembly it is plain they have no objection ag<sup>st</sup> Bishops, in the religious view, so far from it, that they admit no Minister to serve in the Churches supported by Publick Maintenance, but such as are Episcopally ordained. And it cannot be supposed that they w<sup>o</sup>d be unwilling a Bp. should *reside* among them, where his authority & influence might be of great use in the due governm<sup>t</sup> & direction of the Clergy; provided that a Bp. *residing* with them had power to do no more than they are now desirous sho<sup>d</sup> be done by a Bishop at a distance.

But the difficulty arises from the 2<sup>nd</sup> view; and the question is, how far they will be contented to admit the jurisdictions w<sup>ch</sup> the Bps. in England have in many cases, by and under the Crown.

As the first planters in America were members of the Church of England, and carried over with them a regard to the government and discipline of their Mother Church; there is no doubt to be made but that they would very willingly have continued under the same Ecclesiastical Government & Discipline in America, under which they had been bred in England, had they had any Bps. among them at their first settlement abroad. But being destitute of Bps. and for some years deprived of *Publick Church Communion* for want of Ministers regularly ordain'd; it is more to be wondered at that they have adhered so steadily to the Communion of the Church of England with respect to Episcopal Ordination and the established Liturgy, than that they have some prejudice against Ecclesiastical Courts and Jurisdictions of Bps. of which they have seen and known so little for many years. Many things which are under the care and authority of Bps. in England, are things necessary to be done by somebody, and where there are no Bps. they must be done by some other authority. Such are the repairs of Churches and the providing books and other necessities for the service, the Instituting and inducting Incumbents, the repairs of Glebe Houses, the Probate of Wills, Licence for Marriage, examining and [approving Clergymen, and Schoolmasters, and the correction of vice and immorality by coercive power. As the Colonies had no Bps. to discharge these duties they were necessitated to provide for them otherwise. And therefore these powers are placed by several Acts of Assembly, partly in the Churchwardens, partly in Justices of the Peace, and partly in the Governors of the respective Provinces.

That these provisions were made for *want* of a Bp. among them, and not out of dislike to *Episcopal Authority* appears from the Act of Assembly of the Leeward Islands before mentioned, by which the Governor is empowered to suspend Clergymen, but it passed under an obligation of giving notice to the Bp. of London, and of taking his directions. Had there been a Bp. among them, can it be supposed the would not have referr'd the matter *directly* to him?

The present generation of men in the Colonies being born and bred under this Constitution, it is natural to suppose that they are attached to the custom of their country, and would be

alarm'd at the apprehension of having their powers remov'd out of their hands, in w<sup>ch</sup> the law of their country has plac'd them, and put into the hands of a Bp. with whose power in these cases they are unacquainted: and therefore these powers exercis'd in the Consistory Courts in England are not desired for Bps. residing in America.

But these Colonies however unaccustomed to *Episcopal Jurisdiction* have always been brought up in an opinion that their Clergy must be *Episcopally* Ordained. And it is not to be supposed that they had rather have their Children come to England for Orders than to have a Bp. among them to Ordain them at home, and as they are members of the Church of England and have received it's liturgy, they cannot look into it without seeing that for want of a Bp. among them they and their Children are debarr'd from Confirmation

That there have been jealousies in some of the Plantations of an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, is certain from some Acts of their Assembly. In the Church Act of Antegoa (w<sup>ch</sup> passed July 1<sup>st</sup> 1692.) it is enacted, *that no Ecclesiastical Law or Jurisdiction shall have power to enforce confirm or establish any penal mulct or punishment in any case whatsoever.*

There is the like clause in the Church Act of Jamaica.

If by Penal Mulct or Punishment is to be understood the imposing fines upon offenders, it is hard to say what gave occasion to this Proviso; it could not be to guard against the Ecclesiastical Law of England, for the Ecclesiastical Court in England neither does nor can impose Fines

There is the same Law in *Barbadoes* against Penal Mulcts by Ecclesiastical Law. But whatever gave occasion to it, it is certain it never was meant ag<sup>t</sup> the Authority exercis'd by the Bp. in the case of religion or in the government of the Clergy; for it is declared in a subsequent statute that the s<sup>d</sup> clause sho<sup>d</sup> not extend to the exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Clergy, according to the tenour of *His Majesty's Commission to the Bp. of London*. The construction upon these two Acts must be this; that they are not willing to receive Ecclesiastical Courts with *Coercive* Powers, but are desirous of receiving Bishops as an *Order* of the Christian Church, to inspect the conduct and behaviour of the Clergy, and to perform the duties of their Office in examining and ordaining Ministers for the service of the Church.

Let them at least have such Bps. among them as they are willing to receive.

There have been Commissaries acting under the Bp. of London, ever since Bp. Compton's time, and no complaint has been made of their power being too great or any ways burdensome to the Country; and if Suffragan Bishops with the same Ecclesiastical Powers that the Commissaries have had, were settled in the Plantations, it could make no alteration with respect to the Civil Govern<sup>t</sup> or to the people, but it will enable the Church of England there to do what all Churches of all denominations have thought necessary to their very being, to provide a succession for the Ministry among themselves: a right which the Established Church of England in the Plantations has been long deprived of, and w<sup>ch</sup> as far as I can judge, no other Christian Church in the world ever wanted. Every sect of Christians, under the Toleration, claims it as their right, and exercises it; and it seems but reasonable to hope that an Established Church should enjoy the rights of a Church in equal degree at least with tolerated societies of Dissenters.

The other objectin is, — How shall Bishops in America be maintained? Not by *Tax* or imposition on the *People* certainly. If Bps. were to be sent them, and the country laid under contribution, Bishops would be received as *Excise Mn* and *Targathers*; and this apprehension in the people abroad, of being burden'd with the maintenance of Bishops, would be the readiest way to raise an opposition in the Colonies to the settlement of the Bps. among them.



Nor ought the Crown to be burdened with the maintenance of such Bps, or put to more expence than what already lyes upon the Crown in providing Clergy for the Plantations. And yet there will not want means to provide a decent support for them by annexing some preferments abroad to these Bishopricks and by giving the Bp. a capacity of receiving Benefactions from such as will be ready to promote so good a design.

But as the care to maintain them will be premature till His Majesty's pleasure is known as to the appointing them it may wait His Majesty's determination.

As the Bp. of London is generally supposed to be the Bp. principally if not only concern'd in the Plantations: He desires to say one word for himself, and to assure Your Majesty that however necessary to the state of Religion & the Churches abroad, he apprehends the settlement of Bps, in America to be, and however sensible he is that with the Authority granted to the late Bishop of London, he co<sup>d</sup> by no means answer the good purposes intended by Your Majesty; yet he submits himself to your Royal Pleasure, and whatever part you in your royal wisdom shall think fit to allot to him, he will discharge it to the best of his ability.

(Indorsed)

"Rec<sup>d</sup> with the Bishop's lre of 19 Feb<sup>y</sup>. 1759.

"Read Feb<sup>y</sup> 21. 1759."

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 82. ]

New York, 16 March 1759.

My Lords,

Two days ago I received Your Lordships letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of December last, in which your Lordships acquaint me that the Duty of Your station obliges you to say that my having given my assent in July 1755 to an Act for the more easy collecting his Majesty's Quit Rents in the Colony of New York and for protection of lands in order thereto; without a clause suspending its execution, was in Your Lordships opinion, a Deviation from my Duty in the Trust devolved upon me and a departure from the directions in His Majesty's Instructions by which I am ordered to regulate my Conduct in the Execution of that trust.

All the answer I can give to this heavy censure of your Lordships is that I thought I was at that time doing his Majesty service, for the Bill was solicited by Mr Kennedy his Majesty's Receiver General & was drawn by Mr Nicholls his Deputy Receiver assisted by Mr Banyar Deputy to the Auditor General who all thought it a beneficial Bill; These were all the King's Officers most immediately concerned in that Department and I did not think they could be guilty of so great an oversight, as to propose a Bill for his Majesty's Service which would turn out so much otherwise, as your Lordships conceive, contrary to their Expectations and mine.

There may however be some clause in the Act, which has escaped my observation, and which may be construed, though I know none such, greatly to affect His Majesty's Rights, and I shall be very sorry to find I have given my assent to any such.

My Lords, When the Government of this Province devolved upon me, I endeavoured to serve His Majesty according to what abilities I had, and I thought at that time his Majesty's service had not been grossly neglected while in my hands; I am sure I always had a zeal for the King's service, but perhaps it was without knowledge. I was then more capable of attention to business than I am now which I find daily: and therefore Your Lordships cannot do me a greater pleasure than to recommend a proper person to his Majesty for this Government.

I say not this, My Lords, out of any pett or spleen but from a full sense that my health has been impaired and my fortune not improved since I have had the Government, and that these times require greater abilities and spirit than I am capable to exert.

Wherefore nothing can be more desirable to me than to return to the Station of Chief Justice, in which I beleive I shall understand myself better than in that of Lieutenant Governor of the Province. I am satisfied my Mind will be more at ease, and I may be able in that Station to serve his Majesty, better than in the other, I am with great Regard, My Lords,

Your Lordships, most obedient

and most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

Right Honorable

Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations

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*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ "American Colonies M. S." Lambeth Palace, No. 1123., II., No. 180. ]

King's Coll. N. York

March 20 1759

May it please Your Grace

I am inexpressibly obliged to Your Grace for your most kind and condescending letter of Sept<sup>r</sup> 27. 1758. The labours you have taken in writing so large a letter with your own hand, full of such wise and benevolent instructions and suggestions, is extremely obliging, and the more so, as it abundantly assures us your Grace is in earnest and indefatigably engaged to promote the best interest of the Church and true religion to the utmost of your power both at home and abroad. I have communicated it to the Clergy that are near me, who are with me most highly obliged to Your Grace, and desire me to write you their humblest duty and thanks. I shall communicate it to them all as I have opportunity and make it as useful as possible, so far as my acquaintance and influence extends especially in N. England, N. York and the Jersies.—Your manner of mentioning my late dearest son is very kind. I hope you received my letter of thanks for your great kindness and condescension to him.

I do entirely agree with Your Grace in every thing you suggest respecting the Church in these parts, and have always endeavoured to govern myself, and to influence others to be governed by the same principles and with the same temper as Your Grace inculcates, as you will see by my preface to M<sup>r</sup> Beache's book here enclosed (the second tract, by a mistake in the binding) which though it was, (at least I desired it should be) sent in the time of it, perhaps it may not have fallen into Your Grace's hands, by which you will see how the

Controversy stood between us at that time: since which nothing new or of any consequence hath been written except a weekly paper called the Independent Reflector and another called the Watch-Tower (Copies of which I was promised should be sent to Your Grace's predecessor Abp Herring—And by the way, a Copy of M<sup>r</sup> Beaches Sermon that gave so much offence was not sent from these parts, because we were told a copy was sent from Boston to a member of the Society, long before the complaint of our Adversaries; but that matter has been happily accommodated.—I would send You Hobart's peices to which these are replies; but I cannot find where any of them are to be had.

One book indeed, which has, I imagine, been a principal occasion of the complaints against the Society and Missionaries, is the History of New York lately published in London, which doubtless Your Grace has seen. This was wrote by one Smith of this Town, upon which M<sup>r</sup> Barclay has made some very just remarks, which were sent about two months ago, and I hope are now in the Secretary's hands. This Smith is a lawyer here of some note, who with two others of the same profession, Livingstone and Scott, all bitter enemies to our Church and College, were believed to be the Chief writers of the Reflectors & Watch-Towers—And I believe one of the leading occasions of his writing this history was, that he might abuse the Church, Society and Missionaries, as it contains a summary of what they had before published in those papers so far as religion is concerned. But your Grace will see by our Controversy with Hobart, and by M<sup>r</sup> Barclay's remarks compared with Smith's history, that it is indeed fencing against a hail, to hold any controversy with them, there being nothing they will stick at, however so false and injurious, in opposing and discrediting the church, and which they would not cease to repeat and inculcate, over and over again, however so thoroughly it was answered. I could wish M<sup>r</sup> Barclay's Remarks were printed that both our benefactors and enemies at home, might see how little regard our adversaries here have for truth or common honesty, who are so indefatigably laboring, and with so much success to disaffect our Benefactors both to the Society and us.—What connections any of these gentlemen may have in England I know not. I am told it is one D<sup>r</sup> Avery with whom our Dissenters here chiefly correspond.

It is indeed, my Lord, a thing of most melancholy consideration, that by such unaccountable methods our adversaries should have procured such a *formidable multitude* at home to be disaffected to the Society; and that any should treat it with such insolence as to use even *threatening intimations*. When at the same time there never was the least ground for that which it seems is their grand complaint, viz. that the Society have *unwarrantably changed their object from the propagating of Christianity and Protestantism, to the propagation of one form of it in opposition to other Protestants*. This, my Lord, I believe never was designed nor attempted by the Society to this day. There have been, indeed, a multitude of proselytes to the Church especially in New England, but this has not been an originally designed, but an Accidental effect, No, my Lord, the fact has been plainly this, of the course of which I have been a witness almost 40 years.—

There have been considerable numbers of honest conscientious English people of the Church who have settled in many of the principal Country towns in New England as well as other parts of America.—Some of these have been sensible men, and, as is natural to suppose, they have pleaded the cause of their church with their dissenting neighbours, till they have prevailed to proselyte some dissenters to join with them, and being uneasy with the dissenting way, which was then generally very poor, and to them very uncouth, They at length being



impatient for the service of the Church, have joined in petitioning the Society for Ministers, which, after long solicitation they obtained. The consequence of which hath been that some dissenters from Curiosity, and others invited by their neighbours, have been led to frequent the Service of the Church, which upon experience they have admired and by degrees endeavoured to propagate. Thus it was at Stratford, and at length it propagated to several neighbouring towns: till from about 80 families with whom I began it propagated in 10 or 12 years to several Congregations; for whom, as the burthen grew too great for me, I procured them Ministers, till at length when I left that province there were 25 small Churches and 10 or 11 Ministers, In all which time I never tried to proselyte Dissenters, nor do I believe any of the other Ministers did. We never concerned ourselves with them till they came to us, and when they did we could do no less than give them the best instructions and assistance we could in making a right judgment for themselves. And so far were we from promoting or taking advantage of any quarrels that happened among themselves, that in many instances we obliged them to accommodate matters amicably with their former brethren, or at least to do all they could towards an accommodation, before we would receive them to our Communion.

Indeed their own managements were in many instances so ridiculous as tended more to drive the people into the Church, than any thing we did to draw them over to it. particularly that monstrous enthusiasm that obtained 15 or 20 years ago, and was at first encouraged by themselves, in consequence of Mr Whitefield's rambling once and again thro' the Country, who was followed by a great many strolling teachers, who propagated so many wild notions, that a multitude of people were so bewildered that they could find no rest to the sole of their feet till they retired into the Church as the only ark of safety. And there are many sad effects of it among them that continue down to this day. Now, my Lord, in all these people, both those who had been bred in the Church and those that conformed to it, we had all reason to believe that they acted conscientiously in conforming, having been chiefly influenced by reading such books as the London cases and A Bp Potter on Church Government, and some, even Hooker's Ecclesiastical polity and Hoadly against Calamy, besides many of the best practical books. But be the leading occasion what it will, supposing such reading and careful inquiry, I beg to know, (our Enemies themselves being Judges) what reason can be given why these people shou'd not have Ministers of their own as well as their dissenting neighbours. And I believe I may truly say there never has been a congregation gathered, who have petitioned for a Minister that have not had the Qualifications your Grace mentions.

Such, my Lord, hath been the method of our procedure, when at the same time I all along maintained a very friendly correspondence with the chief among them, and endeavored to do them all the good offices I could: and in particular, I procured a noble donation from Bp Berkely for their College in Land and Books, to the value of much more than £1000 sterling. But behold, My Lord, the gratitude of these men! at the same time that I was doing them these good offices, they were contriving and did send a long letter to the Bp of London of complaint against us, full of gross untruths and misrepresentations, with a view to get all the Church people in N. England deprived of their Ministers, and them of their subsistence. This letter his Lordship referred to the Society, and I believe Your Grace may find it among the Society's papers of 1735. In reply to which the Society were so candid as to give them free liberty and to direct them to produce evidence to make good their complaints against us, which they endeavored to do, but could make nothing of it, and I believe never-replied, at least we never heard any more of it.—

Amazing, My Lord, it is, that these people both at home and abroad cannot be content, not only with the most indulgent toleration by law, but in many instances, with the most kind treatment from the Church; but by how much the better they are treated, by so much the more indefatigably they are bent and engaged per fas and nefas, joining and making interest with even the enemies of Christianity itself, to undermine her, and if possible to raze her even to the foundation! and truly by their *threatning intimations*, it should seem as tho' they apprehend they are going near to effect it. How much better our temper here towards them is than theirs towards us, may be obviously seen from this, that our College provides that their Children belonging to it have free liberty to go to their own meetings, whereas in Connecticut their College will not admit that the Children of the Church belonging to it go to their own Church, but punish them if they presume to do it. So that the Church is really in a state of persecution under them there, where they have, without any warrant from their Charter, pretended to establish themselves.

And now, My Lord, as to the business of Episcopacy in these plantations we never pretended to desire any Episcopate that should have any jurisdiction over them, or indeed any concern with them: so that they never had any reason to have the least apprehensions, much less such *terrible Apprehensions* from it. All that ever we aimed at, was no more than just what your Grace intimates. And when they enjoy without molestation their presbytery in the full vigor of its discipline, is it not a cruel thing that they should be so bitterly against the Churches enjoying her own form of Government and discipline, for want of which she suffers extremely, and many valuable lives have been thrown away? and is she not reduced to a miserable pass indeed, that she cannot provide for her children abroad here, without their *consent* for it? We should be entirely contented if we were only upon an equal foot with them; but for that which is the established Church of our nation, to be in these Colonies in a state that is so much inferior to them, is very, very hard indeed, and what, as your Grace justly observes, they would think utterly intolerable, were it their own case; were they for instance obliged to send their Candidates a 1000 leagues for ordination.

Indeed some of us, to make our Cause as good as we can, since they plead their establishment, have pleaded, from the act of Union, that the Chh is established here as well as at home, and we cannot see but this is the meaning of that act. And I wish I could have the sense of some impartial and able judge of the Law upon it, that if we judge wrong we may be rectified: but then let it be determined whether the charters give them power to establish themselves and make dissenters of us? Your Grace will observe what Mr Whetmore pleads in his part of these controversies. However, as I said, we shall be well contented if we had our Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline here upon as good a foot as they, without any pre eminence; and methinks they must be the most unreasonable people in the world to be so bitterly against it. But, my Lord as they know as well as we that the Bishops of the present age, are not such as their progenitors fled from, but are as Your Grace intimates *sincere patrons of extensive toleration*, it is plain that the reason of their *terrible apprehensions* is not lest they should be *injured*, but lest we should be advantaged by sending bishops hither, so as to be upon an equal foot with them, together with their inveterate antipathy to the order itself. However, my Lord, if there were a Bishop to be sent to America, he need not be fixed in New England or in any part where Dissenters abound: He might be fixed in Virginia where the Church is established, and there are scarce any presbyterians, and only visit us northward once in 3 or 4 years, and we should be content to ride 3 or 400 miles for holy orders. Meantime it would be a good expedient that

Commissaries should be appointed to hold conventions of the Clergy, and to enquire and make report of the State of their parishes &c

And, my Lord, though no plan for this purpose is, or will soon be laid before our superiors, may we not hope that the great Minister who now so gloriously conducts the public affairs, is a friend to religion, and that when it shall please God to bless us with an honourable peace, he who has proved such a friend to America may be induced to use his influence for the bringing about so great a Blessing? Meantime I humbly beg Your Grace's influence, if possible that such may be appointed our Governors from time to time, as are friends to religion, and will countenance and encourage the Church, and set an example of constant, or at least frequent attendance on the public worship, which has not always been the case; and when it is otherwise the ill effects of great examples are very deplorable. We have rarely seen a Governor at Church in this Province except S<sup>r</sup> Charles, since the year 1743

I should now proceed, my Lord, to answer your other enquiries relating to the State of the Church and Clergy in these parts but I doubt I have already trespassed much too far on Your Grace's goodness by this tedious letter. However as I am in duty bound to give you all the satisfaction I can on those points, I shall by the next opportunity write again. In the mean time most humbly thanking Your Grace for Your kind prayers and good wishes, and begging the continuance of them, I conclude with my earnest prayers for Your health and long life and success to all Your labours here, and a glorious crown hereafter: and remain may it please your Grace

Your Grace's most obliged

and most dutiful

and obedient humble Servant

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON.



*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ "American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 133. ]

King's Coll. N. York,

April 15 1759

May it please Your Grace,

In the beginning of last month I wrote an answer (in part) to your Grace's most kind letter of September 27th.—I hoped then by this time to have made some reply to the rest of that very important letter; but I have not yet sufficient information relating to some things, especially in what concerns the frontiers. The occasion of my now writing is the desire and request of some of the Clergy at Boston, that some letters of mine may accompany their letters that are going by this packet in behalf of M<sup>r</sup> Apthorp and a Mission at a town near Boston called Cambridge, which is the seat of learning in that province.

Indeed, My Lord that paragraph of Your Grace's letter, relating to Missions in New-England, very much discourages me from writing any thing relating to New Missions in those provinces. What I am now doing, therefore, proceeds merely from my friendship to those worthy gentlemen,



to which I should be wanting, if I should refuse to write anything on this occasion. I therefore humbly beg Your Grace will excuse me if I only suggest, that I am fully persuaded that a Mission would be of very good use to the interest of the Church and true religion, so near that College, for the reasons they give; but what strongly sways with me, is, that we want extremely to have as many worthy men as possible in these Countries: And Mr Apthorp,<sup>1</sup> by all accounts of him, is indeed a very superior Young Gentleman, having, in the best manner, been bred at Cambridge in England, and merited a Fellowship there, and that estimation and prospect of preferment, that every body wonders at his disposition to tarry in this (tho' it is his native) Country at all: but since it is so, I am very desirous to keep him: and the rather, as, he, (having also a considerable fortune of his own,) may probably prove a fitter person than any we can ever expect to procure, to succeed me in this station: and I am very desirous, if it may be, to be acquainted with my successor before I leave it, and that he may be some very worthy person who has been bred at one of Your Universities at home.—However, whether the Society can think proper to make a New Mission in New-England, under the present condition of things, must be humbly submitted to the wisdom and goodness of that Venerable Board: and I remain, may it please Your Grace,

Your Grace's most obliged,  
and most obedient

humble Servant  
(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[Plantations General, XVII., (Q.,) No. 5.]

Fort Johnson, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1759.

My Lords,

Herewith I transmit Your Lordships a Copy of the Proceedings of a Congress I lately held with the Six Nations, and four other Nations of Indians.

From the Declarations and Engagements of the Indians which Your Lordships may observe in the said Proceedings from private conferences I had with the leading Men, and from a variety of other concurring circumstances I think I may with great truth give it to Your

<sup>1</sup> Rev. EAST APTHORP was the son of Charles Apthorp, a merchant of Boston. He was born in 1733, and studied at Jesus' College, Cambridge, England. Having taken orders, he was appointed, in 1761, by the Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, a missionary, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He engaged in a controversy with Dr. Mayhew concerning the design and conduct of the Society, of which he was a missionary. He resigned his mission on the 12th March, 1764, and soon after went to England, where he was made Vicar of Croydon in 1765, and in 1778 Rector of Bow church, London. In 1790, having lost his sight, he exchanged these livings for the prebend of Finsbury, and, having an adequate income, retired to spend the evening of his days among the scenes and friends of his youth, at the University, in a house provided for him by his patron, bishop Watson. He died at Cambridge, England, April 16, 1816, aged 83 years. He published a sermon at the opening of the church at Cambridge, 1761; on the peace, 1763; Considerations on the institution and conduct of the Society for the propagation, &c., 1763; a sermon on the death of Ann Wheelwright, 1764; Review of Mayhew's remarks on the answer to his observations, &c., 1765; Discourses on prophecy, at the Warburton lecture, Lincoln's Inn chapel, 2 vols; and An Answer to Gibbon's statement of the causes of the spread of Christianity. Allen.—Ed.

Lordships as my Opinion, that not only from the commencement of the present War, but for many years past his Majesty's Indian Interest in this quarter hath not wore so favourable a face nor given such encouraging prospects. If the Operations of His Majesty's Arms in these parts are carried on with spirit and wear a respectable appearance on the opening of the approaching campaign I persuade myself the conduct of these Indians will be conformable to the promises they have made, and that they will convince the world by their actions they can be of very considerable service to the Success of His Majesty's Arms.

If an attempt upon Niagara thro' Lake Ontario should be a part of the plan of operations for this year and that our preparations for it are projected with Judgment and carried on with Vigour, I am persuaded I could join his Majesty's troops that way with the main body of the Warriors of the five Nations together with many others of their Allies and Dependants, and that by taking proper measures I could not only prevail on those Indians of the five Nations who have been debauched by the French from their respective settlements to go and live under their protection at la Gallette on the River St. Lawrence to abandon the French Interest and return to their native Towns; but that I could also prevent many if not most of those Northern and Western Indians who form the Ottawawa confederacy from joining the French against us, and which they have hitherto done. May<sup>1</sup> I flatter myself I could prevail on many of the aforesaid Indians to join with us in our operations from Lake Ontario.

The Six Nations in general and the Chenosio<sup>2</sup> Indians in particular (who are a brave and powerfull tribe of the Seneca Nation and live near Niagara) are as Your Lordships may see by the Proceedings I now send you, very desirous of driving the French from Niagara, and equally pressing that we should undertake it. I have given General Amherst Intelligence hereof, and wrote him on this subject, nearly in substance what I have now had the honour to mention to Your Lordships.

My Lords, I beg Your patience whilst I pursue this Subject a little further.

The Reduction of Niagara, and if well conducted I think we cannot fail of success, will be in the light I view it a point of inestimable advantage to the security and welfare of these His Majesty's Dominions, and if the Conquest is rightly improved, will throw such an extensive Indian Trade and Interest, (for they are inseparable) into our hands, as will in my humble opinion oversett all those ambitious and lucrative schemes which the French have projected and in pursuit of which they were interrupted by the present war in this part of the world.

Whilst the French are in possession of Niagara in vain will our repossession of Oswego, and reestablishing an Indian Trade there enable us to hold the Ballance from them either in Indian Interest or Trade.

The many nations of Westward Indians in comparison with whom the Six nations are but a handfull must pass by Niagara in order to come to Oswego, where the French stop them and their goods, secure them by negotiations and engross their Trade. This we felt for some years before the War began when very few of those Indians came to trade with us to Oswego, and latterly the chief Trade there was rather carried on w<sup>th</sup> the French than Indians, by which means our enemies procured assortments and supplies of Goods from us to support their Trade at and from Niagara.

The Advantage of the Indian Trade in general to the commerce and Manufactures of our Mother Country I need not enlarge upon to Your Lordships, you know it is carried on wholly

<sup>1</sup> Nay. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 254. — Ed.



with the Manufactures of our own Country, and that the produce of it, except the necessary consumption here, is all exported to England.

This may possibly be the last letter I may have the honour to write to Your Lordships Board, I would therefore wish to make it as worthy of Your perusal and attention as I can. I hope your Lordships will for that reason bear with me if I make it a long one, tho' I will endeavour to be as concise as the apprehended importance of my subject will permit.—

My Lords, Whether the actual Extirpation of the French from North America will be effected by His Majesty's Arms, before he thinks proper to lay them down, is a point which I do as I ought leave in respectfull silence. But I beg leave to offer it as my opinion to Your Lordships that should the French be absolutely extirpated, and much more if they should not, the Improvement and Extension of His Majesty's Indian Interest and the Trade consequent thereupon, are objects of the last Moment to the Security & Welfare of His American Dominions, and how intimately these are connected with the strength, wealth and Influence of Great Britain Your Lordships are competent Judges.

An equitable, an open and a well Regulated Trade with the Indians is and ever will be the most natural and the most efficacious means to improve and extend His Majesty's Indian Interest.

All manner of Trade with the Subjects of France in these Parts ought to be prohibited under the severest Penaltys.

The Indians ought to be redressed or satisfied in all their reasonable and well founded complaints of enormous and unrighteously obtained patents for their Lands. And Treaties of Limitations with the respective Provinces agreed upon, and religiously observed, with regard to the Bounds of our settlements towards the Indian Country; In this the Province of Pennsylvania and New jersey have lately very wisely and politicly set an Example.

Missionaries of approved Characters, Abilities and Zeal, with due encouragement would be of unspeakable advantage to promote our Interest amongst the Indians, & subvert that of the French, whose Industry in this Article has been of infinite Service to them.

A handsome encouragement for Interpreters of Capacity and Education is extreemly wanted, there are at present none in any tolerable degree qualified for this important employment.

The Superintendancy and Direction of Indian Affairs and Trade to be under an Authority from the Crown.

Whether this should be invested in one Man or in Commissions to serve in those Provinces which from their situation are and always will be more immediately connected with the Indian negotiations & Trade is submitted to his Majesty's wisdom and pleasure; But I beg leave to suggest to Your Lordships that the Management herein on the part of the Crown, upon the System I am pointing out, will in my opinion be too great a weight, and of too diffusive a Nature for any one person duely to inspect and preside over.

Whilst we have Rivals in the Trade I conceive it ought to be exonerated from all those Duties or Imposts which may enable those Rivals to undersell us; And therefore a sufficient Fund should be appropriated for supporting the Indian Establishment on the part of the Crown, not to arise from that Trade, untill at least it is fixed on a sure and solid Foundation.

Whilst I am upon this subject I must beg leave to mention my own Management to Your Lordships in the Character I have and am still acting in under his Majesty.

That tho' very considerable sums have been expended in the Indian service, I have and I shall act with all the Oeconomy and Frugality which prudence and the circumstances of affairs admit; if I have failed herein it has been rather on the saving side, and if the assistance his



Majesty's arms have received from the Indians has not answered expectations or been adequate to the Expences, I must take the liberty to say it has in a great measure been owing to the ill success of our military operations this way.

Hence tho' the Indians of the Six Nations (amongst whom the Moneys which have passt thro' my hands have been chiefly confined) have not seconded our enterprizes so universally as they might have done, yet numbers of them have every campaign joined his Majesty's troops, and some or other of them been constantly upon service. However had the expence which hath already accrued served only to prevent the Six Nations as a Body from going over to the French, and acting with them against us, which I am vain enough to think I have had some share in preventing, the Moneys laid out have not been uselessly expended.

To conclude I am persuaded (from what past at this Treaty, and the knowledge I have of those sort of people) to have great confidence in their behaviour, and Your Lordships may be assured that there shall be nothing wanting in me either by Precept or Example to urge them to the utmost.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect, My Lords, Your Lordshps most obedient  
and most humble Servant

(Copy.)

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVII., (Q.) No. 7. ]

Report of Proceedings with the Confederate Nations of Indians, at a Conference  
held at Canajohary.

4<sup>th</sup> April 1759. Sir William Johnson set out for Conojohary with Mr Wraxall Sêcry for Indian affairs, Lieut. Clause, Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson, & Will<sup>m</sup> Printop Interp<sup>r</sup> in order to meet and hold a Treaty with the Six Nations, who on account of the sickness or yellow fever prevailing among the Mohawks of the lower Castle desir'd by a String of Wampum the proposed Congress might not be held at Fort Johnson, upon which S<sup>r</sup> William agreed to meet them at Conojohary.

Arrived the same Evening at Brandt's house at Conojohary, where S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> fixed his Quarters, and soon after the Bundt, an Onondago Sachem, with some others of that Nation, waited on him, & after being treated with a Dram told him that they with the other Chiefs of their Nation would wait on him to morrow morning, in order to bid him welcome upon which they withdrew.

5<sup>th</sup> April Bundt with several other Onondago Indians, two Nanticoke and some Cayuga Sachems, waited on S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> at his Quarters and told him they were very thankfull to the great Spirit above, who had granted them this opportunity of seeing each other and shaking hands together, and assured him they still remembered with pleasure, the antient Friendship which had been contracted between their Forefathers and ours, and that they were heartily disposed to strengthen and support the same on their parts: they said there were a great number of Senecas, Cayugas &c by the way hither and expected they would arrive at this Day—that

above fifty from Chenussio were also on the Road coming to this meeting, but did not think they would be here sooner than in 2 or 3 Days.

Sir W<sup>m</sup> returned them thanks for their friendly profession and told them he was very glad they had not forgot the Antient Friendship established between us & them, and assured them that their keeping it in mind, and acting suitably to it would be no less for their interest than ours. That he was pleased to hear there were so many of the Chenussios, Cayuga & other Indians on their way hither, & that as soon as they were all assembled he was ready to open the proposed Meeting and lay before them what he had to say, then ordered them a dram round and so parted.

6<sup>th</sup> April Several Sachems & Warriors of the Seneca, Onondago, Cayuga, Nanticoke, and Shawanese Nations, came to S<sup>r</sup> W's quarters, & spoke as follows, by the Speaker of Onondago.

Brother Warraghyjagey.

On our arrival at Onondago in consequence of Your Invitation to come down to Your House, we heard there was such a malignant Distemper prevailing amongst our Bretheren the Mohawks, who live in Your neighbourhood, that it carried off a great number of them, we therefore consulted together, and thought it most adviseable if you approved of it to adjourn the proposed Meeting to the German Flatts, & thereupon sent two of our people to let You know our Resolution, and hear Your pleasure thereon, at the same time We requested you would be so kind as to order Smiths up to the Flatts, to repair our arms, axes, howes, &c which are much out of order. On our receiving Your answer hereto by Cap<sup>t</sup> Fonda, desiring we would come & meet you at Conojohary we all immediately complied, & now beg you will order the Smiths to work constantly till all is done, we would also be glad you would dress up a good Fire at this place, that so it may hereafter serve as occasion may offer.

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> told them their axes &c should be mended by the Smiths living round this neighbourhood, & that it might not be any hindrance to there returning home when the Meeting was concluded, desired they would bring them in to one of the Indian Officers & Interpreters directly who would take care to get them done as soon as possible: As to the rest of their Speech he would defer saying anything in answer to it untill they were all assembled.

They returned many thanks for ordering their arms &c to be mended, then gave them a dram & parted.

8<sup>th</sup> April. The Indians gave in their arms &c to be mended & Sir William gave orders to the neighbouring Smiths to work on them without delay.

9<sup>th</sup> April. Waiting for the Chenussio Indians & Oniedas of whom an account came they were on the road & were expected this day: Ten Tuscaroras arrived this Evening

10<sup>th</sup> April Seven Chenussio Indians arrived & said they were sent by the rest of their people to acquaint S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> that the remainder would be here as to morrow, and requested as they had been long by the way, & had been distressed for provisions that some might be provided for them at the German Flatts upon which S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> dispatched Cap<sup>t</sup> Fonda thither, with order to get provisions ready for them: the same day the Onieda Sachems & other Indians of that Nation arriv'd, waited on Sir Will<sup>m</sup> & were made welcome, according to Custom

11<sup>th</sup> April Above Sixty Chenussio Ind<sup>s</sup> with some Shawaneese arriv'd, waited on Sir Will<sup>m</sup> & were by him welcomed as usuall. The same day the Mohawk, Seneca & Onondago Sachems waited on Sir Will<sup>m</sup> and acquainted him they were sent by the Cayuga Chiefs to let him know

they had received an account of the Death of some of their people at Cayuga, upon which it was agreed that Sr Will<sup>m</sup> in conjunction with the said Nations would condole the Cayugas thereupon to morrow morning.

Conojohary 12<sup>th</sup> April 1759

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> his Majesty Sole Agent.

Cap <sup>t</sup> Jo <sup>n</sup> Butler	}	Ind <sup>a</sup> Officers
Cap <sup>t</sup> Fonda		
Cap <sup>t</sup> Lotteridge		
Cap <sup>t</sup> Guy Johnson		
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Brown of y <sup>e</sup> 46 <sup>th</sup> Reg <sup>t</sup>		
Mr Rob <sup>t</sup> Adams.		

Sachems, Chief Warriors & other Indians of the following Nations,  
 Mohocks of the upper and lower Castle, Onondagos, Senecas, Oniedas,  
 Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, Shawanese, Tiederighroenes alias  
 Saponys & Conoys.

Peter Wraxall Esq<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>ry</sup> for Ind<sup>a</sup> Affairs.

Jacobus Clement & Will<sup>m</sup> Printup Interpreters.

The Indians being asked whether they were now assembled as a compleat body to enter upon business and having by their Speaker answered in the affirmative, Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson in conjunction with the Mohawks, Onondagos, & Senecas first condoled the Cayugas upon the loss of their people, who died since they came from their country and hereupon Sir William gave them

A Belt of Wampum

Then the usuall Ceremonies of Welcome and the customary condolences to all the Nations assembled for any losses they may have sustained by sickness or other accidents, since the last general meeting being fully performed :

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> proceeded & spoke as follows

Brethren of the Several Nations now assembled

It is now eighty Days since I dispatched Messengers to Onondago with a Belt of Wampum to invite you down to a Meeting in 20 Days at my house. Such a backwardness in Your compliance with my invitation, and particularly at a Time when the Scituation of publick affairs is so interesting to both you and us, is a conduct that I am at a loss to account for, and in order to prevent Suspensions to your disadvantage I hope you will let me know your reasons for this unusual delay.

Gave a String of Wampum

13<sup>th</sup> April. A. M.

The Indians being assembled Sir William went out & being seated, with the several persons present, as yesterday he proceeded in his Speech as follows.

Brethren before we proceed upon any further business I must acquaint you that the murder of one of our people, by one of yours near the Onieda carrying place, this last winter was attended with so many circumstances of Treachery, & of so black a nature, that it has given the King's Commander in Chief very ill impressions of your Confederacy in general & is greatly resented both by him and all Your Brethren the English, in these parts. Soon after



this black affair was committed, the Cayugas, to whose Nation the murderer belongs sent down three of their Chief men to me to make known their concern for the fact, to assure me of their innocence with regard to it, that the Murderer was bribed & deluded to do it by our enemies the French; and by these Deputies to request that this affair might not be imputed to their nation and at the same time to perform all the usual ceremonies of condolence, & clean away the blood which has been spilt.

I referred these Deputies to this Meeting for my answer to what they had then said and done, & here are their Belts &c which I now deliver to you. Gave the Belts.

Brethren, Lest you may have been misinformed or are ignorant of all the provoking circumstances of this base & cruel murder I shall relate them to you.

The Murderer was down at my house for a considerable time last Summer & was there entertained with all the kindness & friendly offices of Brotherhood & friendship, and while there he behaved & expressed himself as a faithfull brother and friend to the English.

At Fort Stanwix he was treated in the same manner, was supplied with provisions & received no kind of ill usage or provocation from any of our people there. Our Brother whom he murdered hired him to go with him as a Protector and Guide from Fort Stanwix to Fort Herkemer, with Letters & a little way from the former place he treacherously fell upon the Man he had hired himself to protect, murdered him & scalped him, & was so insolent as to return to Fort Stanwix & told Cap<sup>t</sup> Butler that he had hurt his knee & therefore could not proceed but that he had left an Onieda Indian with McMickel to go with him to Fort Horkemer, and then run off.

Bretheren. Blood spilt in Drunkenness, or by a provocation given, is very bad even among brethren, but here the murderer was sober, no provocation given that we know of, professing himself a friend, received & fed by us as such, & hired by a Broth<sup>r</sup> to protect that very brother he murdered.

Bretheren, When you consider the extraordinary villainy of this affair, and that we know, and you know, that some of every one of the Six Nations, except the Mohawks have privately spilt our Blood, contrary to the terms of the old solemn covenant chain between us, you must think we have great reason to be suspicious & provoked & have a right to expect all the satisfaction which it is your power to give us, & that you ought to deliver up the murderer, if you can come at him, if not you should revenge it upon our enemies the French who you say set him on. Your Warriors I know can heal our wounds if they will exert themselves & I expect & hope they will be our physicians, hereupon I give you this Belt of Wampum.

Gave a very large black belt of Wampum.

Bretheren, We expect also from you that according to Your Engagements at the late Treaty at Easton you deliver up to us all our Flesh and Blood which you have among you, and that you will hereafter be more carefull to hold fast the Old Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain between us & on every occasion act the part which that requires you to do, and on these conditions I am ready to renew & brighten that Old Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain between us. Gave a Belt.

In the afternoon the Indians assembled & sent word to Sir William that they met & desired to speak, upon Sir William went out & being seated with the persons above mentioned

Conochquieson a Chief Sachem of the Onieda Nation rose up & spoke as follows

Brother Warraghjagey

I am appointed to speak in behalf of the Six following Nations here present to wit the Oniedas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoke, Conoys & Saponys.

Brother, In consequence of the promise made by the Six Nations at the late Treaty at Easton & in compliance with Your Demand made upon us in Your speech this Morning we thus immediately deliver up to you all your Flesh & Blood which we have among us & which were given to us by the Delaware Indians, to replace several of our Friends, whom we had lost, there are two others who are gone to Shamokin to be delivered there.

The Speaker then took the following prisoners one after the other by the hand & deliver'd them over to Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson

1. James Perry about 30 years of age born in Wales, taken at Minnisink about Christmas 1756 by a party of 20 Delawares who kill'd three white men, & took him prisoner.

2. Robert Wilson aged about 35 years born in London taken near Fort Cumberland in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1756 by a Party of Delawares & Chenussio Indians who at the same time killed one.

3. Elizabeth Armstrong, a Girl, about 4 years old, taken by 7 Delaware Indians & a Squaw near Juniata in Pennsylvania in the year 1756.

4. Catherine Hiltz, a German woman, taken when the German Flatts was cut off, in October 1757.

5. A Highland Soldier taken last Campaign at Fort Duquesne when Major Grant's party was defeated.

Brother, It is our earnest desire that the Antient Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain between us may be renewed strengthend & brighten'd, and it is our unanimous & firm Resolution to hold it fast on our side & prevent all in our power the French from hurting it or shaking it out of our hands, conformable to the Admonitions and Advice of our forefathers who charged us never to let this Chain slip out of our hands, for if it did we should be an undone people, & hereupon we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Gave a Belt of Wampum.

Brother,

As to the other parts of Your Speech made to us this morning as we are only the Younger branch of the confederacy & in a manner but children we shall not take upon us to answer thereupon but refer you upon those Matters to the Onondagos & Senecas who are our Fathers. hereupon this Conference broke up.

Conojohary 14 April 1759.

PRESENT—

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bart.

Peter Wraxall Esq<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> Printop, Interpreter

The Report of 5 Kanassarago Indians (a Settlement between Onieda & Onondago) who were hired by Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson's orders to Cap<sup>t</sup> Thomas Butler at Fort Stanwix to go as Spies to go to Swegachy & observe the motions of the French there, & obtain what Intelligence they could. That they were dispatched from Fort Stanwix 25<sup>th</sup> January last. That on their way to Swegachy they met a party of Indians belonging to that Settlement who were sent by the French to Fort Stanwix, in order to get a prisoner. That these Spies conformable to the Instructions they had received from an old Oneida Sachem, in case they met any Swegachy Indians, gave the aforesaid Swegachy Party a string of Wampum, desiring they would not proceed to Fort Stanwix, but turn back again. That the French party after consulting together agreed to the proposals made to them by these Spies. That 4 of them went off to



Onondago & 2 of our party were sent thither with them to watch their Motions & the rest of ours proceeded with the remainder of the French party to Swegachy.

That on their arrival at Swegachy the French commanding officer & the resident priest suspecting them to be Spies sent them with two or three of their own Indians down to the Gov<sup>r</sup> at Montreal. That they travell'd to Montreal, partly upon the Ice & partly by water down the River St. Lawrence as the violent Rifts prevent that River from freezing in some places. That in their journey from Swegachy to Montreal they passed thro' the Castle of the Cagnawaga Ind<sup>s</sup>, there they saw some of the Germans prisoners who were taken at the German flatts in the year 1757 to whom they privately spoke & told them they would call again, on their return from Montreal, & carry any letters for them to their friends this way, & advised them to write all the Intelligence they could give. That on their return, tho' the Road was very bad, by reason of a Thaw, they did call at y<sup>e</sup> said Castle and one of the Germans privately slipt a paper into their hands, which was all they gave them, & they beleive the said Germans either had not a proper opportunity or Materials to write any thing more; This paper the Scout delivered & its contents are as follows.

March y<sup>e</sup> 12 day 1759. "Adam Helmer with the other Captives with the Indians their humble petition to Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson. We beg a Releasement for we are daily in fear of our lives being in the hands of cruel Men. The French are sending Men to Crown Point and to other places for they are in great fear, their Provisions being very scarce & they cannot get any help from France."

On their arrival at Montreal & being brought before the Governor he told them he understood they were sent as Spies and that they were welcome to make what Observations they had a mind to. That they were detained 10 days at Montreal. That they did not see any great number of Soldiërs there. That the Walls of the town were in a bad Condition and they did not see any new works going forward.

That the Cagnawago Indians told them the French were gathering up all the provisions they could lay their hands on, from all the country people, for the Support of their troops. That the Governor of Canada told them he did not intend to march against the English next Campaign, but keep on his Defence. That Swegachy was in no state of defence nor as they understood did the French expect to make any considerable Defence there, if our army should come that way, but between that place and Cataraqui, on the North side of the River was the place where they proposed to make their chief stand, & that the French expected a great number of Ottawawa Indians, to join them at that place. That at this place they had two new vessells built & were told that they would be ready for the water in Eight Days. The spies were on board these Vessells which they say are of two Masts, that they tried to fathom the Masts with their Arms, but were too big for one man to do it. That between Swegachy and Montreal the French have no fort or fortified place. That at the Baron Longeville's settlement they saw 24 pieces of Cannon with a guard of 30 men: They were informed these were going up, & designed for the aforesaid vessells—That they were very long & the Diameter of their Bores near a span. That a German prisoner at Swegachy told these Spies as a great secret that there was an Island near the place, where the French hid or proposed to hide their Provisions, if a party of the English came that way, in order to prevent its falling into their hands. That the French were during the whole winter apprehensive of an attack at Swegachy, from the English & had been kept in continual alarms by their Indian Intelligence, that a Body of the English were coming. The spies say this is all the Intelligence they could



learn. They then produced 4 strings of Wampum, which they say was given them by two head fighters of Swegachy, to give to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson and acquaint him that they were tired and uneasy with their present scituation, & did not think themselves well used where they were, & sent him word they were determined with 15 of their Young men, to come away from thence, & return to their Castle at Onondago, before the English army should come that way if possible, but if they could not execute this Design in time, they would certainly when S<sup>r</sup> William came with the army that way get round the woods & join him, and desired he would send them such an instrument in writing, as might be a protection to them, untill they join'd him: this Message they gave very privately to the two Chiefs of the Spies at 12 o'Clock at night, with a strict charge of secrecy till they saw Sir William.

Conojohary 16<sup>th</sup> April 1759.

PRESENT— Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bart  
Peter Wraxall Esq<sup>r</sup> Secr<sup>y</sup> & W<sup>m</sup> Printop Interpreter.

The Onondago Speaker said

Brother Warraghyjagey, We are come to acquaint you with a piece of news which we desire you will be attentive to.

The following Nations, to wit, the Chenundadies, the Twightwees, the Shawanese, Nick-ariageys,<sup>1</sup> the Geghtigeghroones,<sup>2</sup> the Warraghtinooks,<sup>3</sup> the Adawadenys, the Ostiagaghroones,<sup>4</sup> and the Missisagos, have sent a Belt of Wampum to the Six Nations acquainting them that 'tis now a long while since they have seen each other, and that they are determined as soon as the Waters are navigable to come to Chenussio, & from thence proceed thro' the Six Nations Towns without stopping to Your house, where they would unbosom themselves at large, & Brother, we proposed that a Sachem of each of the six Nations shall attend these Western Deputies to Your house in order to hear what they have to say.

Brother, We find these Western Indians received the Belt you sent them two years ago & have been considering upon it ever since, that they are now convinced what you told them by it is very true, namely, that the French could not support a Trade with them, so much to the advantage of the said Indians as the English cou'd, & therefore they are determined to come down & talk with you on this Subject, & if you will engage to put trade upon a good footing these several Nations are resolved to abandon the French interest, enter into a firm alliance with the English, & establish a Trade with them for their mutual advantage: This we understand is one of the principal Motives for the visit which these Indians propose to pay you, tho' at the same time they have sent us word they shall bring under their arms a bundle of Wampum which will probably contain many other matters to be discussed at the Intended Congress. As these Indians may be speedily expected in our Country the Chenussio Sachems staid at home in order to conduct them down to Your house, which is the reason you see none from that Castle with the Warriors who are here from thence, for should the Western Indians arrive at a time when those Sachems were from home it might have disgusted the said Indians and put affairs into confusion.

16 April. A. M. Sir Will<sup>m</sup> having received an invitation to come to a Council composed of the Chiefs of the Onieda, Cayuga, Tuscarora, Nanticoke, Conoy & Sapony Nations went to it,

<sup>1</sup> See note, III., 489; also, *Smith's History of New-York*, (All. Ed.) p. 215, for the country of this Nation

<sup>2</sup> Illinois, called by Colden Chicktaghicks. <sup>3</sup> Weas. <sup>4</sup> Sautours or Chippeways. Colden calls them Estiaghicks.—Ed.

when the acquainted him. That as they had in their Speech to him three days agoe declared their earnest and sincere desire of renewing and strengthening the ant<sup>t</sup> Covenant Chain between them and their Bretheren the English they had now sent for him in order to give him a clear and uncontestable proof of their sincerity to their Bretheren the English, upon which Conoquieson the Onieda chief spoke as follows.

Brother, Sometime agoe an Onieda Indian in the French interest, who lives at Swegachy prevailed upon three of our people to go along with him to the Governor of Canada, and when they came there the Gov<sup>r</sup> spoke to them as follows.

Children, I have sent for you to impart an Affair to you of the utmost consequence to Your future welfare & safety in particular, & to that of the 15 Nations in General as I sincerely interest myself in every thing which concerns Your confœderacy.

Children, The matter I am to reveal to you is, you may depend upon it, a certain truth, & of such importance, that I can hardly find words Sufficient to express my concern about it: You know the English have built a Fort at the Onieda carrying place; I am now to inform You that they propose to build one at each end of the Lake Onieda, another at the ffalls on the Onondago River. These fforts will be strong & well garrison'd, but the fifth which they propose to build will be at Oswego, which will be larger & stronger than any of the other.

Now Children when these fforts are all finished & the English have brought their Scheme to its proper ripeness they intend to throw of the mask, and by the Security of this line of fforts to fall on the 5 nations suddenly from every one of them & extirpate Your whole confœderacy: This scheme I know to be intended & that Your utter destruction is projected, Be therefore on Your guard & in order that you may be armed against this Destructive Design I here present you with a Hatchet (meaning a Belt of Wampum with y<sup>e</sup> figure of Hatchet work on it) for you to use against the English & thereby prevent the Destruction which they are meditating against you.

Brother, This was the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada's Speech with the hatchet belt he gave. We have faithfully repeated it to you and now to give you a clear Demonstration of our confidence in our Bretheren the English, & that we will act with an unreserved sincerity towards you we here deliver you the Hatchet Belt, which the French Governor sent us, to make use of against the English. We will have nothing to do with it—take it and make what use you please of it—you may cut Your wood with it if you will.

They delivered S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> the French Hatchet Belt, very large, consisting of 6000 Wampum.

The Speaker proceeded.

Brother, there is yet another affair which we will disclose to you, it is this,—Some time agoe some of the Nanticokes our Nephews were sent for to Onondago, they went thither & were told that some time or other the English would certainly rise and destroy them, that therefore the Onondagos told them they would give them a sharp hatchet, which they must swallow and keep in their bellys till a proper opportunity offer'd, which might call upon them to use it—the Nanticokes answered that they would take the Hatchet, and swallow it as the Onondagos desired, but as it was so very sharp a one, lest it might hurt their Bowels they proposed to speak to us the Oniedas, who are their Uncles, and under whose direction they were & take our advice upon it. They did so, and we told them this hatchet would hurt them, if they did not vomit it up again, upon which they threw it up, and returned it to the Onondagos, & we expect that the Onondagos will show you this hatchet. Now Brother we have fully cleared up every thing within us, & there remains nothing with us but good will and

friendly intentions towards our bretheren the English, & we are unfeignedly desirous to renew, strengthen, and brighten the Antient Covenant Chain with them.

16 April P. M. The Reply of the Six Nations to Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Speech of the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant.

PRESENT—Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bart.

Lieut. Pavy.                    }  
Lieut. McAulay                } of the Indep<sup>t</sup> Co's

Lieut Claus, of the R. A.

Capt. Johnson

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Herkimer

Cap<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Butler                }  
Cap<sup>t</sup> Fonda                        } Ind<sup>n</sup> Officers.  
Cap<sup>t</sup> Lotteridge

Mr Wells.

Several of the Neighbouring Inhabitants

Sachems, Head Warriors, & other Ind<sup>s</sup> of the several Nations at  
this Congress.

Peter Wraxall Esq<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Jacobus Clement, Interpreter

Conochquieson, Speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Your Speech to us 4 days agoe we seriously attended to & have maturely deliberated upon. We are now assembled to give you our answer thereto.

Brother, To what you said in regard to our Delay, in coming down upon your invitation, we say the weather was so severe & the Roads so unfavourable to our old people, who you know are the principal persons to conduct the business of such meetings as these that we were by those impediments prevented from an early compliance with your invitation.

Brother, Your Relation of the murder of McMikel the trader near Fort Stanwix we have taken into consideration with due concern, and resentment: Brother, attend to what we are going to say, you desired a medicine from our Warriors to heal the several wounds which you have received by the instigation of the French. We have asked our Warriors present at this Meeting what sort of a medicine or Plaister they chose to apply, in order to heal y<sup>r</sup> wounds, they have answered they were all ready to join and revenge both Your Blood and ours upon the French, and tho the number of our Warriors are but few in comparison of what they formerly were yet those who are left are determined to exert themselves unanimously in this Cause, and before we left our Castles it was agreed in our respective Councils that whatsoever Resolutions should be agreed upon at this Meeting should be confirmed by those who staid at home.

Brother, It was one of the antient and fundamental agreements of our confœderacy that if any one of either of the Nations was kill'd by an enemy the whole were to join in revenging it. A chief Man of ours (meaning Kindaronte the Onieda Sachem) was killed by the French last year at Fort Stanwix, and in conformity to that antient agreement the whole



confœderacy are determined to join in revenging it, and Brother, as we have understood from some of our Sachems who have had some private conversation with you that the English have reason to hope & expect, from the operations of this year the French will be brought so low as that they will not hereafter be able to disturb or hurt either you or us, We do sincerely wish for the Event, and earnestly request you will exert yourselves vigorously in this good work, in which we shall on our sides endeavour all we can to contribute, and as the Resolutions we have now entered into will engage us in the same cause with you we hope Our Zeal and Success therein will enable our Warriors to procure you an Effectual plaister for all the wounds you complain to have received from us.

The Speaker then threw on the ground towards Sir William the large Belt which he gave the 13<sup>th</sup> Inst. in a manner which according to the Indian customs was expressive of the sincerity of what they had declared.

Brother,

The Younger Branch of our confœderacy have already delivered you up all your flesh and blood which they had among them, and those which are remaining among the Onondagos and the Senecas & their Nephews the Delawares, some of whom are here present, shall be deliver'd to the Governor of Pensylvania & not one left behind.

Brother, We hope our exact compliance herein according to the Treaty at Easton, which we went to, and considered as a Meeting of Your appointment and where our brother Croghan appeared on Your behalf, will fully convince you we are steadfastly determined to hold fast the Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain of peace friendship & alliance with all our bretheren the English. and as we are truly sincere in this Declaration, we hope and expect from our bretheren all that friendship and attachment towards us which the Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain obliges them to on their parts.

Gave a Belt.

The Speaker then added, Brother, As we have now complied with every thing you have desired from us & united ourselves with you in the same cause and with you our Brother Warraghiyagey, We are determined to stand or fall: We hope you will no longer turn Your head aside when you meet any of us, as you have lately done to some of our people which has given them great concern & we hope all past coldness will be banished between us.

After they were served with a Dram round, and Sr W<sup>m</sup> having exhorted them to keep all sober, that men, women and children might all attend, at his next Speech, which he had proposed to deliver to morrow, the Meeting broke up.

In the Evening the Onondago Nation gave an Entertainment of a Roasted Ox, which Sir W<sup>m</sup> upon their application had given them & to which they invited the Chief Sachems & Warriors of all the Nations present, where the War dance was danced by one or more of every Nation.

17 April 1759 A. M. This Morning about 50 Indians, Men, Women and Children from Chughnut & Otsenigo upon the Susquehannah River arriv'd and Encamped themselves.

P. M. Sir William having given notice to the several Nations that he was ready to deliver his second Speech to them, they assembled themselves, and sent word to him they were seated in order to hear him, upon which Sir Will<sup>m</sup> went out and having taken his place, spoke to them as follows,

PRESENT—Most of the persons as yesterday, with the addition on the Indians side of the Chiefs of those who arriv'd this morning from the Susquehannah River.

Bretheren of the Several Nations here assembled I meet you this day with a chearfull heart & with the warm Affections of a Friend & Brother—the punctuality and readiness of the Younger branch of Your confederacy in restoring our flesh and blood, who were among them and the assurances you have given me that the rest who are among the Onondagos & Senecas or their Nephews will be deliver'd to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Pensylvania agreeable to your promises at the late Treaty at Easton, will undoubtedly convince all Your Bretheren the English, as it does me, of your sincerity and uprightness, and I give you this Belt as a Memorandum to take with you hereupon, that neither upon this occasion, or any other, you will forfeit Your words, & by that means occasion my giving expectations on your behalf which may not be fulfilled.

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren, Your Declarations in Your speech of Yesterday of your sincere desire to renew, strengthen and brighten the Antient covenant Chain of peace friendship and alliance with all Your Bretheren the English appear to me really to come from the bottom of Your hearts & I do now therefore, in the name of the great King of England, my master & in behalf of all his Subjects Your Bretheren by this Belt renew, strengthen and brighten that Antient Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain, and in his Name & on their parts, I do assure you it shall be held so fast & the terms of it so punctually observed that you shall have no just cause to reproach us; The Sun now shines clear upon us & while we hold this Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain firmly in our hands & are carefull to keep it from contracting any Rust we shall be able to drive away all Clouds which may attempt to come between us, & continue to see & smile upon each other as Bretheren ought to do.

Gave over the Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain Belt which was a very large black belt with the figures on it representing 10 Nations of Ind<sup>s</sup> & the English.

Bretheren, You have been acquainted that at the late Treaty at Easton in Pensylvania, the Proprietary Agents in behalf of their Constituents then gave up their claim to the Lands on the Ohio which were sold to the said Proprietors in 1754 at Albany, & here I have in my hands the Instrument of Release & Surrender.

Bretheren, As you know this affair gave great uneasiness to the six Nations & their Allies, I hope this Surrender will convince you & all other Indians how ready Your Bretheren the English are to remove from Your hearts all jealousies & uneasiness of their Desiring to Encroach upon Your Hunting Lands, & be a convincing proof to You how false the accusations of the French are that we are at war with them, in order to get Your Country from you, for you see while the French keep their Forts in the midst of Your Country and fight with us in order to secure the possession of them, we give up those lands which you had sold us.

Bretheren, I now deliver up this said Instrument of Release & Surrender to you.

Sir William then deliver'd it with his own hands to the Onondago Speaker.

Bretheren, The strong and solemn Declarations You made Yesterday of Your unanimous Resolutions to avenge upon the French both the blood of our people and Yours, which they have spilt, will I am perswaded, give great pleasure to all Your Bretheren the English as it does to me and this will be the most efficacious plaister for our wounds, and hereupon I redeliver you

my large Belt which You returned me yesterday, that you may shew it to all Your people at home, & make known by it these Your Resolutions & also to all Your allies.

Redelivered the large Belt.

I intended Bretheren to have said a great deal more to you on this Subject, but as I find Your eyes are now opened, & your hearts warmed, with a just resentment of Your own Injuries, as well as ours, from the Common Enemy, and as I look upon the Declarations you have made to arise from a sincere design of putting them in execution; I shall wave many arguments which I did propose to have urged upon you, & proceed to inform you, that the King has appointed Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Amhurst who took Cape Breton from the French last year to be Commander in Chief of all his forces in North America, in the room of General Abercrombie who is gone home.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Amhurst has informed me that he intends to open the Campaign as early as may be practicable, and directed me to use all my influence to engage as many Indians as I possibly can, to aid and assist His Majesty's Arms, in the Operations of the ensuing Campaign.

Bretheren, As you have Yesterday acquainted me with, and so strongly avowed, Your Resolutions to Engage in the same cause with Your Bretheren the English. All that remains for me to do at present is to offer You this General's Hatchet which I now do & make no doubt you will chearfully accept and make a proper use of it, as that will procure you a share in all the honours of this Campaign, & in all those Advantages which we have abundant Reason with the blessing of God to expect from the Issue of it. Then Sir William threw the War Belt which was taken up by a Mohawk Chief who danced with it, Afterwards by others of the several Nations.

After this the Onondaga Speaker said.

Brother, we have listened attentively to what you have now said to us, and we are pleased that you have judged proper not to load our memories with too many things at this time, as we shall the better remember the matters You have now laid before us; this Evening we will consult together upon what you have said, and to morrow morning early we intend to give you our answer to it.

Sir William gave notice to all the Warriors that he proposed to have his war kettle boiled to morrow evening, & invited them to the feast then the meeting broke up.

15<sup>th</sup> April P. M. The Indians having desired by reason of a strong cold wind which blew that they might speak in S<sup>r</sup> Willm's Quarters, which he consenting to & they being assembled spoke as follows.

PRESENT— Sir William Johnson Bart. &c as Yesterday.  
Conochquieson Chief Sachem of Onieda Speaker.

Brother Warraghijagey,

We propose to say a few words in Reply to what you said to us Yesterday, and we have been prevented by the weather from doing it this morning, as we proposed. Brother agreeable to Your Desire we shall take with us Your large Belt of Exhortation, which you Yesterday redelivered to us, & shew it to our people at home, & forward it to all our allies. We shall do the same with Your war Belt and publish the Resolutions we have taken upon it and we expect these Belts will meet the Western Indians who are to come thro' our Country in order to have a meeting with you at Your house.



The Speaker then repeated what Sir William had said to them Yesterday, with regard to their delivering up the rest of our people who yet remain prisoners among the Upper nations &c and said. Depend upon it we shall punctually comply with our promises about the remaining prisoners and you may safely write so to all concerned, for we do not speak but with sincere intentions of fulfilling all the Promises & Engagements we have made & enter'd into at this meeting which we are convinced is the surest method to render both you and us strong & respectable, and we hope You on Your parts will observe to do the same by us.

Gave a Belt.

Brother, (Having repeated what S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> said to them with the Cov<sup>t</sup> Chain Belt) 'Tis not with the 6 Nations only, but with the whole ten Nations of us here present & it gives us great pleasure that this important affair has been performed so much to our mutuall satisfaction. We assure you we are greatly pleased with it, & we trust we shall on both sides keep this Chain firm and inviolate from any injury whatsoever.

Gave a Belt.

Last Year on Your return from Tionderogo You desired You might build a Fort at the Onieda carrying place, & promised we should there have a plentiful and cheap Trade. If you keep up to this promise punctually and honestly, you will gain all Nations of Indians over to You, for the French have greatly disgusted the Indians by not supplying goods at a reasonable price, or good in quality.

Gave a Belt.

Brother, We are now united by the strongest and most solemn ties, we hope all the promises and engagements we have reciprocally made will be duely observ'd, they shall be so on our side; During the present War some few of every one of our Nations have gone out to war with you, but now you are the master of the whole body of us, & all Our Warriors are resolved to follow you.

Gave a Belt.

Brother, We have now finished what we had to say, & when Bretheren are fully agreed in sentiments with each other it does not require many words to settle matters between them. After a silence of some Minutes the Speaker rose up and said, Brother, the War Hatchet you gave us we shall keep in Readiness, & Expect to hear from you, towards what Quarter we are to use it.

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> retired with the Secr<sup>y</sup> for a few Minutes & then returned & spoke as follows.

Bretheren, As to what you have mentioned with regard to Trade, I can take upon me to assure you, that the King Your father has it much at heart. to promote and extend Trade with all Indians, who are or shall be his friends, and that this Trade may be conducted in the best manner possible, for Your Interest & that of his Subjects. If you consider the prices you get for Your furs now, you will find you have reason to be satisfied with the Trade at present in that respect, and I dare venture to promise you will have no reason to complain hereafter, for care will be taken that our traders shall deal honestly by you, and that goods shall be plentifull & more so than at present, for these troublesome Times prevent Traders from being so numerous, & of course Goods from being so plenty as in times of peace. Gave a Belt

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> then renewed his Invitation to the War Feast this Evening & told them that he proposed to deliver the present of goods he had brought up for them to morrow.

They then acquainted him that the Pensylvania Deed of Surrender would be lodged at the Confederate Council fire at Onondago, which they let him know in case any recourse to it shou'd be wanted. They then desired that hereafter no private bargains, about their Lands might be allowed of.

Sir William answered that the Secretary by his directions had recorded the Pennsylvania Deed of Surrender in the Indian Records, that in case any accidents shou'd happen to the Original, a Copy in the Records might remain as a testimony.

And with Regard to the Sale of Lands he told them the King had given orders to all his Governors in America not to authorise any Sale of Lands from Indians but what should be transacted in an open and publick Meeting of all the Indians concerned. This Meeting then broke up.

In the Evening the Carcasses of 2 oxen having been boil'd in five large Kettles & laid out in pieces according to the Indian manner, all the Indians assembled & the Sachems and Warriors being seated in 2 Lines opposite to the several fires kindled in the Center, The Old Belt a Great Seneca Sachim and Warrior rose up, with a Belt of Wampum in his hand, & acquainted Sir Will<sup>m</sup> & the several Nations there present that he was authorized by y<sup>e</sup> Chenussio Indians (one of the most considerable of the Seneca Towns, near to Niagara) publicly to declare at this war feast that they heartily concurred in the Resolutions of joining the English against the French, which all the confederate Nations at this Meeting, had avowed to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson & that 26 of their warriors now present determined when they left their country not to return till they had seen the face of the enemy, that they would now go down to Sir William's house & from thence march to what Quarter he should judge proper. And they now further made known to S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson, & all the Confederate Nations present, that the Chenussio Indians did last winter determine among themselves to commence hostilities against the French, & as Niagara was built in their Country they gave it up and will assist the English in destroying it, & desire that the English would assemble, with all possible speed, & proceed to the reduction of it, as Dispatch herein will greatly contribute to facilitate the success: That the Chenussio Indians have kept these their Resolutions a Secret not only to the whole Confederacy but to the Drunkard himself the Head of the whole Seneca Nation, reserving the publication thereof to this Meeting of all the Nations, & added that, in their opinion, the Reduction of Niagara would be a proper plaister to heal all the wounds we complain'd of.

The Old Belt then begun the War Dance, which was continued till morning by the several nations, and all the Indians throughout the whole Ceremony expressed themselves, and behaved, with marks of the warmest zeal and sincerity.

21 April 1759. Three Sachems of each of the Nations waited on Sir William at his Quarters and spoke as follows.

PRESENT— Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bart. &c  
 Captains Butler, Fonda, Lotteridge & Johnson  
 M<sup>r</sup> Wells, Jacobus Clement & W<sup>m</sup> Printop Interpreters.  
 Conochquieson Chief Sachem of Onieda Speaker,

Brother Warraghijagey.

Thô we finished all the material business of this Meeting two days agoe and have complied with everything you have proposed to us there yet remains one point in our minds, which we are desirous of mentioning to you, before we part: We have been in Council upon it & are now come in the name of all the Nations present to acquaint you with the Result of it.

Brother, It is the earnest and unanimous request of all the Nations present that you march as speedily as you can with an Army against Niagara which is in the Country of the Senecas

& which they now give up, to be destroyed or taken by you, the sooner the thing is done the better, & we earnestly desire that you who are acquainted with us and our tempers may come this way lest our Bretheren who are strangers to us, and our manners, may not agree so well with us, & this our Desire we request you will acquaint the great man with, who is head over all (meaning the General) as soon as you can

Gave a Belt with the Figure of Niagara at the end of it, & Sir William's name worked thereon. They added also that Sir William's going this way would be extreemly convenient in order to speak to the Foreign Nations, who are expected: This Belt is to be returned them with the General's answer.

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> then returned the Six Nations their belt sent to Cap<sup>t</sup> Fonda, to desire the Congress might be held at the German Flatts. He next exchanged the Belt, which the Chenussio Indians spoke with at the War Dance, return'd them thanks for the readiness they shew'd, and the healing quality of the plaister they proposed for the wounds we had received, viz<sup>t</sup> giving up Niagara, & offering their assistance against the Enemy. He also, by said Belt, strongly pressed them to exert themselves on the occasion, & to encourage the neighbouring Indians to join them and us in this good work.

Gave a black & white Belt.

In answer to the Six Nations Belt relative to his going to Niagara with them, he expressed his great satisfaction & pleasure at their readiness in giving up the French Fort at Niagara in so solemn a manner, as also his thanks for desiring he might go with and lead them, and assured them he would acquaint the Commander in Chief with it, and when he knew his pleasure therein, would return them their Belt and an answer thereto.

Sir William gave them a String of Wampum desiring they would send him the earliest intelligence of the arrival of the Foreign Indians in their Country & that some of the Sachems of each nation would accompany them to his house.

Lastly he gave them a Belt of White Wampum mixed with black advising them to send two of their People immediately to desire the Swegachy Indians, Cagnawagas & Skawendadys who live in Canada to withdraw themselves from the French otherwise they may repent it when too late. He gave them a great charge to send this Belt privately & Expeditionly: Sir Will<sup>m</sup> also told them he would send a message himself to said Indians, which would be the last he ever intended to send them if they would not listen to & regard it. The Sachems returned him many thanks for the Regard he shewed these Indians, who were their own flesh & blood, by endeavouring to prevail on them to leave Canada, and return to their Friends & said they would send to them without loss of time in as private a manner as possible.

Sir William then deliver'd his Majesty's present of Goods which he had brought up for them, and as it was not sufficient for the numbers there he desired they would divide it among such who were resolved to return home, as he would cloath all who went with him at his house.

The Meeting then broke up, and the Indians spent the remainder of the day in dividing the Goods which was very justly done & to every one's satisfaction. At 8 o'Clock in the Evening two Onondago Chiefs arrived with news, which being called out all the Sachems and Warriors came to Sir William's quarters, where those Messengers were to hear what news they had. The Onondago Speaker after learning from the two Messengers, the substance of it published it aloud to the whole Camp to all whom it gave great pleasure, & was as follows, being an answer from the Swegachy Indians by Katsieghrona an Onondago Ind<sup>n</sup> on repeated advice sent by S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson & particularly last winter, with a Belt of Wampum. That when the English army should enter into Canada they should keep out of the way and not mix with the French.



22<sup>d</sup> April 1759.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We the Swegachys receiv'd Your kind Message & are heartily thankfull to You for it, shall do as you desired us, & keep out of y<sup>e</sup> way when the English army comes, & none of us shall join the French; We had agreed before we heard from you to return to our native Country, but were afraid to meet the English in our way.

A Belt.

Brother,

We have likewise received a Message with a Belt from the Cagnawagas & 3 more Nations, living in Canada, viz. Conaghsadagas, Arundax & Shagsowanoghroonas, acquainting us that they had jointly resolved to act no more in conjunction with the French, or commit further hostilities with the English, & desired us to consider of it and desist from making any more excursions towards Fort Stanwix &c. Brother we likewise acquaint you that we are come into their measures & none of our settlement shall go out for the future, & should any Mischief be committed there we beg You will not blame us for it, but some foreign Nation who knows nothing of our Resolutions. Before this Message reached our Town a party of 8 of our people went out with a French Officer to Fort Stanwix in order to get a prisoner & had this Message come before they set out none of them should have gone. Gave 4 Strings of Wampum

The same Messenger also brought a Belt of Wampum with him which was sent by the Swegachys to the Six Nations to the following purport.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

As we know you have some influence with Your Bretheren the English we therefore beg that you will try to prævail upon them not to send an army this way next Campaign as this is an Indian settlement but let them exert themselves against Tienderoga which will be of more consequence to them.

Deliver'd the Belt.

The following Message the Priest residing at Swegachy sent to the Onondago Sachems.

Children, I beg and entreat of you to speak to Y<sup>r</sup> Brother Warraghiyagey as much as in Your power in behalf of this place, to endeavour his utmost that no Body of the English may come against this place as it is not a place concerned in the war, but only a School to instruct the Indians & their Children living here, let the English enter into the heart of Canada by way of Lake George, it is a matter of no concern to me: Let them even come up to Lake Ontario, and go against Niagara, it still will not affect me so much as if they should intend to break & destroy a place intended for nothing but Religion, & Instruction of the ignorant.

Deliver'd a Belt.

April 1759. The Onondagos, Cayugas, & Miheconders living at Chughnut & Otseningo spoke with a Belt of Wampum to let S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> know the cause of their appearance here was owing to the Onondagos, who called them to hear & see what should pass at the general meeting, and assured him that nothing ever gave them greater pleasure, than the 5 Nations taking up the war hatchet so cheafly as they now saw & that for their part they have always been ready, & should continue in the same disposition.

Brother We are now very desirous to return to our habitations as soon as possible so as to be ready to come at Your call upon us to join the Army. We acknowledge you have given the 6-nations a very considerable Present at Conojohary, but when divided among the familys of those who are present it will be a trifle, & as we shall leave our old and Young behind when we follow You to War, they must inevitably suffer unless you make a proper provision for them of Cloathing, provision and ammunition to kill some fresh meat or birds to make their

kettle boil and their broth eatable: We by this Belt beg that what you intend for us may be speedily deliver'd, so that we may return to our respective homes, and be ready against you call for us.

Gave a Belt.

Sir William Johnson's Answer to y<sup>e</sup> Chughnuts &c.

Bretheren of Chughnut &c.

Altho I have not called you to this meeting I am glad to see you here & that you have been witnesses to the solemn engagements enter'd into by all the nations who compose it, it gives me also great satisfaction to find they have received the English hatchet with so much chearfulness & I hope Your and our common enemy will soon feel the effects of it; as the whole confederacy have now determined to act with us in the War: I expect it will add new vigour to our arms & actions, & induce Your settlement to exert themselves with that Resolution becoming the Professions You now make, in full Confidence of which I shall order all who are now here to be cloathed and armed as warriors require & your wives & familys shall also be provided for, which when done I must recommend to you to make what Despatch you possibly can home, so as to be ready at the General's call which may be very soon.

Gave a Belt.

A true Copy.

Examined by R<sup>d</sup> SHUCKBURGH

Sec<sup>y</sup> of Ind<sup>n</sup> Affairs.

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*Archbishop Secker to the Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[ "American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 145. ]

Lambeth, July 19 1759

Good D<sup>r</sup> Johnson

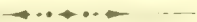
I thank you heartily for your two letters of March 20 and April 15. I have received much useful information from both of them: especially from the former and longer, of which I hope to have the sequel in a little time. On a Consultation amongst the Bishops it was agreed, that though establishing a Mission at Cambridge might probably furnish a handle for more than ordinary clamour, yet the good to be expected there from the temper and prudence and abilities of M<sup>r</sup> Apthorpe was likely to overbalance that inconvenience considerably: and that it would be best to propose the matter in the Society, without taking notice of its being liable to any peculiar objections: which was done accordingly, and the resolution taken unanimously. Your views in relation to a successor are very worthy of you: but I hope many Years will pass, before there be occasion to deliberate on that head. Pray will it not be proper, that I should send over a Proxy, as a Governor of the College? And will you permit me to nominate you?

How the matter concerning M<sup>r</sup> Beach hath been accommodated, I have not heard: but shall be glad to hear.

Nor have I ever seen the Independent Reflector or the Watch-Tower. Nor will it be any use to have every number of a periodical paper transmitted: but only such as relate to the concerns of the Church and the Society. I have an ordination Sermon, published by M<sup>r</sup> Hobart in 1747, and his second address, but not the first. Just in like manner I had the Continuation of M<sup>r</sup> Beaches Vindication, but not the Vindication itself, till you lately sent it

me: for which I am much obliged to you. Dr Bearcroft hath shown me Dr Barclays remarks; which I like very well, so far as they go. But I hope a fuller answer to the several reflexions cast upon the Society may be drawn up, of which his remarks will make an useful part. Your letter of last March contains likewise very proper Materials. I was a very Young Bishop in 1735: and almost my whole time was taken up in the care of St James's Parish: by which means it happened, that I either did not know anything of the letter to the Bishop of London, which you mention, or had forgotten it. But I shall now enquire for it. And whatever God shall enable me to do, or procure to be done, for the Service of the Gospel in Your parts, will be a great satisfaction to

Your loving brother



*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 87.]

New York, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1759.

My Lords,

I transmit to Your Lordships a Copy of Major General Amherst's letter to me of the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, the printed proceedings of the Assembly, a printed Copy of the Act passed the 3<sup>d</sup> July for the loan of £150,000 & a Copy of the Generals Letter to me of the 5<sup>th</sup> July thereon, which lays the whole transaction before Your Lordships, together with the two other Acts passed at the same time: so large an Emission in addition to the several others made during the War, may affect the credit of the currency of this Province, unless the Bills now emitted be sunk & cancelled within the time limited: I hope the Distress his Majesty's service was in for want of Money will justify me in this Step.

By Letters from Oswego dated the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant I hear Br General Prideaux left that place in his way to Niagara the first of the Month, with the 44<sup>th</sup> and 46<sup>th</sup> Regiments, the Grenadiers & the light Infantry of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion Royal Americans, a detachment of 700 New York Provincials, and about 600 Indians with Sir William Johnson and it was expected 400 more would join on the way.

At Oswego remained the residue of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion consisting of about 500 with 520 effectives of the New York Regiment. The French had got Intelligence of B. G. Prideaux's motions and set out from La Galette with 300 Regulars, 1000 Canadians & 150 Indians, intending to be at Oswego the day after he went off and to surprize the troops there, but they did not arrive 'till the 5<sup>th</sup> by which time Lt Colonel Haldiman<sup>1</sup> who commands there, had

<sup>1</sup> Sir FREDERICK HALDIMAND, K. B., was a native of Switzerland, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, on 4 January, 1756, and came to America, where he was allowed the local rank of Colonel in 1757. He accompanied the army under Major-General Amherst, from Oswego to Montreal, in 1760, and in 1762 was promoted to be Colonel in the Army; Major-General in America 25 May, 1772, and on the 20th October following, Colonel Commandant of the 60th regiment. He returned to England in August, 1775, for the purpose of giving information to the Ministry on the State of the Colonies, and was commissioned a General "in America" 1 January, 1776. In the following year he was promoted to be Lieutenant-General in the Army, and Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec, where he succeeded Sir Guy Carleton in 1778, and administered its affairs until the close of 1784. He arrived in London on 10th January, 1785, and in October following, took leave of the King, previous to returning to Canada as Governor. *Gentleman's Magazine*, LV., 832; but his administration had been so oppressive and tyrannical, and the complaints so loud against him, that he did not return to that country. He retired to Switzerland, and died at Yverden in June, 1791. — Ed.



thrown up a breast work; the enemy began firing about nine that morning and continued it two or three hours and then retired into the woods, the next morning about nine they began again and endeavoured to force the lines and after about three hours firing were repulsed, retreated and went off in their Batteau. Some Deserters are come in who say the French are at their Camp six miles from Oswego; Our loss three men killed and about twelve wounded, among the latter Captain Towers an Engineer; the loss of the Enemy not known, it is said Mr La Corne, who commanded, was wounded, the second in command killed, six were found dead in the Woods and a great deal of blood discovered in several places.

My last letter from General Amherst was of the 14<sup>th</sup> Instant, in which he says every thing would be ready in three days, I expect by the next post to hear he is gone down Lake George. I am with the greatest regard, My Lords,

Right Honorable

The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Your Lordships most obedient

& most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.



*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ "American Colonies MS." Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 146. ]

King's Coll. N. York

July 25 1759

May it please Your Grace,

I now proceed to answer the other parts of Your Grace's kind letter, which I ought to have done sooner, but either have not been duly informed or been unavoidably hindered.

In my former letter, I, with great truth observed to Your Grace, that the quarrels among the Dissenters, especially those occasioned by the late Enthusiasm, contributed vastly more to drive honest thinking people into the Church, than any endeavors of the Clergy to make proselytes. — There is now a most flagrant instance of this at Wallingford, a large County Town in the heart of Connecticut. This occasions me to enclose to Your Grace the two tracts relating to that affair, which may serve to give you a state of that case, and a pretty clear notion of their Constitution, if it may be called one; they call it a platform: a copy of which I sent the Society some years ago: it is now out of print. I would only observe to Your Grace that the censure took place: in consequence of which, the minor part applied to the General Assembly and were favoured by the lower house, but negatived by the Governor and assistants. Notwithstanding which they are quarrelling since worse than ever, and are resolved to carry things to the last extremity: and it is like to throw the whole Colony into a flame. I hope it will produce a flourishing church there, if they could but have a good Minister. —

I enclose also another pamphlet, in confirmation of what I observed to Your Grace of the indefatigable endeavours and wicked artifices of some of the dissenters to disaffect the Society and our Benefactors by falshoods and misrepresentations: for I doubt not but that paper, which was but little known here, was printed chiefly with a view at sending over numerous copies to England to be clandestinely handed about for that purpose. I have faithfully inquired into

that affair myself, and find things exactly as Mr Seabury, who is a very honest man, represented, excepting one in a corner of the County, which had belonged to Connecticut, and which for that reason the gentleman that informed him was not aware of.

As to the Characters of the Clergy about which your Grace enquired—I am but little acquainted with those of the Southern provinces. I have only heard there are some worthy men, and two or three very bad ones: especially one Whitaker in Maryland, one of the worst of men. But they tell me the Constitution of that Government is such, that there is no such thing as dispossessing an incumbent, however so wicked or erroneous: if so, it is high time it were looked into, and if possible amended.—As to the Clergy of New-Jersies, New-York and New-England they are generally speaking virtuous and faithful persons: And I do not know of any of them now, suspected of any erroneous principles.—There is but one whose Character is exceptionable, I mean Mr Lyons<sup>1</sup> of Brookhaven on Long Island, under whose conduct, a pretty little flourishing Church is dwindling, and I fear, coming to nothing; as I found having preached there last Fall. No other vice indeed, is laid to his charge but Covetousness and perfunctoriness, making only a trade of the Gospel, and his habit was so scandalously ragged, that it could not fail of bringing both himself and that into contempt. I used him very freely, and advised him to get himself removed, and enter upon a better conduct in some new place; but we have heard nothing of him since, only that he continues ragged and despised.

As to learning, My Lord, much cannot be expected in such a Country as this, where they can have so little leisure or means; but Mr Chandler will be considerable. I wish some few had a little more zeal, tho' this is not wanting in the generality of them, and they have divinity enough to render them useful preachers. Mr Barclay of this Church, is a well accomplished divine, an excellent preacher and a very prudent and laborious Minister; I wish he could have the honor of a Doctor's degree, which he well deserves. Indeed not only the English in this City, but the Dutch Germans and French are all very happy in their Clergy. Mr Wetmore and the two Seaburys in this province and Messrs Winslow Dibble and Leaming in Connecticut, are all very worthy men. Poor Mr Gibbs is disabled in his understanding; Mr Standard was never agreeable to his people, so that religion is almost come to nothing under his Administration; but he is quite superannuated, and intends to resign in favor of Mr Greaton, a worthy Youth, who will soon go for orders, and is greatly wanted; the more so, as Mr Stoup at New Rochel, the next parish, is quite disabled with the palsy; which is also the case of good Dr Cutler at Boston, who has been a learned and very faithful Divine. Mr Caner excels there as a preacher, and they have in general a faithful clergy in all those parts.

And now, My Lord, as to the Missions; There is not one in all these parts, that could decently, (and of most of them) I may say tolerably, provide for a Minister without the Society's help, unless perhaps Rhode Island and Boston, and they but indifferently: 25 or 30 £ p<sup>r</sup> an<sup>m</sup> is as much as they can well do in Country places; a few, perhaps, more, but most of them not so much: Where it depends on subscription it generally falls short. There are few Glebes of much worth.

<sup>1</sup> Reverend JAMES LYONS was a native of Ireland; he was appointed Itinerant Missionary in Connecticut about the year 1744, and resided at Darby and Waterbury until 1746, when he succeeded the Rev. Mr. Brown in the Church at Brookhaven, L. I. In 1753, he married a daughter of Col. Henry Smith, of St. George's Manor, and ceased to be on the Society's list in 1768. Thompson, *History of Long Island*, I., 428, says that he was a man of genius and ability, with considerable energy of character, but possessed a temper so ungovernable as greatly to impair his influence and defeat the utility of his ministry. The consequence was he ceased to preach some years before his death, which took place in 1786. — Ed.

The next thing is to give Your Grace an account of those places where Missions are wanted. And here, I beg leave first to mention a great part of this province: I mean all that tract on the East side of Hudson's River, from West Chester upwards quite as far as we have any settlements, abounding with people, but almost destitute of Ministers of any denomination, except two Dutch and two Germans, and many people have almost lost all sense of Christianity.—Indeed in the large County of West-Chester, there is only good Mr Wetmore and two Dissenting Teachers, that are capable of duty.—Northward of that, is Coll. Philips's Mannour, on which are people enough for a large Congregation without any Minister at all. The Coll. has himself built a neat small church and set of a tract of land for a Glebe, which will be considerable in time, and he and his tenants are very desirous of a Minister, but will need the Society's assistance.

Next above that is Dutchess-County, a large tract, which Mr Seabury represented, where there is the greatest need of a Mission. Indeed in this with the Mannours and Frontiers above, part of the County of Albany there is large and laborious work for at least two Missionaries: And I have two or three hopeful Candidates under my direction, and are within a year or two of age for orders who I hope may be provided for in these places.—I might add that a new Mission is much wanted at Huntington on Long Island, together with the South side, a long tract, where, except one Dissenter, they are wholly destitute, so that he must be Itinerant—and I wish Taunton in Boston Government could be provided for: and three are extremely wanted in Narraganset: Dr McSparran's Salary should be divided between Kingston and Warwick and another should be established at Westerly.

And lastly, My Lord, as to the Frontiers.—Mr McClellan has left his Mission, where one is much wanted to succeed him who should be a young man. I wish he does not occasion much disturbance at Philadelphia whither he is going, and they are much divided about him: I doubt he is enthusiastical, at least he affects to act a part like Whitefield.—The frontiers of Boston and Hampshire have Dissenting Ministers, and I believe they have but few Church people.—In this Province, besides that I mentioned last above Dutchess County belonging to Albany, they are building a Church at Schenectady a fine County town on the West side of the river above Albany, and will soon want a Minister there and there will be a German Minister above that, and the other Frontiers are either dissenters Dutch or Germans, which last I believe much want Ministers and schools in Pennsylvania. Of the frontiers further Westward I can say nothing: but the Colony of North Carolina doubtless wants more Missionaries. Thus my Lord I have briefly answered your Grace's inquiries as far as I am able for the present, and conclude with my humblest thanks for Your Graces kind influence in the Society's generous donation to our College and with the greatest Esteem and Veneration I remain, May it please yr Grace,

Your Grace's most obliged

most dutiful and obedient

humble Servant

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON

P. S.

I should have mentioned to Your Grace that Mr Dibble at Stamford, who is a very worthy and laborious Minister with a large family, is not able to subsist there, unless his Salary can be enlarged; and as I know of no man that better deserves it, I should be humbly thankful in his behalf if the Society could add 20 pounds to the 30 he has already.



*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 92. ]

(Duplicate.)

New York 31 July 1759

My Lords,

I congratulate you on the success of His Majesty's Arms under General Amherst who is now in possession of the French Lines at Tionderoga and the remains of their Fort Carillon. I cannot give a better Account of this Matter than what is contained in the General's letter which I just now received, a copy of which I inclose. I have no late authentick accounts from Niagara, the news from thence is contained in the inclosed print. I am afraid the report of General Prideaux' death<sup>1</sup> is true; the Indians with Sir William Johnson behave extremely well. Mr Wraxall Secretary for Indian affairs is dead, I shall take Sir William's recommendation for that place 'till his Majesty's pleasure is signified. Mr Kemp late Attorney General is also dead, I have with the advice of His Majesty's Council appointed Mr John Tabor Kemp his son to succeed him untill the King's pleasure be known.

I shall not detain the packet one Moment that is to carry Colonel Amherst with the General's Dispatches and is to sail this Afternoon therefore I hope Your Lordships will excuse my not sending some papers which were to have gone this opportunity.

I am going to the Fort to drink the king's health & to have the Canon Fired on this success of his Arms. I am with the greatest Regard,

My Lords, Your Lordships most obedient

&amp; most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

Right Honorable

Lords Commissioners of Trade &amp;c.

*Major-General Amherst to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm., No. 91. ]

Camp at Lake George, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1759

Dear Sir.

I am this moment favored with Yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> Instant together with a Copy of the Act passed by the Council and assented to by you, for granting a Loan of £150,000 New York currency for carrying on His Majesty's Service, agreeable to my Request and the terms proposed by my letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> Ultimo, for which signal mark of Your Zeal in promoting the public service I beg leave to return you my most sincere thanks, and must also desire that you will be pleased to signify to the Council & Assembly of New York the true sense I have of their

<sup>1</sup> Brigadier-General JOHN PRIDEAUX was appointed Captain of the 3d Foot Guards on 24 February, 1748, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. He received the commission of Colonel of the 55th regiment of Foot, on the 28th of October, 1758, and Brigadier-General 5 May, 1759. He was killed in the trenches at the siege of Niagara, on the evening of the 19th July, 1759, by an accident, the gunner inconsiderately firing as the General was passing. The shell burst as soon as it had passed the mouth of the cohorn, and a large piece of it struck him on the side of the head. *Knox Historical Journal*, I., 403.

loyalty to the king, and their Zeal for his service, in so readily and chearfully contributing towards it by their Compliance with Your Motion and my request which conduct they may be assured I shall not fail to Represent to His Majesty's Ministers in that just light it deserves.

And as nothing is more just than that the province should be kept harmless and Indemnified from all Costs, charges and Damages that may happen or accrue by means of this loan (which I have already given assurances of to you by my letter of the 3<sup>d</sup> Instant, I again this day repeat to M<sup>r</sup> Mortier the Dep : Paym<sup>r</sup> General that he do draw and lodge in the hands of the treasurer of the said province for the time being, a Sett or Setts of Bills of Exchange at Sixty Days Sight on the Pay master General of His Majesty's Forces, for the sum of three Hundred and Seventy five thousand Spanish milled Dollars, Equal to the Sum of one Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds, New York currency, and as an Additional Security to the Colony I do hereby engage that they shall be kept harmless & Indemnified of and from all costs, charges and Damages that may happen or accrue by means or on account of the Loan granted by the above mentioned Act untill the said Money shall be fully replaced in the hands of the Treasurer of the Colony.

Nothing remains for me now but to Desire that the Bills of Credit may be as soon as possible emitted and paid over to M<sup>r</sup> Mortier that he may without loss of time, repair to Albany, in order to answer the great and pressing Demands of Money there, and as I am sensible that it is chiefly owing to Your Influence that this Negotiation has been attended with so much Success and Dispatch I cannot forbear once more expressing to you my true sense of Your kindness<sup>1</sup> upon all occasions to forward and promote the common cause, and of assuring You how sincerely I am.

[ Dear Sir

Your most Obedient

humble Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.]



*Major-General Amherst to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Papers, Mm , No. 93. ]

Camp at Tienderoga. 27<sup>th</sup> July 1759

Sir.

On Saturday Morning last I embarked with the Army at Lake George, the next day landed without opposition and proceeded to the Saw Mills, & took post on the commanding grounds, meeting only a trifling opposition from the enemy; We lay on our arms all night, and early on the 23<sup>d</sup> we continued our march to this ground which I took possession of in the forenoon, the enemy having abandoned the Lines without destroying them, first having carried off their Effects as well as sent away the greatest part of their troops; as soon as I was set down before the place and after having reconnoitred it I ordered the trenches to be opened & Batteries to be made, which were finished last night and were to have opened at break of Day, but the enemy

<sup>1</sup> readiness. *New-York Council Minutes*, XXV., 289, from the copy in which the words within brackets are added. — Ed.

did not think proper to wait till then having about ten of the Clock Yesterday Evening blown up a part of the Fort, and made their Escape all to about 20 Deserters. Our loss considering the Fire is inconsiderable; We have only two Officers killed, viz<sup>t</sup> Colonel Townshend, Deputy Adjutant General & Ensign Harrison of late Forbes'.

I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with this & of assuring you that

I am,

P. S. Since writing the foregoing I am favored with Yours of the 22<sup>d</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup>—am much obliged to You for Your kind assistance in forwarding Capt. Fraser's detachment to Louisbourg, and entirely approve the Method you & M<sup>r</sup> Kilby have fallen upon for avoiding any more expence than was necessary upon this occasion.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 97.]

New York 10<sup>th</sup> August 1759

My Lords,

I have again the pleasure of congratulating Your Lordships on the further Success of His Majesty's Arms, in defeating the French forces coming to the relief of Niagara Fort, then besieged by us, which brought on the Capitulation the same Evening 24 July and its Surrender the next morning, whereby His Majesty is now in possession of the most important pass in all the Indian Countries. The Advantages arising from this defeat are of very great consequence for as those were troops drawn from Venango, Beeve River, Presqu'ile & Detroit, those posts must be unfurnished with Men and Officers, seventeen, of whom seven Captains, having been taken prisoners. This renders it very easy for B<sup>r</sup> General Stanwix to proceed that way, as he can meet with little or no opposition, Most of the Indians will begin to see that it is their Interest to join us. The distresses of Canada, the disability of the French to supply them as usual, and the difficulties they must always find, while we have Niagara, will induce the Indians to throw themselves under the protection of His Majesty: And I can make no doubt but that this happy Event will not only fix the Shawanese and Delawares, as far as Indians can be, in the British Interest, but will also draw other Tribes of Indians into it. As soon as I had received this agreeable news I dispatched an Express to Governor Denny with the Intelligence to be forwarded to B. G. Stanwix, that he might take the proper advantages of it.

I also congratulate Your Lordships on General Amherst's being in possession of Crown Point and preparing to build a Fort there, which will effectually cover the Country. I send you an Extract of his Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Instant.

As the Authentick Accounts of the Operations at Niagara are sent by the Commanding Officer only to the General, which I have not, I shall inclose Copies of the most particular Information that has come to my hands.

I am, with the greatest regard,

My Lords, Your Lordships most obedient

Right Honorable

& most humble Servant

Lords Commissioners of Trade &c

JAMES DE LANCEY.



*Letter from Captain De Lancey.<sup>1</sup>*

[New-York Papers, Mm., No. 99.]

Niagara July 25<sup>th</sup> 1759.

I have the pleasure of informing You of the Surrender of this Fort. We left Oswego the 1<sup>st</sup> of this Month, our Army consisting of 2200 and 600 Indians, we were joined by 300 more during the Siege, we landed the 6<sup>th</sup> and on the 20<sup>th</sup> Brigadier Prideaux was killed. On the 22<sup>d</sup> we received an account by some of our Indians that a large body of French Indians were coming, either to attack Our Camp or throw themselves into the Fort. I forgot to mention that after Mr Prideaux' death the command devolved on Sir William Johnson; the 23<sup>d</sup> I was sent with 150 of the light Infantry to encamp near the River close to the Road leading from the Falls to the Fort, in order to prevent the enemy's throwing any Succour into the Fort and alarm the Rest of the Troops, who were about a mile distant from us, in case they attempted it. That night and the next morning I threw up a breast work in the Front of my Camp and about 6 OClock I sent a Serjeant & Ten Men to a Camp we had on the other side of the River opposite to the Fort, for a six pounder ordered to be placed in the front of my Camp, they were obliged to go a mile up the River to the Boats, as soon as they got to the Boats they were attacked by the enemy and all taken or killed: I immediately sent a Serjeant to Sir William to acquaint him that the Enemy were coming and in ten Minutes I was joined by three pickets of 50 each who were that morning ordered to reinforce me, about a quarter of an hour after Lt Colonel Massey arrived with 150 of the 46<sup>th</sup> with which and the picket of the 44<sup>th</sup> he drew up on the Right of me, and the other two pickets on the left, about 100 Indians went to the left of the whole in order to fall on the Enemy's Flank: Some of our Indians went to the Enemy's Indians to prevail on them not to fight But the French told them, they did not want to fight with our Indians but with us, on this our Indians returned and told us, the Enemy was coming, which they soon did with a very great noise and shouting; They began the attack on the Right and our Men kept their ground and soon returned their fire, I ordered the Light Infantry not to fire till they were sure of their mark, which they punctually obeyed; Part of the enemy then inclined to the left and gave us a very smart fire, we did not fire for some time and then only about ten shot, at some few of the Enemy who came very near us, very soon after this I found the Enemy's fire slacken, upon which I sent to Col. Massey to desire he would let me leave the Breast work and rush in on the enemy which he granted, desired I would move slow and advanced with his party on the Right, we jumped over the Breastwork and Rushed in on the enemy, who immediately gave way, they then Endeavoured to Flank us on the left, but I ordered a party from the Right to move to the left which they did, and with them I pushed forwards to the enemy, who falling in with the party which was on my left

<sup>1</sup> Capt. JAMES DE LANCEY was eldest son of the Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey and Anne Heathcote, and was born in New-York in 1732, and educated at Eton and Cambridge, England. He retired from the service in 1760, on succeeding to his father's estate. He represented the city of New-York in the Assembly from 1768 to 1775. In May, of the last mentioned year, he visited England, whither his family followed him; his name, notwithstanding his absence from the country, was inserted in the act of attainder of 1779, and his estates escheated. After the peace of 1783, he was Vice-President of the Board of Loyalists, and he died in Bath, England, in the year 1800, aged 68 years. His wife was Martha, daughter of Chief Justice Allen, of Pennsylvania, who survived her husband a couple of years. Sabine in his *American Loyalists*, confounds this Captain De Lancey with his cousin Colonel James De Lancey, commander of the Westchester Loyalists, known in history as "the Cow Boys," and who eventually went to Nova Scotia. *Letter of Edward F. De Lancey, Esq.*—Ed.

immediately ran away as fast as they could, and never offered to rally afterwards, a few of them remained behind and exchanged a few shot with us, and were either taken or killed; Our Indians as soon as they saw the Enemy give way pursued them very briskly and took and killed great numbers of them, we pursued about five Miles and then returned, we took several prisoners in our return under the bank of the River, the enemy's party consisted of 850 French and 350 Indians, we killed 200 and took 100 prisoners, 5 Captains among whom are M<sup>rs</sup> De Lignerie and Morang the Gentleman who visited the Bullocks and 12 Subaltern Officers; On our return Sir William sent in a Flag of Truce to the French Commandant to let him know what had happened, who kept Harvey in the Fort and sent out the next in command to himself to see the officers who were prisoners that he and the Officers in the Fort with him might be sure they could have no succours and gave up the place with Honor, though we had not made any practicable Breach: This Morning the Grenadiers of the Army marched into the Fort, the Garrison surrendered prisoners of war; I shall send more of the particulars of the Siege in my next, Moncrieff goes off immediately. I have not time to send the Old Gentleman a Copy of this.

I am

Endorsed

Copy of a Letter from  
Capt De Lancey Dated  
25 July 1759. Niagara.



*Major-General Amherst to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[New-York Papers, Mun., No. 103.]

Camp at Crown Point 5<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1759.

Dear Sir.

Your favour of the 29<sup>th</sup> Ultimo requiring no Answer I have only to thank you for it, and to congratulate you on our possession of this ground, which I took yesterday Evening the enemy having abandoned it and blown up part of the Fort three days before; Indeed I should have been here two days sooner had not an excessive heavy 24 hours rain Retarded our Batteaus &c from getting over the carrying place but now no time shall be lost in building such a Fort as from its situation & strength will most effectually cover the whole Country & ensure the peaceable and quiet possession of this side, wherefore you may as soon as you please advise and recommend it to such of the Inhabitants of Your Province as may have deserted their settlements, to come and reoccupy the same & also to encourage all those that you shall think proper to come and settle such parts of it as you shall please to grant and parcel out to them, and now they can have nothing to fear from the Incursions of the Enemy which they may from henceforth safely look upon to be at an End, not only on this side, but likewise along the Mohawk River, which Sir William Johnson's Success at Niagara (of which you will ere this have had the accounts) has also ensured.

*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ " American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 152. ]

New York, October 20. 1759.

May it please Your Grace,

I most thankfully received Your Grace's very kind letter of July 19th and am exceeding glad if any letters of mine can be of any use to you. The sequel of that of March 20th was prepared in July, but unfortunately missed of an opportunity till lately: I hope it will soon reach your hand, and meet with a favorable reception.—

Mr Apthorp tells me, he never could find any opposition was made by the Dissenters there to his being settled at Cambridge, and that they treat him with great respect and decency, as they always did me when there, and I had even a Friendship with their Professor of Divinity: As they seem a Moderate people I hope he will have no trouble with them.

I humbly thank Your Grace for your kind compliment relating to what I mentioned with regard to a successor. I thank God, I seem to have a very firm health; but my condition here is very precarious, chiefly by reason of the small pox, being obliged now, (already a second time) to retire on account of it—this especially (together with my advanced years) makes me thoughtful how my College may be provided for. On which account I am glad Mr Apthorp is so near, who I believe would be immediately pitched upon: his youth would be the only objection.

As I am obliged to retire I am entered on a journey to Stratford, where I purpose to reside a few months with my Son, and shall there be under advantage to procure a copy of Mr Hobart's first address, which I will send to Your Grace if it can be had. I intended to have sent those papers of the Reflector if I could find them, which I cannot yet: however you will see the full force of them in Hobart and Smith's History so far as the Church is concerned.

As to the Affair of Mr Beach, I never saw a copy of what was done at that meeting of the Clergy; only Mr Wetmore told me he had given them good satisfaction, and they had transmitted what they had done to the Society; so that I concluded the Society were also well satisfied. They were to blame if they did not send Duplicates. It is commonly received that Mr Beach then retracted what he had published, and nothing since has ever been said about it.—

As to Mr Barclay's Remarks; Dr Smith of Philadelphia undertook to enlarge them and transmit them to Your Grace with a fuller vindication, and I have sent him some materials.— As to Your Grace's appointing a proxy to represent you at your<sup>1</sup> Board, it is what the Governors of the College are very desirous of: and as to myself, I am very humbly obliged to your Grace for the great Honor you do me, in proposing to nominate me, and shall submit to whatever Your Grace shall think proper to do in the Affair.

The bearer hereof is one Mr Milner, a Young Candidate of this City, who hath been educated and graduated at the College of New Jersey, & appears a Youth of good hopes. He wants about 8 months of age for full orders, & proposes to pursue his studies at Oxford in that Interim, & then to offer himself to the Society's Service for which I hope he will be well qualified, & I beg leave to recommend him to Your Grace's notice. I wonder Mr Greacon is



not here from Boston to go for West Chester. If he should go in my absence, I beg the same for him.—I am, may it please Your Grace,

Your Grace's

Most obliged and dutiful Son,

and most humble Servant

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON.

*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Min., No. 109.]

New York, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1759.

My Lords,

General Amherst having represented to me the necessity of a further provision for the troops in the pay of this Province (the former having been made only to the first of November) that they might continue to assist in repairing the works at Niagara, putting the Fort at Oswego in a respectable condition this season and forwarding the cannon, stores and provisions for the Garrisons, so as to secure these Important Posts from any insults of the enemy. I called the Assembly and laid the Necessity of this Measure before them whereupon they immediately came to a Resolution to provide for the pay of the Troops for one month longer and to furnish each Man with a pair of shoes, stockings and a warm waistcoat which were procured and sent up without delay: And B<sup>r</sup> General Gage by his Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant dated Camp at Ontario acquaints me that the works at Oswego will be finished by the end of this Month: I inclose a printed Copy of my message and of the Resolutions of the Assembly.

General Amherst set out from Crown Point the 11<sup>th</sup>, the very Evening his Vessells came down to him, and returned the 21<sup>st</sup> not having been able to procede to the other end of the Lake, by reason of the strong continual contrary winds and the seasons being so far advanced: Of the Enemy's Vessells on Lake Champlain two were sunk by them in a Bay on the Western shore, the third run a ground, whether the 4<sup>th</sup> has escaped is not yet known, but we are Masters of the Lake; This was owing to a prudent Measure of the General's, who ordered his Brigantine and sloop to make the best of their way down the Lake the night they set out, whereby they got between these vessells and St. John's, which the enemy perceiving and not daring to engage ours they sunk and run ashore theirs.

I most heartily join in the publick joy for the glorious Victory obtained by Prince Ferdinand over the French, and gladly congratulate Your Lordships on the Surrender of Quebec to his Majesty's Arms.

I am with the greatest Regard, My Lords,

Your Lordships most Obedient

and most humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

Right Honorable

Lords Commissioners of Trade &c.

*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[New-York Entries, B. P. 149.]

To Ja<sup>s</sup> DeLancey Esq<sup>re</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

Amongst the Acts passed in the province of New York in December 1758, there is one *for empowering Justices of the Peace to try causes to the value of five pounds and under.*

As Laws of this kind have been attended with great inconveniencys, and have been much complained of in other Colonies; and as we observe, that the judgement of the Justices is final in the matters cognizable before them, and no appeal allowed, we should have thought it our duty, had the Law been a perpetual one, to have laid it before His Maj<sup>ty</sup> for His disapprobation; but as we find, that it is only to continue to the first of January next, that measure can not have any avail to put a stop to what remains of its effect and operation. We must desire however, that you will not give your assent to a revival of this Law, or to any Law of the same nature, without a clause be inserted in it, suspending its effect, until His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure can be known; and in that case that you will fully inform us of the grounds and motives for passing such a Law, and what effect the Law already passed has had. We are.

Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> humble servants

DUNK HALIFAX

JAMES OSWALD

SOAME JENYNS

W. G. HAMILTON

W<sup>m</sup> SLOPER.14. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1759.*Reverend Dr. Smith to Archbishop Secker.*

[“American Colonies MS.” Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 156.]

My Lord

I did myself the Honor to write to Your Grace by last New York Packet, and mentioned the surrender of S<sup>t</sup> John's, which I must now contradict, as a piece of false intelligence; for the early setting in of the cold weather obliged Gen: Amherst to return without accomplishing his design. The French still hold that Fort as well as *Montreal*, and perhaps may stand it out till next Spring; but all these lesser places must soon follow their Capital *Quebec*.

Having Your Grace's permission and Commands to write at all times freely about the state of Religion and our Church in these Colonies; I am sorry that I have so soon occasion to write a very long, and I fear disagreeable letter on this head. But Duty calls, & I hope Your Grace will ever believe me incapable of any sinister Motive on such an occasion.

☐ I value Your Grace's favor and protection above every other earthly Consideration. It saved me in the worst of times, & from the worst sort of oppression. My Antagonists are brought to sufficient confusion, and he who was like to be borne down, unheard, as a foe to his Country, is received back again into it, in the more agreeable light of an acknowledged Advocate for Civil Order and public liberty.

Such a happy turn as this accomplished chiefly, My Lord, by Your Grace's goodness, is not to be repaid by words or single acts, but by the gratitude of a whole life; and whenever I am found capable of making the least unworthy return, or of abusing Your Confidence in a single instance, I may justly be accounted among the worst of mankind.

Indeed, in the present fatal division in which I found our Church at my arrival (which I hinted at in my last and now to give a circumstantial account of) it is impossible that I should have any particular interest. The Church here can do nothing to place me in a more honorable or advantageous station than I hold at present. All sides, since my arrival, have desired my interest, but I have held it most prudent to take no other public part, except to support the Rev. Dr *Jenney*<sup>1</sup> in his just Orders, and to prevent matters (as far as I can) from running to extremity, till we receive a proper interposition of Your Grace's and our Diocesan's authority, by which alone the matter can be accommodated. As a foundation for such an interposition, I now proceed to my account; which I must begin a considerable way backwards, to give the more perfect idea of the whole.

The Chief Powers of this Government were originally in the Quakers, who were a Majority of the first settlers. But, in process of time, by the accession of men of other persuasions, they not only became a minority; but do not now even exceed one fifth part of the whole. The number of souls, in this Province & Territories, is thought to be at least 250,000; and the state of Religious Persuasions, agreeable to the best Calculation I can make, from ample materials in my hands, is as follows; viz.

1. Of the Church of England about .....	25,000
2. Quakers .....	50,000
3. English, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, Covenanters &c ....	55,000
4. English Anabaptists .....	5,000
5. German Anabaptists, or Menonists, and other Quietist Sects..	30,000
6. German Lutherans, who are well inclined to be incorporated into the Church of England .....	35,000
7. Swedish Lutherans, who use the Liturgy & discipline of the Church in most Articles.....	5,000
8. German Presbyterians or Calvinists, who style themselves the <i>Reformed</i> .....	30,000
9. Roman Catholics, English Irish and German.....	10,000
10. Moravians, and a small German Society called Donkers, about	5,000
In all .....	<u>250,000</u>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. ROBERT JENNEY, J.L. D., son of Archdeacon Jenney of Wanneytown, Ireland, was born in the year 1687, and educated in Trinity College, Dublin. Thompson (*History of Long Island*, II., 30,) says he had been a chaplain in the navy from 1710 to 1714, next an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Evans of Philadelphia until 1717, when he became chaplain to the fort at New-York. In June, 1722, he became Rector of Grace church, Rye, Westchester county, N. Y., and remained there until 1725, when he removed to Hempstead, L. I. He continued in charge of the Episcopal church at this place until 1742, when he was chosen Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. He died 5th January, 1762, at the advanced age of 75 years, and was interred in the church, beneath the aisle and in front of the Chancel. It is recorded of him that he was, *Purae Religionis, honeste veritatis Exemplum, Christianae Fidei Vindicem, Probitatis Cultorem*. *Dorr's History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 317. — ED.



Notwithstanding this great disparity, the Quakers still hold the Chief places in the Government, which, from the above state, it is obvious they could not do by their own single interest. They have, therefore, made it their invariable rule (agreeable to the Maxim, *Divide et impera*) to divide and distract all other Societies, and to take off some men among them, who have been found mean enough to be so dealt with; and in proportion to the reluctance with which other Societies bear their being excluded from their just share of public Trust, does this subtle political body exert their dividing arts; from which cause proceed most of the confusions and distresses felt by the Ministers & Missionaries of the Church here, and the Continual Clamor kept up against them as *Hirelings* &c, by this crafty levelling sect, and their Mercenary Adherents.

Now, My Lord, no religious Society here so well deserves the exertion of this Quaker policy, as the Congregation of Christ-Church in this City, which is already numerous enough to fill three large Churches, & consists of many of the most opulent and respectable families in the place. The Quakers, therefore, have always endeavored to get the Ministers of that Church in the Interest of their unconstitutional policy (knowing the influence it would have on the other Ministers in the Province); and, when that could not be done, to give them as much uneasiness as possible, by stirring up part of their Congregations against them, and rewarding such disturbers with places & other Emoluments; particularly, procuring them to be elected Members of their Provincial Assembly.

The use of these observations will appear immediately, My Lord, for, this being a just view of the Quaker Policy, Your Grace will not wonder that when there is a prospect of a vacancy in so considerable an Office as the *Rectorship* of Christ-Church here, that Party should stir themselves to fill it up with a person devoted to their interest, and to exclude every one whom they judge Capable of uniting and Confirming the Congregation in those laudable principles of Religion and Government, which are the Glory of our English Church.

In that light, My Lord, I flatter myself they did me the Honor to consider me, when they first endeavored to foment differences between the Rev. Dr Jenney's Assistant and me, by telling him that it was intended, on the Dr's decease to put me over him in the Church, & offering to support him against me with their whole interest. The poor Credulous Man gave too much Ear to this; notwithstanding that he had little reason to expect to succeed Dr Jenney himself, having neither abilities nor consequence enough for the task, and knew moreover that my station as Head of the College put me above any anxiety about other Preferment here. The story, however, served the ends of the party, to weaken us by jealousies, and was the true cause of the part \*Mr Sturgeon acted during the grand struggle with the Quakers and their adherents about the King's Service and the defence of the Country, throwing himself wholly into the hands of that party, and doing sundry unfriendly things against me at their instigation, such as writing to Your Grace &c, which I never knew of till my return, and do most heartily forgive him, notwithstanding the unkindness of his conduct in endeavoring to hurt me with Your Grace, at a time when I was so unjustly oppressed in the Cause of public *liberty*, and had no other support but the goodness of that Cause, and the favor of good and discerning men. Nevertheless, I should not so much as mention these things now, were they not connected with my subject, or could they do him any injury. But he has smarted sufficiently for his error, and is fully sensible of it, as the sequel will shew. For no sooner

\* I mention Mr. Sturgeon only; for Dr. Jenney, for three years has been incapable of going abroad, or doing anything but what he was advised to by those about him; who too often imposed upon his weakness.

did the party find a man, whom they thought fitter for their purpose than Mr Sturgeon, than they threw him entirely off, and became his bitterest enemies.

This happened about last April, while I was in England. One Mr McClennaghan, who had been many years a dissenting Preacher in New England, having on some misunderstanding with his brethren, lately become a Convert to the Church of England, was employed by the Ven<sup>ble</sup> Society in an itinerant Mission on the Frontiers of that Colony. This Station, however, was not very agreeable to his vagrant temper; for, by the best accounts I can obtain (of which the Society may more certainly inform themselves) he was not very constant in his attendance on his Mission, but was much on the ramble for better preferment. He spent much of his time in and about Boston, affecting the Methodist manner and doctrines to captivate the Multitude, and had his Eye chiefly on Dr Cutler's Congregation, where by reason of the Dr's age and infirmities, he had most frequent opportunities of preaching. But his manner becoming at length extremely exceptionable, and his designs being discovered by an application of many of the people to have him settled even during the Dr's life, as his Coadjutor and successor, which was like to be attended with much Confusion to that as well as the other Episcopal Congregations there, the Doctor, with much spirit, upon the advice of his brethren, not only rejected the proposal, but refused him any further use of his pulpit, which example was followed by all the other Clergy, which left him no opportunity of doing further hurt there.

The consequence of this was a determination to move Southward, and accordingly he went to Virginia, notwithstanding he was all this while in the pay of the Society. At Virginia he made some agreement to settle in a parish, and the people, in consideration of his pretended poverty and inability to move his family from New England advanced him Money in bills of Exchange to the value of about £75. With this Money, he was on his way Northward about April last, and called at this City to turn his bills into Cash, where he was asked to preach. The novelty of his manner, his great noise and *extempore* effusions, both in praying and preaching, struck sundry of the lower sort of people, and made the party I have been describing, catch at him eagerly as one providentially sent among them, and much fitter for their purpose than poor Mr Sturgeon; who they, no doubt found too Confidential<sup>1</sup> to go the lengths they wished, and if they should have succeeded in getting him at the head of the Church, could never have been of much service to them; being but an unengaging preacher, averse to public bustle, and of but indifferent abilities, though otherwise a man of much apparent piety, that has taken much pains in his Office, & where he has erred, I believe was rather led away by bad advice, than any unworthy design in himself.

But, to return, it was accordingly proposed to Mr McClennaghan to lay aside all thoughts of returning to Virginia, and to settle at Philadelphia. To a man who was on the hunt for preferment, this Overture was acceptable enough, and he consented to embrace it, notwithstanding his Contract with the Virginians, his acceptance of their Money, and perhaps his being at the same time in the Society's pay, during all these peregrinations, whereof their own accounts will best inform them. The matter was accordingly proposed to the Vestry here; but Dr Jenney and they objected that there was no vacancy; that there was one assistant in the Church already, and they had some months before addressed the Lord Bishop of London for another, namely the Rev. Mr Jacob Duche, that amiable Youth whom I had the

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Conscientious. — Ed.



honor of introducing to your Grace, whose Character stands so high in *Clarchall* where he finished his studies; a Youth that had been bred up in our College here, born in the bosom of our Church and of the highest expectations that ever any Youth brought into the Ministry; having the most Captivating Eloquence and every engaging accomplishment. They further added, that his arrival, to enter upon his Office was then every day expected; that the Church would then be fully supplied during Dr Jenney's life; that a third assistant was an unusual as well as unnecessary thing in a single Church; that the funds were already insufficient to maintain the rector and his two Assistants which they had already employed; that the new Church which they were building would not be ready for some years, and that it was uncertain who the Contributors might be inclined to employ in it; that Mr McClennaghan was a stranger to every body in this City, and that his manner and doctrines were moreover very exceptionable to the Rector and the principal people in the Congregation.

This did not satisfy the party. They then mustered their whole Force amounting to about 70 persons, signed a paper and came to the Vestry while sitting, insisting that Mr McClennaghan should be employed, and offering to maintain him by private subscription. This number, tho' but a handful compared to the body of the Congregation, took the Vestry off their guard when some of its principal members were absent, and extorted a kind of Conditional promise of granting Mr McClennaghan the occasional use of the Church along with Dr Jenney's two Assistants, till the matter could be otherwise accommodated; provided he should procure sufficient testimonials of his Character, which was now much questioned on account of two letters received from the Rev<sup>d</sup> Messrs Brown and Chandler, two worthy Missionaries in New Jersey.

Dr Jenney, however, still refused his assent, declaring that he wanted no other Assistant, and had a particular dislike to Mr McClennaghan; nor would he leave his Chamber to be present at some of the meetings on this Occasion. This incensed Mr McClennaghan's party; some of the leaders of which found means to force themselves to a Conference with the poor dying gentleman, threatening to keep back all their Pew-Money, out of which his Salary was paid, and to starve him alive if he did not comply; with other language too insolent & barbarous to be used by any but such a party, to a poor old servant of the Church, who had already one foot in the grave. And all this was done with Mr McClennaghan's assent and approbation; the Consequence of which was, as they pretend, that Dr Jenney gave his Consent to what had been agreed upon, tho' he himself says he does not know what he did on the occasion, having been so ill-used; nor does it signify, since it was done so irregularly, and not in a meeting of the Vestry.

Matters being brought so far, Mr McClennaghan proceeded soon after to New England to bring his family and Certificates; but he brought none of any moment, but a letter from Mess<sup>rs</sup> *Caner* and *Troutbec*; the purport of which was merely negative, viz "that they did not know enough of Mr McClennaghan to give any character of him, but hoped the people of Philadelphia who had employed him would find no exception to his moral behaviour." This is the substance of all they said, which he procured from them, under pretence that his settlement at Philadelphia was already fixed, and that it would be hard and unkind to disappoint him, by refusing him a few lines from at least some of his brethren. Such a letter, however, seemed strange from men living in *Boston*, who, whatever they might pretend, could not be strangers to the man who had made so much disturbance in several of their Congregations; and indeed it did Mr McClennaghan no service here, more especially when it was found that Governor *Pownall*



was so far from consenting to join in a character of him, that with his own hand he tore off the Province-Seal from one formerly drawn up. Nor can Mr *Caner* be excused for not writing all he knew about him, except by considering that he was told every thing at Philadelphia was concluded upon, & that it would be only making more disturbance to write the whole matter. Added to this, perhaps, they were not ill-pleased to get fairly rid of him at Boston, for it is now known that neither they nor any of the other Clergy there, had for some time past allowed him any use of their pulpits.

Lame as this letter was, yet as it contained nothing directly for or against him, the violence of the party procured his admission into the Church on his return, which was about the beginning of September, a week after Mr *Duche's*<sup>1</sup> arrival, and a month before mine. In drawing up the Minute of Vestry for his admission, he was artfully called an Assistant to Dr *Jenney*, and it was so entered, but without the Dr's joining in it, or any other regular form; every thing being in the utmost Confusion, and some of the Chief Vestry men absenting themselves.

Soon after this an address was framed to the Bishop of London, for his Lordship's approbation of Mr *McClennaghan's* settlement here, and the extension of his license to this Province. It was intended also that this address should be an act of the Vestry, but Dr *Jenney's* absolute refusal to sign it disappointed them. Never at loss, they then called themselves the Vestry without their Rector, and set forth in the body of the address that he was consenting to what they did, but by reason of indisposition could not sign his name, which was so far from being true that by the same ship, and on the same day both the Dr and his Assistants wrote to the Bishop against granting the license to Mr *McClennaghan*. Several of the leading men of the Vestry were privy to all this, when they suffered the address of Mr *McClennaghan* to pass them; and their reason for doing it was that they knew it would be ineffectual without the Dr's hand to it, and they thought it best to procure a little temporary quiet, by seeming to Comply; knowing that the Bishop's rejection of the address would enable them to act the proper part when necessary.

So far had matters gone before my arrival, when at New York I received the first notice of them from the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr *Johnson*, and the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr *Barclay*; who lamented much the distractions of our Church, and gave me some sketch of Mr *McClennaghan's* Character and behaviour to the Northward; adding that neither they nor any of the Clergy there would allow him their Pulpits, he being an avowed Methodist and follower of *Whitfield's* plan; occasioning much confusion wherever he came. And indeed, the first time I heard him open his mouth in the Pulpit, it sufficiently confirmed what they had said. With a huge stature, and voice more than *Stentorian*, up he started before his Sermon; and, instead of modestly using any of the excellent forms provided in our Liturgy, or a form in the nature and substance of that enjoined by the 55th Canon, he addressed the Majesty of heaven with a long Catalogue of epithets

<sup>1</sup> Reverend JACOB DUCHE, D. D., was born in Philadelphia in 1738, and educated in Cambridge, England. Having been admitted to Holy Orders, he became assistant to Dr. *Jenny* in 1754. He officiated as chaplain to the first Continental Congress, in 1774, and succeeded Dr. *Peters*, (*supra*, p. 316.) as rector of Christ's Church, in 1775. In 1776, he was elected chaplain to Congress, and offered up "the first prayer" after the Declaration of Independence, but three months after, abandoned the cause of America, and resigned his Chaplaincy, after endeavoring to induce Washington to abandon the cause of his country also. He retired to England in 1777, where he remained until 1790, when he returned to Philadelphia, and died in that city on the 31 January, 1798, aged 60 years. His wife was daughter of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and his daughter Sophia married John Henry, who acted as agent for the English government in 1810, to induce the New England States to separate from the Union. Mr. *Duché* was the author, among other works, of *Caspina's Letters*. *Dorr; Sabine; Allen.* — Ed.

such as "Sin-pardoning, all-seeing, heart-searching rein-trying God"—"*We thank thee that we are all here to day and not in hell*"—Such an unusual manner in our Church sufficiently fixed my attention, which was exercised by a strange extempore rhapsody of more than 20 minutes, and afterwards a Sermon of about 68 Minutes more; which I think could hardly be religion; for I am sure it was not Common Sense. I have heard him again and again, and still we have the same wild incoherent rhapsodies, of which I can give no account, other than that they consist of a continual ringing the Changes upon the words Regeneration, instantaneous Conversion, imputed Righteousness, the new Birth &c—But I find no practical use made of these terms, nor does he offer any thing to explain them, or to tell us what he would be at. In short My Lord, it would make the Ears of a sober Christian tingle to sit and hear such Preachments.

Thus did I find matters at my arrival, the next day after which I waited on Dr Jenney and delivered Your Grace's letter, which I found threw him into tears, & made him cry out he had been much abused by designing men. He did not offer to shew me the Contents, but thanked me for all my past Candor to him; said he would always do me justice while he lived, & hoped I would not join Mr McClellanaghan and his party who wanted to take the bread out of his mouth. I told him that he might depend I should do every thing in my power to make him easy while he lived, and to keep the Peace of the Church, which I could appeal to himself I had never offered to disturb, even when used ill by it. He said that was very true, and he hoped God would bless me for it; then he proceeded with many tears to report the substance of what I have set forth above concerning Mr McClellanaghan, which seemed to affect him so much that I thought it best to beg his wife to try to compose his Spirits, and found means myself to slip away from him abruptly—His Case is indeed worthy of Compassion, and I am sure I shall slip no opportunity of administering him all the Comfort in my power.

The day following Mr Sturgeon Came to see me, and made very sincere acknowledgments for the part he had been unguardedly led to act against me—A few hours afterwards Mr McClellanaghan came also. He spoke much of his popularity, the *Call* he had from the people to be their Minister, which he pretends gives the only right title. The Bishop's authority he spoke of very disregardingly, and said it could never bind the people. I replied that however that matter might be, it was certainly binding on him and me, who were of the *Clergy*; that the Bishop pretended no authority over the people, but that if he did not think fit to grant his license to any Clergyman, or withdrew it when granted, I presumed that such Clergyman would not be warranted to officiate or enjoy any of the benefits belonging to a Clergyman of the Church of England; and that, in this light, the Bishop's approbation was necessary to the removal as well as settlement of the Clergy here; else they were quite independent, and our Church wholly void of discipline. He hardly seemed to allow this reasoning, and as it was in my own house, I chose to drop the dispute.

When I see him he behaves civilly, but has too little regard to truth in his Conversation, and Continually calumniating his bretheren. Several of his party had made repeated attempts to draw me to their side, telling me how easy it might now be to crush Mr Sturgeon, who had formerly been my enemy. But, as I thank God who has not made me revengful in my nature, so I tremble at the thoughts of supporting a man, who is aiming to intrude himself into the Congregation of another, in a manner that would put and end to all order, and destroy us as a Church here.



This, my Lord, is a faithful account of every thing that I can recollect in this affair worthy Your Grace's notice, in order to give a perfect idea of it. Nothing now remains but to subjoin Copies of some necessary papers.

In my last I sent Your Grace a copy of the Remonstrance of the Clergy of this Province, drawn up against Mr McClennaghan before my arrival, and a Copy has also been sent to my Lord Bishop of London; both which I presume having got safe to hand, I shall not now insert it. It was signed by Dr Jenney, his two Assistants Mr Sturgeon and Mr Duche; by Mr Reading Missionary at Apoquiminink, Mr Neil Missionary at Oxford, Mr Inglis Missionary at Dover, and Mr Carter Missionary of the Bahama Islands, who was here for his health and a witness to all the transactions. It sets forth the manner of Mr Macclennaghan's introduction as above, his want of Conformity to the rules and liturgy of the Church, the Confusions he is like to make, the little security any of them will have for the enjoyment of their living if such a precedent is suffered, his violence of temper, the bad light in which he stands with all the Clergy, wherever he has come &c—

Soon after this remonstrance, Dr Jenney thought it necessary to give the following written Order. The occasion of it was, as set forth in it, owing to the exceeding ill temper of Mr McClennaghan, his disputing duty and precedency with the settled Assistants, & particularly obliging Mr Duche to put off his Surplice when about to assist in administering the holy Sacrament, and that in so indecent a manner that if Mr Duche had not been possessed of the meekest temper, it would have given much scandal on that solemn occasion—

Copy of Dr Jenney's order for regulating the duty of his Congregation.

“To the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr William Sturgeon to be Communicated.

“Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, by a long Indisposition to render me incapable  
“of officiating to my Congregation in person, and I am now supplied with two Assistants, both  
“regularly appointed, *licensed* and received, with my approbation and consent, namely the  
“Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr W<sup>m</sup> Sturgeon, and the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Jacob Duché: and whereas sometime after  
“the appointment of the latter of my said Assistants and his being licensed and approved by the  
“Bishop, agreeable to the joint request of me and my Vestry, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr McClennaghan was  
“proposed and with much importunity pressed upon me, as a third Assistant notwithstanding  
“my *known dislike to the man*, which I sufficiently testified by *declining to sign any address to the*  
“*Bishop* for licensing him to this place, seeing neither the necessity for another assistant nor  
“the funds for his support, but have nevertheless for peace-sake (on hearing that he was to be  
“supported by a private subscription) agreed to allow him the *occasional Liberty* of my Pulpit  
“along with my said two Assistants, till the Bishop's pleasure is known in this matter; which  
“liberty he has abused by disputing precedency with my two Assistants aforesaid—

“Now, therefore, as far as in me lies, to prevent any further confusion and strife, I have  
“thought fit, agreeable to the authority which I enjoy as Rector and Incumbent of Christ-  
“Church in this City, and vested with the power of an Ordinary in matters merely Ecclesiastical  
“therein, to appoint, direct and ordain as follows; viz.

“That the duties of Preaching and reading Prayers in the forenoon & afternoon of every  
“Sunday shall be performed alternately by the three persons aforesaid; the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Sturgeon  
“my first Assistant taking the first turn, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Duché my other Assistant taking the



“second, and the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Macclennaghan aforesaid the third, till the Bishop’s Pleasure is known  
 “in this matter, or till my further orders therein: Provided always, and it is the express  
 “condition of this order, that every person officiating in my Church Conform himself to the  
 “Order of Prayer & Rites ecclesiastical as established in our Church, and hitherto used in my  
 “said Congregation; without either diminishing mixing or adding any thing in the matter or  
 “form thereof, or using any other prayer before or after Sermon than is well warranted by the  
 “Canons and Rubrick of the Church: And with respect to the rest of the Parochial duty,  
 “such as the Administration of the Sacraments and so forth, I do ordain that in all cases  
 “where Precedency is necessary, it shall be in favor of my two settled and licensed  
 “Assistants aforesaid.

“And lastly, whereas the Ven<sup>ble</sup> Society for propagating the Gospel, out of their pious  
 “Concern for the Salvation of Souls, and with the express approbation of me and my Vestry,  
 “do pay an yearly Salary to my first Assistant aforesaid, as a *Sunday-Night’s* Catechist to the  
 “Negroes, which duty he has been necessarily obliged for some time past to discontinue, but is  
 “now at leisure to resume the same; I do therefore think it expedient that he do resume the  
 “same accordingly, and for that end I do appoint him the entire use of my Pulpit on Sunday  
 “evenings as usual.\* Given under my hand at Philadelphia this first day of November 1759.

Signed      ROB<sup>t</sup> JENNEY”

The same day that this order was given, and a few hours only afterwards, the following letter was sent to Dr Jenney by Mr McClennaghan’s party, which they hoped would have reached him time enough to prevent the order, by throwing the blame of all the differences on him and his Assistants. The manner in which it is written will convince your Grace how different the spirit of that party is from that of the Dr and his friends—

“To the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr Robert Jenney, Rector of Christ Church &c.

Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir

“Since your disability to serve this Congregation in public it hath pleased Almighty God to  
 “send among us his worthy and pious Servant the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr McClennaghan, whom the  
 “members of the Church, in Conjunction with the Vestry and your assent heartily received  
 “and established him to be Your Assistant, and from whose labors we have the utmost reason  
 “to hope for a general reformation of manners; and in consequence of his settlement he  
 “continued to officiate to the great satisfaction of the Congregation, and a Manifest appearance  
 “of adding to our numbers—Permit us, Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir, now to acquaint you that from the late  
 “behaviour of his brethren towards him, and from divers reports (which we are averse to  
 “believe) you and they treat him in such a manner as if you proposed to seclude him from  
 “further service among us. The sudden change of the Evening lecture and Service to make  
 “way for Mr Sturgeon’s Catechetical Lectures to the Negroes, when no Negroes were called  
 “for expected or attended is a plain evidence of what we fear and apprehend. Nor can we  
 “conceive the necessity of taking up the Church on Sunday evening for Mr Sturgeon to  
 “Catechize a few Negroes, when wanted for the service of the Congregation, which may be  
 “equally well done at the School-house, or any other private place.

\* This part of the order was necessary, because Mr McClennaghan & his people wanted to have the Pulpit on Sunday Evenings for a lecture.

"Wherefore, Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir, as you cannot serve us yourself, we must pray your best Offices to promote harmony and peace among us; and in order thereto we have a right to expect the public as well as private good offices of this gentleman, Mr McClennaghan among us; and rest assured as we pay our Clergy, we have right, and shall insist on the service of such who we conceive can serve us.

"We have been further informed that Mr Duché the younger yesterday forbade \* Mr McClennaghan more to officiate in any parochial duties, he not having the Lord Bishop of London's License for so doing. The Report amazes us, and we would hope it is without foundation. But allow us to say, in Mr McClennaghan's present state and settlement among us, we shall ever consider him invested with all the powers necessary for the discharge of any duties pertaining to his Office, *as fully as if he had his Lordships License*; and we shall consider, support and maintain him accordingly, notwithstanding what Mr Duché or any other can say to the contrary; his Lordship's *License means nothing here, as we humbly apprehend, without a previous presentation from the people*. This we insist on, and is what the late Lord Bishop of London acknowledged; and Mr Duche would do well to consider, before he meddles with other men's matters, whether he ever had such a presentation from the Congregation"—

Signed by the same people mostly, that first addressed the Vestry in favor of Mr McClennaghan<sup>1</sup>

N. B. On receiving this strange paper Dr Jenney sent for Mr McClennaghan to ask if it was delivered with his privity; and he owned that it was.<sup>2</sup>

The usual way of settling all Congregations here, where the right of nomination is not in the Governors of the Province, or in the Society, is for the Vestry to recommend and the Bishop to approve: But an independent Right of the people to *call, settle and induct*, without any control was never heard before Mr McClennaghan brought it with him from the Dissenters and Congregationalists of New England. And indeed, if such a call of the people be necessary, he is on a bad footing; for he has nothing of that kind to shew in his own favor, or to transmit to the Bishop.

Moreover, what these people may pretend about the authority of the Bishop here, the royal Charter of the Province, by which we hold our liberties has put the matter out of doubt. For there, in the very grant of the Province, K. Charles the 2<sup>nd</sup> of blessed memory, makes the Bishop of London's authority, for the time being, absolutely necessary, to the establishment of every Episcopal Congregation; nor would our laws, made in consequence of that Charter, know any Minister to be of the Church, that had not his Lordship's License and approbation.

\* This was an invention of Mr. McClennaghan's own; for Mr. Duche never said any thing of the kind, but in conversation insisted that no person could be Dr. Jenney's Assistant without his own consent & the Bishop's License or Approbation.

<sup>1</sup> Reverend WILLIAM MACCLENAGHAN emigrated from Ireland in 1736, with a number of Presbyterian families, to Portland, Maine, where he was installed as their pastor, but his congregation being unable to support him, he moved to Georgetown, east of Portland, where he officiated until 1744, when he went to Massachusetts, and is found in 1747-8, at Chelsea, until 1754, when he conformed to the Church of England in Boston, and on the recommendation of Governor Shirley, was the following year, ordained an Episcopal Missionary to Georgetown, in Maine, at which place he remained from May, 1756, to December, 1758, and then went to Virginia, next to Philadelphia, as above stated. He probably removed in 1761 to New Jersey. His powers of oratory were uncommonly great, and it was said of him, that, when in the pulpit, he ought never to have come out of it, and when out of it, he ought never to have gone into it. *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Society*, II., 250. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is written along the margin in the volume of London Documents.

## Sect. XXII. of Royal Charter.

“Our further pleasure is—that if any of the inhabitants of the said Province, to the number of twenty, by writing, or by any person deputed by them, shall signify their desire to the Bishop of London for the time being, that any Preacher or Preachers *to be approved* by the said Bishop, may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such Preacher or Preachers may reside within the said Province &c—

But I shall weary Your Grace with this very tedious account. I shall therefore conclude it with begging Your Grace's directions as soon as may be convenient. Any letter to me will be carefully forwarded, if sent to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Penn Esq<sup>r</sup> at his house in Spring Garden. I would further beg Your Grace to be pleased to speak with Dr Nichols, or whoever may have the care of the Affairs of the Bishop of London for the time being; because this account to Your Grace is more circumstantial than any other sent on this occasion.

I hope Your Grace will find cause to advise that Mr McClennaghan do forbear any further duty in Dr Jenny's Congregation or during his life, seeing he has intruded himself into it against the Doctor's will, and without a vacancy, as is fully proved by the Doctor's own letters, and the papers he has signed; that the said Mr McClennaghan do either return to his Mission if the Society think fit to receive him, or go to Virginia, or wherever else he can be provided for in a regular way. This matter, it is hoped, will require no great time for consideration, as every day increases our confusion; nor does any thing farther seem necessary to prove Mr McClennaghan's intrusion, than the letters and papers signed by the incumbent himself and his brethren, which will admit neither of answer nor palliation. We pray for speedy directions, and that they may be forwarded to such persons as may be thought fit to communicate them faithfully and see them executed. The bearer of this, who comes well recommended for an itinerant Mission in New Jersey, and with sufficient bonds & testimonials from the people, will take great care of any letters he may be trusted with for the Decision of this Affair. But in the mean time I must again request your Grace's private directions as soon as Convenient. Your Grace may depend on the utmost temper and prudence on our part.

I had some other things to mention to Your Grace; but this has carried me to such a length that I must postpone them to another occasion. I am, with all duty and humility

Philad<sup>a</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1759.

Your Grace's ever grateful & obliged

Son & Servant

(signed) W<sup>m</sup> SMITH<sup>1</sup>

His Grace of Canterbury.

<sup>1</sup> Reverend WILLIAM SMITH, D. D., the first and last Provost of the College of Philadelphia, was born in Scotland about the year 1726, and graduated at the University of Aberdeen in 1747. He emigrated to America soon after, and was appointed professor of Rhetoric and Philosophy in the Academy of Philadelphia in 1753, in which year he gave to the public his celebrated Tract entitled “A General Idea of the College of Mirania,” addressed to the Trustees of the proposed College in New-York. In May, 1754, he was appointed Principal of the Academy, and on its being incorporated as a college, in June, 1755, was unanimously chosen to fill the office of Provost. Not satisfied with these honors, he entered the lists as a political writer, and took a decided position against the Legislature, composed mostly of Quakers, in a Pamphlet entitled “A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania;” again in 1756, in “A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania, for the year 1755;” and “Plain Truth; or Serious Considerations on the Present State of the city of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania.” The Assembly was thus irritated, when a paper appeared in 1757 in Franklin's *Gazette* and Bradford's *Journal*, entitled “The Humble Address of William Moore, one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Westchester, to Governor Denny,” animadverting on the proceedings of the lately dissolved Assembly. Mr. Smith had this paper translated into German and published in the German Newspaper. For so doing, the new Assembly ordered him to be arrested, and on 25th January, 1755, sent him to jail, whither he was accompanied by the several Classes under his care.



P. S. Since concluding the above, D<sup>r</sup> Jenney and M<sup>r</sup> Sturgeon has been so good as [to] send the annexed paper, to be forwarded to Your Grace; by which it will appear that their too easy attention to some of my enemies, and not any imprudence or warmth of mine, occasioned any misunderstanding that might ever have been between us; which I do not know that it ever proceeded farther than a little jealousy on their part. But with every thing on this head, I have now for ever done, and shall never trouble Your Grace more on that score; hoping that I have done nothing more than a good man, anxious for every thing that affects his Character, ought to have done.

Philad<sup>a</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1759

Please to see the annexed Paper.—

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*Secretary Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 77.]

Whitehall 11<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1759.

Sir,

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> past I received your Dispatch of the 22<sup>nd</sup> October, which was immediately laid before the King, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> observed with particular satisfaction, the continuance of the same Zeal and activity for his service, which have constantly manifested themselves, ever since you have had the Command of His Forces in North America, tho' the length of time necessary to prepare sufficient vessels to encounter the Naval force which [the] Enemy had on Lake Champlain, made it so late in the season, before you could proceed beyond Crown Point, that you had been obliged to close the Campaign, without being able to attack the Post of L'Isle au Noix, and penetrate to Montreal, having only made yourself master of the Navigation of the Lake.

Though this imprisonment was afterwards declared illegal by the Law Officers of the Crown in England, Mr. Smith remained in confinement several months, during which time he wrote some of the papers entitled "The Hermit." To escape the resentment of his enemies, he was advised, on recovering his liberty, to make a visit to England, where he arrived in 1759, and received the degree of D. D. from the University of Oxford. He went again to England in 1762, and during his stay published two editions of a volume of "Discourses on public occasions in America," and took up a handsome collection for his College. He returned to Philadelphia in 1764. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he adhered to the popular cause, preached a Sermon "on the Present Situation of American Affairs," on 23d June, 1775, which became an object of considerable notice and controversy, and of praise and censure, according to the different principles of its readers; several considerable notice and controversy, and of praise and censure, according to the different principles of its readers. It ran through several editions in a few weeks, and ten thousand copies of it were printed in London in a cheap form; several editions were also printed elsewhere in England as well as in Ireland. So displeased was Governor Tryon of New-York at *Church*, 186, *note*. On the 19th of February, 1776, at the invitation of the Continental Congress, he delivered an Oration in Memory of General Montgomery and his fellow Soldiers who fell before Quebec. But this zeal did not preserve his College. In 1779, his old enemies in the Assembly abrogated its charter, abolished his office, and transferred the property of the institution to the University of Pennsylvania. This unconstitutional proceeding was however, partially corrected in 1789, when Dr. Smith was restored to the office of Provost of the resuscitated college, which he continued to hold until 1791, when the College and University became legally one. His name however, was omitted from the List of Professors. In the same year he pronounced his eloquent eulogium on his friend Benjamin Franklin, whom he followed in a few years, having departed this life 14th May, 1803, aged 76 years. His portrait is prefixed to the edition of his works, published in two vols., 8vo. Philadelphia, 1803. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VIII., 438; *Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society*, III., 180, *et seq.* — Ed.

The King saw with much concern, that unhappily the execution had not followed the plan which you had so prudently concerted, and the orders you had given, for taking possession of La Galette, being a post of the utmost consequence, and by which, we should be entire masters of Lake Ontario, and His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s subjects on the Mohawk River, as effectually freed thereby from all inroads and scalping parties of the Enemy, as the whole Country is to New York to Crown point, by the reduction of that important Post, and of Ticonderoga; which above post of La Galette, you are of opinion, might have been taken without a possibility of the Enemy's obstructing it. As you have not transmitted a copy of Brigadier General Gage's letter to you, of the 11<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> you are desired to send one by the first opportunity; In the mean time, as to the many difficulties & impossibilities which you mention, in your letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> October, that the Brigadier found there would be in erecting a Post at La Galette, before winter, I will only observe, that the Brigadier's resolution to give over the thoughts of that attempt was taken on the 11<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> a full month before you yourself judged it not too late to attempt it, with your whole army, a more difficult and dangerous navigation on the Lake Champlain, in which attempt you persevered so many days, and did not return with the Troops, to Crown Point till the 21<sup>st</sup> of October.

There has not yet been time, since the receipt of your last dispatch to consider fully the state of things in North America, where, indeed, you need little farther instructions for the prosecution of the War; the reduction of Montreal being so evidently the great and essential object remaining to compleat the glory of His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s arms in that part of the world; I would not however detain this packet, and thereby deprive you of the satisfaction of hearing, by the earliest conveyance, of the signal and glorious success of His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Fleet, under the Command of Sir Edward Hawke, over the so long boasted armament of the French under Marshal Conflans, the particulars whereof you will see by the inclosed extraordinary Gazette, to which I have only to add, that the accounts received, in Holland from France, paint, in the strongest colours the consternation and dejection of the Enemy on this occasion.

As I hope to be able to write to you again soon, I have, at present in command from the King only to recommend to you, in the strongest manner, to employ the utmost vigilance, and attention, for the safety and preservation of the several important posts, you are now in possession of, from any sudden and unexpected attempts of the Enemy, during the Winter. You will also take the proper measures for sending, as early as the season shall permit, any supplies, and refreshments, that may be wanted for the Garrison at Quebeck; and you will not fail to use every possible means to recruit, during the winter the several Corps under your Command, and to make all the necessary preparations for pushing the War with the utmost vigour, as early in the year as the season shall permit, and thereby compleat the great work, so successfully begun, of rendering His Maj<sup>y</sup> entire master of all Canada, which, it is hoped, you will the more easily accomplish, as the Enemy are now cut off from receiving any succours or supplies from Europe.

I have the King's commands to send you the inclosed copy of the declaration, which Prince Lewis of Brunswick has delivered to the Ministers of the Belligerent Powers, residing at the Hague, in the name of His Maj<sup>y</sup> and of the King of Prussia. His Maj<sup>y</sup> is persuaded from your known prudence that it would be unnecessary to caution you, not to suffer this first general step towards peace, which may yet be at a great distance, to slacken, in the least degree, any preparations for the Campaign next year or to delay, for a moment taking every opportunity to annoy and distress the Enemy, wherever you shall judge it practicable to make

any impression upon them. But I must recommend it to you, most particularly, to be extremely attentive to any effect which the knowledge of the declaration above mentioned may produce in the several provinces in North America; and, most carefully and effectually to prevent any premature rumours of negociation gaining such ground, as to influence the Councils and assemblies, not to continue to exert their utmost efforts.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., No. 154. ]

To Ja<sup>s</sup> De Lancey Esq<sup>re</sup> Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

We have received your letters to us, dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> October last, & having laid before His Majesty, for His Royal approbation, your proceedings in the two cases of Escheated Lands, We shall, as soon as His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders thereupon can be obtained, transmit them to you.

The zeal, which you have testified upon all occasions for His Majesty's service, and more particularly in obtaining a prolongation of the term for which the provincial Troops were raised, in order that His Majesty's service might be carried into effectual execution, cannot fail of recommending you to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s favour; and we are sincerely glad, of this and every opportunity of expressing that approbation of your conduct which it has so well deserved.

The inclosed packet for the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Nova Scotia being of great consequence to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service, we must desire the favour of you to forward it to him by the first safe conveyance. We are etc.

DUNK HALIFAX  
W. G. HAMILTON  
JAMES OSWALD  
W<sup>m</sup> SLOPER.

14 December 1759.

*Secretary Pownall to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Entries, B., P., No. 158. ]

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> De Lancey Esq: L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir,

His Majesty's postmaster General, having represented to the Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations, that the packet Boats, established for carrying on a correspondence between



these kingdoms and His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Colonies in North America, have frequently been detained considerably longer at New York, than the time allotted them to stay there, which is twenty days, and that such detention may happen by your particular order, when there may be even two or more packet Boats at New York; I am directed by their Lordships to recommend it to you, never to detain the packet Boat in return to sail, longer, than may be absolutely necessary for His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s service, and especially when there are two or more Packet Boats laying at New York. —I am

Sir.

Your most obedient and most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

4. January 1760.

JOHN POWNALL.

*Secretary Pitt to the Governors in North America.*

[ Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 77. ]

Circular of Secretary Pitt to the Governors of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey. Whitehall 7. January 1760.

Sir,

His Majesty having nothing so much at heart as to improve the great and important advantages gained the last Campaign in North America; and not doubting, that all his faithful and Brave subjects there, will continue most chearfully to co-operate with, and second to the utmost, the large expence and extraordinary succours, supplied by this Kingdom for their preservation and future security, by compleating the reduction of all Canada; and his Maj<sup>y</sup> not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and ardor of any of his Provinces, by making a repartition of the Force, to be raised by each, respectively, for this most important service; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do forthwith use your utmost endeavours and influence with the Council and Assembly of your province, to induce them to raise, with all possible dispatch, within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, at least as large a body of Men, as they did for the last Campaign, and even as many more, as the numbers of its Inhabitants may allow, and forming the same into Regiments, as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, as early, as may be, to march to the Rendez-vous at Albany, or such other place, as His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Commander in Chief in America shall appoint, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the King's British Forces and under the supreme Command of His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s said Commander in Chief in America, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the Campaign by the first of May, if possible, or as soon after, as shall be any way practicable by an irruption into Canada in order to reduce Montreal, and all other posts belonging to the French in those parts, and further to annoy the Enemy in such manner, as His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Commander in Chief shall, from his knowledge of the Countries, thro' which the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances, not to be known here, judge to be practicable; and the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province,

as you shall judge, from their weight and credit with the people, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed and able to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the greatest number of Men; in the disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view, but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole, when joined, to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief; and all officers of the Provincial forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have rank according to their several respective Commissions, agreeable to the Regulations contained in His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Warrant of the 30<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1757.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Amunition and Tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the same, by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commissaries in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's Forces. A sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided, at His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Expence, for the operations of the Campaign; and the ship, that conveys this, carries orders for timely providing, at the King's charge, with the utmost diligence, and in an ample manner Boats and Vessels necessary for the transportation of the army on this expedition. The whole therefore, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> expects & requires from the several Provinces, is, the Levying, Cloathing and pay of the Men; and on these heads also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary attempt, the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament in their Session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above, according as the active vigour, and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall justly appear to merit.

It is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do with particular diligence, immediately collect and put into the best condition, all the arms, issued last Campaign, which can be any ways rendered serviceable, or that can be found within your Govern<sup>t</sup> in order that the same may be again employed, as far as they will go, in this exigency. I am at the same time, to acquaint you, that a reasonable supply of arms will be sent from England, to replace such, as may have been lost, or have become unfit for future service.

I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent, by this conveyance to New Hampshire, Massachuset's Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Jersey. The Southern Govern<sup>ts</sup> are also directed to raise Men, in the same manner to be employed in such offensive operations, as the circumstances and situation of the Enemy's posts in those parts may point out, which it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their attention and Forces, as may render the several attempts more easy and successful.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your zeal in the execution of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders on this great occasion where the future safety and welfare of America *and of your own province in particular*, are so nearly concerned; and the King doubts not, from your known fidelity and attachment, that you will employ yourself, with the utmost application and dispatch in this promising & decisive Crisis.—

I am ettc,

W. PITT.<sup>1</sup>

the words under-  
lined, omitted to  
Connecticut and  
Rhode Island

<sup>1</sup> Compare dispatch, *supra*, p. 350. — Ed.

*Secretary Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.,) No. 77.]

Whitehall 7<sup>th</sup> January 1760.

Sir,

The King having nothing so much at heart, as to improve the great and important advantages, gained, the last Campaign in N<sup>o</sup> America, I am now to inform you, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has judged it expedient, to dispatch his Orders to the several Gov<sup>rs</sup> in North America, for levying the same, or a greater number, if possible, of Men, that they did for the last Campaign; and the King's directions on this subject, are so fully stated, in the inclosed copies of my circular letters to the Northern and Southern Gov<sup>rs</sup>, that I have only to add, that it is the King's pleasure, that you should exert your utmost endeavours to incite and encourage the several Provinces to the full and due execution of the King's commands in a matter so essential to their own future welfare and prosperity; and the success of the ensuing decisive and (it is greatly hoped) last Campaign in North America, depends so much on commencing the several operations as early as shall be practicable, and thereby preventing any efforts of the enemy to prevent the remainder of their possessions, in those parts, from falling under the arms of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, that you cannot be too urgent with the provinces to quicken, and expedite the Levies, so as that the Provincial Troops may be assembled at the Rendez-vous, and be, in every respect, ready, in conjunction with the regular Forces, to open the Campaign by the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, as nothing can contribute so much to the success of the operations, to be undertaken in different parts of North America, as the putting the forces early in motion. You will also particularly enforce that part of my letters to the Gov<sup>rs</sup>, which relates to the collecting, and putting into a proper condition, all the serviceable arms that can be found in Am<sup>ca</sup>, and not to allow the service there to suffer from a dependance on those to be supplied from England.

In my letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> past, I observed to you, that the reduction of Montreal was evidently the great and essential object, which remained, to compleat the glory of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Arms in North America; and I am now to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do immediately concert the properest measures for pushing the operations of the next campaign, with the utmost vigour, early in the year, by an invasion of Canada, with such part of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s forces, in conjunction with so many of the Forces of the Northern Provinces, as you shall judge proper; which latter you will see, by the copy of my letter above mentioned to the Gov<sup>rs</sup> thereof, it is hoped, will, in consequence to those pressing orders to that effect, be ready to join in this most important service; and to this great end, it is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do attempt the invasion of Canada, with the Forces under your command, either in one body, or by different operations, at one and the same time, by a Division of the said forces, into separate and distinct bodies, according as you shall, from your knowledge of the Countries, thro' which the War is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances not to be known here, judge the same to be most expedient; and that you do proceed to the vigorous attack of Montreal, and exert your utmost efforts to reduce that place, as well as all other posts belonging to the French in those parts, & further to annoy the Enemy in such manner as you shall judge most proper.

As a very considerable number of Boats, and Vessels, were built for the service of the last Campaign, it is not doubted, but that the necessary care will have been taken to preserve & secure them, so as that the greater part thereof may, by proper repairs, be rendered again



serviceable for the ensuing Campaign; and it is the King's pleasure, that you should not loose a moment's time, in having not only such, as are remaining refitted, but in building an ample & sufficient quantity of boats to replace those, which may have been lost or destroyed, and in providing such an additional number, as shall be judged necessary; In the performance of which, most essential service, you will see by the inclosed copy of my letter to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders are renewed to him, in the strongest manner, to give you all possible assistance; and you will also procure such a Number of Battoe Men, as you shall judge necessary for the Boats attending the Troops, and Men sufficient for navigating the Vessels.

His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to keep up, and raise, a considerable number of Rangers, as may be practicable, for the various operations of the Campaign.

With regard to the Southern operations, I am to signify to you his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do direct such Officer, to whom you think fit to entrust the command of such Forces, as you shall judge proper to leave in the Southern provinces, to proceed, without loss of time, to Pennsylvania, or such other of the Southern provinces, as shall be judged most expedient, in order to concert any operations, to be undertaken by the said Troops, who, in conjunction with the Forces, directed, by my letter, of this date, to the Southern Gov<sup>r</sup>, to be raised in those Provinces, or such part of the same, as you shall judge necessary, are to be employed, under the Command of such Officer, whom you shall appoint as above, on any such offensive operations, as you shall judge most expedient for annoying the Enemy, and most efficacious towards removing all future dangers from the frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of America; and it is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure that you should early take into consideration, and duely weigh, what operations in those parts, may be undertaken with the most reasonable prospect of success, whether by endeavouring to carry some operations against Cayahoga,<sup>1</sup> or any other parts of Lake Erie, in case it shall be judged, that their distance, as well as various other circumstances, not to be known here, shall not render the same impracticable, all which, His Maj<sup>ty</sup> is pleased to leave to your judgement and determination, the King relying on your approved zeal for the honor of his arms, and on the sense, you must have of the great utility of pressing the Enemy in different parts, as far as may be without prejudice to the main and decisive objects of the Campaign, prescribed in his letter, that you will not neglect any opportunity of concerting and causing to be carried into execution, any such operations to the Southward, as you shall judge may be most conducive effectually to distress and reduce the Enemy.

You will observe by my letters to the Gov<sup>r</sup>, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has been pleased to promise, that his Commissaries shall issue provisions to the Men, raised by the several Provinces, in the same proportion and manner, as is done to the rest of the King's forces; I am therefore to signify to you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do give the necessary directions to all the Commissaries, and other Officers, who may have the charge of the Provisions, to furnish the said Men with the same in the proportion and manner above mentioned; For which purpose the contractors have received directions to have constantly in store a sufficient quantity of provisions, as well for the regular National Troops, as for the Provincials, wh<sup>ch</sup> shall be raised in consequence of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders; and it is the King's pleasure, that you should keep a particular account

<sup>1</sup> Cleveland, Ohio. — Ed.

of the same, and that no provisions should be delivered to the Provincial Troops, but in consequence of an order from you, or from the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces, in those parts, where the said Provisions may be wanted; and you will in case of necessity draw Bills for any extraordinary expences, incurred for this service. And I am particularly to recommend it to you, as a principal means to preserve the health of the Men, that you do cause them to be furnished with fresh meat, whenever the situation, and circumstances of the Troops shall make the same any ways practicable; and you will take care, that, for so long time as fresh meat shall be provided for the Forces, the inclosed clause of the Contract be duely observed, on the part of the Contractors, or their agents; and that the delivery of provisions of Beef, and Pork, by the Contractors, be accordingly, in part, or in the whole, suspended, and a proportionable allowance only made for the several other species, as shall be agreed upon, and certified by you.

Such a considerable number of arms & Tents have been already sent to North America, that it is hoped, a sufficient quantity will be found there, for the service of the next Campaign; I am, however, to acquaint you, that the King has been pleased to order some supply of arms, and Tents, to be forthwith sent to New York, for the service in North America, which you will cause to be distributed according as the same shall be necessary.

The King entirely approves the due care, you have taken agreeably to the orders you received last year, for causing sufficient respectable Forts to be erected at the Oneida Carrying place, Oswego, Lake George, and on the Ohio. His Majesty further sees, with great satisfaction, in your several Dispatches, how justly sensible you are of the high importance of Niagara, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the King relies on your utmost attention for the effectual security of those most essential Posts, by strengthening, and establishing such Forts, as you shall have judged most proper and adequate for that purpose. I am also commanded by the King to recommend to your attention the establishing such other Forts and Posts, as you shall judge necessary for securing effectually, in all times to come, His Majesty's rights and possessions in N<sup>o</sup> America, now happily recovered from the encroachments, and usurpations of the Enemy: and it is the King's pleasure that you take effectual measures to secure, by a proper Chain of Posts, the communication from the Forts, on the Ohio, to the Lake Erie, and to Niagara on the Ontario, and you will accordingly give such orders thereupon, as you shall judge most proper, whether by repairing the Forts, which the Enemy abandoned at River aux Boeufs and Presqu' isle, or by erecting new ones at such other places as you shall think more expedient.

It is His Majesty's pleasure, that you should give, as far as the distance will permit, a constant & particular attention, to the state and situation of Quebec, and of the large body of Troops at that important place; and you will not fail to send the Officer, Commanding there, timely information of your operations, as well as such directions for his conduct, as you shall judge most expedient for His Majesty's service.

I have the satisfaction to assure you, that, in all matters, entrusted to your care, the King continues to place the firmest confidence, in your experience, zeal and abilities; and His Majesty is persuaded, that you will exert your utmost efforts, for compleating the glory of His Arms in North America, by the entire reduction of the Enemy, and for securing His Majesty's subjects there against all future attempts to disturb them in the enjoyment of their rights and possessions.

I am etc.

W. PITT.

P. S. The King having been moved, in behalf of the hotel de Dieu at Quebec, formerly founded by a Dutchess d' Auguillon; in consideration of the particular request of the present Dutchess of that name, I am to recommend to you in an especial manner, the giving all protection and comfort to the Ladies of that Religious Society; and you will not fail, by the first opportunity, to signify the same to Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray.



*Reverend Dr. Johnson to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

[ "American Colonies MS." Lambeth Palace, No. 1123., II., No. 165. ]

Stratford in Connecticut

Feb<sup>y</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1760

May it please Your Grace,

In one of my last letters I informed Your Grace, that I was, a second time, within three years, obliged to retire from New York, on account of the Small pox.—I then left my Young College in a flourishing state: but within two or three months, by reason of my absence, and the ill health of one of my tutors and the want of good conduct in the other, it fell into a very suffering condition. From which we were convinced of the absolute necessity of procuring, as soon as possible, not only another tutor, but also a gentleman duly qualified for a Vice president, who can constantly reside, and who would have the highest probability of being my successor.

Upon this the Governors of the College met, and concluded humbly to address Your Grace to use Your influence to procure for us two such gentlemen, and to agree with them for three years on such terms as you see by their address; and they desired also that I would write a letter to Your Grace on this subject.—This therefore, my Lord, is the occasion of my so soon troubling you again.—And I do, in conjunction with the Committee appointed by the Governors to take care of the College in my absence, most humbly beg Your Grace's kind influence in procuring such gentlemen as we want, as soon as may be.

And I should be glad, if it may be, that the gentleman designed to be my successor, should be of the University of Oxford and the tutor of Cambridge. This indeed is not of much consequence; but it is necessary that he should be a good and eloquent preacher, with a strong voice, because if he should succeed me, he must also for his better support be a lecturer in a large Church. And I beg he may be a truly exemplary person, who, tho' of a candid and moderate temper, hath the interest of Christianity very much at heart: and I wish him to be well acquainted, not only with all other parts of polite literature, but also with the Hebrew Scriptures: & it would be best, for the present, that he, as well as the other, should be unmarried. And as to the tutor, I could wish him to be well qualified to teach, not only the Belles Lettres, but Mathematics and Experimental philosophy in the use of our fine Apparatus of instruments, because I am much afraid we shall loose him we have.

M<sup>r</sup> Apthorp would have done very well for a Vice President, but his voice is not strong enough for our large Churches, and besides, he is unwilling to leave Cambridge.—I have read a piece of one M<sup>r</sup> Horne of Magdalen College at Oxford, intitled a Candid and impartial state



of the case between the Newtonians and Hutchinsonians, from which, together with some accounts I have had of him otherwise, I imagine, if he could be had, would be a very suitable person for us: or Mr Bayly, whose excellent Introduction to Language Literary and Philosophical, I admire: but such as these I doubt we must not expect.—However I beg leave to refer ourselves wholly to Your Grace's judgment and care in the Choice of a gentleman suitable for us.

I would, my Lord, only humbly suggest farther, That whereas, what is proposed may fall short of a sufficient inducement to such a gentleman as we want, to come into these remote parts, I would, rather than any Remora should discourage his undertaking, if I live so long, willingly after three or four years, when he and the Governors are well satisfied in each other resign to him wholly; as I would by no means stand in the way of having my College provided for in the best manner possible. The President's Salary, besides the house, is £400 p<sup>r</sup> An<sup>m</sup> this currency including the Lecture, which, with the perquisites, will be about £250 Sterling.—I am, my Lord, with great Veneration,

Your Grace's most obliged & most

dutiful humble Servant

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Nn., p. 17. ]

New York 16<sup>th</sup> February 1760.

My Lords

On the 13<sup>th</sup> in the evening I had the honor of three of your Lordships letters, of the 13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> of November and of the 19<sup>th</sup> of December, I shall trouble your Lordships with answers in the order they bear date; the first of these signifying His Majesty's commands, that a Publick Thanksgiving should be solemnised in all His Majesty's Colonies for the signal success of his Arms both by sea and land, particularly by the defeat of the French Army in Canada and the taking of Quebec, in which events these Colonies are so particularly interested; for Answer to this I have only to acquaint your Lordships that we were here so fully sensible of the Divine blessing in the last year, that the 22<sup>d</sup> of November last was observed here, as a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, on the Success of His Majesty's Arms, by Prayer in the Morning, Firing of the Guns at Fort George at Noon, a Grand Dinner I gave to the Council, Assembly and principal Inhabitants, at which were present the whole Clergy of the several denominations in this City, and the Evening was concluded with Illuminations and Fire Works prepared for the occasion, without the least tumult or disorder, I enclose a printed Copy of my Proclamation for this Occasion.

Your Lordships letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of November, in relation to the Act for empowering Justices of the Peace to try causes to the value of five pounds and under did not as I said before, come to my hands till the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, and I had given my assent to one of the like nature last year, only extended to the Mayors, Records and Aldermen of the two Cities of New York and Albany and the Borough of Westchester in this Province.

On this head I beg leave to refer your Lordships to my Letter to you of the 23<sup>d</sup> of January last, wherein I have given a succinct history of this Justices Court and the reasons why I assented to the Bill presented to me the 29<sup>th</sup> of December last, to which I shall add, first, that whatever inconveniences have been complained of in other Colonies in relation to laws of this kind, none that I know of, have attended the execution of this, within this Province: 2<sup>dly</sup> That though the Judgment of the Justices may in some measure be said to be final, Yet in all cases of manifest partiality or corruption, their judgments may be removed by Certiorari into the Supreme Court (which is here in the Nature of the King's Bench) and there rectified or the parties punished for any corruption.—A third reason I shall add in favor of this law, which I mentioned in my former letter, is that the partiality in the Justice, if any, is corrected and rectified in a great measure, by the plaintiff or the defendant's having it in his power to demand a jury of six freeholders, so much as to the reasonableness and justice of the Law.—View it now in a political light; the Justices are appointed by the Governor with the advice of the Council, therefore the greater their powers are, if they be not oppressive to the people, the greater weight and influence will the Government have, and be better able to carry on His Majesty's service.—Wherefore I humbly conceive that I have fully informed your Lordships by this and my former letter referred to, of the grounds and motives for passing the law, and of the good effects the law passed in December 1758 has had in this Province, and I flatter myself they will appear sufficient to induce your Lordships not to lay it before His Majesty for his disapprobation, more especially as it is to have continuance only to the first of January 1764; But if notwithstanding what I have said, Your Lordships should be of opinion that the Act is improper, I would humbly propose, that your Lordships opinion to that purpose should be signified to me or whoever has the honor of commanding in this Province, that the Members of the Assembly and the People in general who are most earnestly desirous of the continuance of the Law, from the benefit and ease they receive from it, may be prepared by degrees to expect His Majesty's disallowance of it.

I come now to your Lordships letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> December: the Gentlemen of the Council were surprised when I laid the King's Instruction on that head before them, many Escheats having formerly been granted without waiting for His Majesty's orders on such occasions. I am most thankfull to Your Lordships for the good opinion you entertain of me, and for your approbation of my conduct; I can assure your Lordships of my most sincere zeal for the King's service, which I do and shall always endeavour to exert on all occasions according to the best of my understanding, though I am sensible I have not that quickness and activity, which I have had and which might have contributed more to the service of the Father of his people.

The Packet inclosed to me by your Lordships for the Governor of Nova Scotia, was forwarded with General Amherst's letters to that place through Boston, whence there are opportunities at all seasons to convey letters to Halifax, so that there is all reason to expect it's coming to hand soon.

I had the highest pleasure in receiving the Gazette giving an Account of Sir Edward Hawke's success against the Brest Fleet, nothing remained but this great event to complete the glory of 1759.

I have called the Assembly to meet on the 11<sup>th</sup> of March, by which time I hope to receive an Order for the repayment of the Loan of £150,000, And His Majesty's commands for the operations of this year.

I am with the greatest regard

My Lords

Your Lordships

Most obedient and most

Right Honorable

humble servant

Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

JAMES DE LANCEY.

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*Lords of Trade to Secretary Pitt.*

[New-York Entries, B. P., p. 162.]

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Pitt one of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

In obedience to His Majestys Commands, We have taken into our consideration, the subject matter of your letter to us by the 15<sup>th</sup> inst: relative to the proposals made by the Colonels of several provincial Battalions and by Major Brigade, Philip Skene, for settling certain Tracts of Land in North America, and are of opinion, that the making settlements upon those Lands, which are adjacent to the great Lakes and Waters, the possession of which, must in its consequences give possession of the Country, provided it be done with a proper regard to our engagements with the Indians, is a measure of true wisdom and sound policy.

That the Officers and Soldiers of the Provincial Battalions, which have been employed in His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> service, are in every respect the properest persons for such settlements, for as on the one hand, those habits of Industry peculiar to the American Colonists, and that knowledge, which they must be supposed to have of the best manner of making new settlements, will enable them, to improve their property to the best advantage to themselves, and consequently to the greater benefit of the publick, so on the other hand, they will be enabled by their knowledge of military discipline and the use of Arms not only to defend that property, but also that of the Inhabitants of the other Colonies, to which they will be a Frontier.

That this is no less, a measure of Justice in reference to what is certified by Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst to have been the particular merit of those provincial Officers, than it is a measure of true policy in reference to public utility, and it is this happy coincidence of public policy and Justice to private merit, that this measure is in our opinion worthy the attention of Govern<sup>t</sup>.

It is upon these considerations greatly to be wished, that the propositions transmitted by Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst had been attended with more precision as to the two following points.

1. The situation, extent and quantity of Acres comprised within the Lands petitioned for, of which, altho' we have applied their description to every Map and Chart in our possession, we have not been able to form the most superficial estimation.

2. The number of persons proper to be settled, the quantity of Land to be allowed each person, the terms of cultivation and Quit Rents, upon which the Grants are to be made, and if



they expect any encouragement or Bounties from the publick, what the nature and extent of them sh<sup>d</sup> be.

The first of these points, is essentially necessary to be known, as well in regard to the claims either of jurisdiction or property, which publick corporations or private persons, may have to any part of these Lands, under former grants; as in reference to our engagements with the Indians, who may possibly claim part of them as their hunting grounds reserved to them by the most solemn Treaties upon an exact observance of which, not only our Interests, but our Rights in regard to the Claims of other foreign powers do greatly depend.

The second of these points is no less essentially necessary, in reference to that system and mode of acquiring and possessing property in America, which the Crown has so wisely established in order to prevent the many evils and great discouragement to cultivation, which arose from persons obtaining extravagant Grants of Lands in order to make a Job of them, by fraudulent conveyances & other indirect practices.

Under these difficulties therefore, we would propose, that we should receive His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s directions to transmit the memorials and other papers to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, within which province the lands requested, seem from the general idea we have of their situation to be comprised, with orders to him to direct the Surveyor General of the Province, in conjunction with the Petitioners, or such persons as they shall appoint, to take an accurate and exact survey of the Lands, ascertaining the quantity of Acres comprehended within the whole, and distinguishing the Tract petitioned for by the provincial Colonels, from that Petitioned for by Major of Brigades Skene, & accompanied with a Report in writing, certifying, within what province the Lands are situated, & whether any or what part thereof is claimed under former grants, which said plan and Report to be then transmitted to us, together with such further proposals, as the Petitioners shall think proper to deliver in, with respect to the number of persons to be settled, the Terms and conditions of settlement, and the other particulars, which have been already stated to be points of information; & until we have this further information, it is impossible for us to say, whether it may be adviseable or practicable to make the grants requested, or if so, what will be the proper and legal method of carrying the Measure into execution. We are etc.

DUNK HALIFAX  
T. PELHAM  
W. G. HAMILTON  
E<sup>d</sup> BACON.

21 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1760.

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*Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle Nn., p. 23. ]

New York 21 May 1760

My Lords

I transmit to your Lordships printed Copies of the Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly and printed Copies of the four Acts passed the 22<sup>d</sup> of March last.

The Assembly are again sitting to make provision for discharging several demands made on this Province; I have recommended to them the case of the unhappy sufferers by fire in the Town of Boston on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March last.

The Levies of this Province are at, or on their march to Albany, except two Companies which will be ordered up without delay.

The whole of the £150,000 lent last year by this Province for carrying on the King's service is repaid into the Treasury; And I have issued a Proclamation to call in that Emission, that the Bills may be cancelled and destroyed.

The last Intelligence brought by two Prisoners, who escaped from Montreal the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, is, that Mons<sup>r</sup> Levy had assembled all the force he could and was marched towards Quebec.

I am with the greatest regard

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

& most humble servant

JAMES DE LANCEY

I inclose a Copy of My Message to the Council & Assembly.

Right Honorable

Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.



*Petition of the Earl of Stirling and others, to the King.*

[ New-York Bundle, Nn., p. 25. ]

To the KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY in Council

The humble Petition of William Earl of Sterling, who is nearest heir male to William the first Earl of Stirling, And also to Henry the last Earl of Stirling, who died in the year 1739, and of William Phillips Lee of the City of York Esq<sup>r</sup> And Mary Trumbull of East Hampstead Park in the County of Berks, Sp<sup>r</sup> which said William Philips Lee and Mary Trumbull are Heirs at Law of the said Henry the last Earl of Stirling.

Sheweth.

That His late Majesty King James the first by Letters Patent bearing date the 3. day of November 1621, did grant to the Council for the Affairs in New England in America, their successors and assigns "All the land of New England in America lying and being in breadth "from 40 Degrees to 48 Degrees of Northerly Latitude, and in length of and within the "breadth aforesaid throughout the Main Land from Sea to Sea."

That the said Council did in the year 1635 among other things grant to William Alexander Earl of Stirling. "All that Island or Islands theretofore called by the several name or names of Matawock, or long Island, and thereafter to be called by the name or names of Isle or Isles of Stirling, situate, lying and being to the Westward of Cape Cod or Narohigansets, within the Latitude of Forty or forty one Degrees or thereabouts, abutting upon the Main Land between two Rivers there known by the several Names of Connecticut and Hudson's River, with all the Islands abutting or opposite to the same within 5 leagues of the Main.

That in the year 1636 the said Earl of Stirling deputed Capt. James Forrest his Agent and Governor for the said Island, whom he, that same year, sent over with a number of People for Planting the same, who arrived safe there, and made the first English Settlement in that Country, and in a few years it became a flourishing Colony and all the settlers were tenants to the Earl of Stirling.

That the said William Earl of Stirling died in the year 1640 and was succeeded by his grandson William, who died a few months after him, and the said last named Earl was succeeded by his Uncle Henry, who did not well understand his American affairs, yet maintained his Governors in the said Islands of Stirling or Long Island, and promoted the further settlement thereof, which was frequently interrupted by the Dutch, who intruded into the same from their Colony of Nieu Netherland (now the Province of New York) But the said Earl of Stirling's then Governor Major Forrester opposing the Dutch in their attempts to settle at the West End of the said Island frequent contentions arose on that account, which were attended with a very considerable expence to the said Earl of Stirling.

That in or about the year 1662 the said Major Forrester and the Dutch Governor of Nieu Amsterdam agreed upon a conference for settling the said disputes and the said Major Forrester attended at the place appointed for that purpose, but the Dutch Governor instead of conferring with him seized his person, and put him on board a ship bound to Holland, but the said ship being by stress of weather forced into Spithead, Major Forrester was there relieved from his imprisonment by the Captain of an English Man of War.

That this and other injuries occasioned a War between England and the United Provinces which was declared in the year 1664.

That James Duke of York having a design to plant an English Colony between the Rivers of Connecticut and Delaware by the name of the Province of New York, and to drive the Dutch from their settlements at Nieu Amsterdam, and hearing much of the goodness of the soil of the said Islands of Stirling or Long Island, and of their contiguity to the said Nieu Amsterdam, made application to Henry Earl of Stirling for purchasing his right and title to the same, and in the year 1663, the Earl of Stirling agreed to sell the said Island to the Duke York for £7000 Stirling, but the same not being paid, he did not convey his right or title to the Duke of York.

That on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1663 James Duke of York obtained a grant from his brother King Charles the Second of all the Country between Delaware River and Connecticut River, by the name of the Province of New York, including therein the said Islands of Stirling or Long Island and in the year 1664 King Charles the Second sent out Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Carr and Col. Richard Nicholl with an armed force to conquer the Dutch Colony of Nieu Netherland, which was effected the same year.

That the said Earl of Stirling made frequent application to the said Duke of York for the payment of the said £7000 but never could obtain payment of the same or any part thereof And in the 10<sup>th</sup> day of November 1674 the Duke of York agreed in lieu of the said £7000 to give the said Earl a Pension of £300 per annum out of the Revenues arising from his Province of New York; but thó: frequent application was made to His Royal Highness for the payment of the said Pension, and after he came to the Crown the like application was made to him and from time to time continued to his Successors down to the year 1712, no recompence has yet been obtained.



That on the Duke of York's succession to the Crown, the said Province of New York became part of the inheritance of the Crown, and Quit Rents of the same, together with those of the said Islands of Stirling or Long Island have ever since been received by the Receiver General of His Majesty's Revenues of the Province of New York.

That the Pet<sup>rs</sup> humbly apprehend, that they are, as heirs of the said Earl of Stirling intitled in Equity to the said Islands of Stirling or Long Island, or the Consideration money which was agreed to be paid for the same, but the said Islands being now inhabited and possessed by many thousands of His Majesty's good subjects who have long enjoyed their estates under Grants from His Majesty and his predecessors, or by bona fide purchases from Grantees under the Crown, who have regularly paid their Quit Rents to the Receiver General, and on whom it would now be the greatest hardship and distress to purchase a New Title to their possessions from the Pet<sup>rs</sup> or be dispossessed of the same by Suits at Law.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray your Majesty would be graciously pleased to order payment to be made to them of the £7000 with the Interest thereof, or to give directions that such lands in the said Islands of Stirling or Long Island as have not been hitherto granted by the said Duke of York, afterwards King James the 2<sup>d</sup> or any of His Successors, may be restored to your Petitioners; And the Quit Rents now arising from the lands which have been so granted, may for the future be paid to your Petitioners.

And Your Pet<sup>rs</sup> as in duty bound shall ever Pray &c.

[June 1760.]

STIRLING  
W<sup>m</sup> PHILLIPS LEE  
MARY TRUMBULL

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVII., (Q.) No. S. ]

Fort Johnson, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1760.

My Lords,

As I am in doubt whether Your Lordships have received my letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> May 1759 and my proceedings with the Confederate Indians before I took the field last year with Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Prideaux there being no mention made of them in Your Lordships last letter, I now send Duplicates of both, among which the Treaty at Conojohary may shew to Your Lordships that my Labours have not been in vain, it being concluded on at that time, by a Gen<sup>l</sup> Convention of the 6 Nations & their allies, after many Solicitations and interesting Arguments suggested to them by me, to join us against the Enemy, which they did last year to the amount of above a thousand fighting Men at Niagara, from whence I sent them home loaden with the spoils of the French, and tho the enemy put me to a deal of trouble, when their army was near upon us, by sending some of their Indians under pretence of parley with ours, but rather to inveigle or intimidate, I found means to retain even them, who tho come into our Camp under French influence, made them fight against their Old Friends, and after the Surrender of the Fort, & I had settled the Garrison &c necessary to be left in it, I employ'd these Indians very successfully in sending them to the foreign Nations on the over side of the Lakes and elsewhere to invite

them to come into me at Niagara & Oswego, where I appointed, which they did, and made friends with us, declaring they were sufficiently tired of the war, & sorry for the part they had acted against us.

I am now to acknowledge the honour of Your Lordships' letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> last with his Majesty's order in Council relative to the Complaint of Tydeuscung, the Delaware Chief, copy of whose letter I also inclose, which was made to me in consequence of my apprizing him that his Majesty had signified his intentions "That I should look into and hear his complaints against the Proprietaries of Pensylvania concerning Lands, & transmit them to Your Lordships to be laid before His Majesty" You will see by his letter that business is postponed, as he has taken on with the Governor of that Colony to convene some of the Western Indians to a Meeting, which when ended may be so late as to interfere with the Military Branch of my Office this Campaign, and may somewhat hinder my bringing the Indians in general together this Summer for actual Service altho well inclined, Thereupon cannot help remarking to Your Lordships, That if the Indians are admitted to be under a complicate and multifarious influence or Management, especially at this time, it must make any application to them uncertain, the service liable to many Inconveniencies, & render the Indians more difficult to treat with, while the power of acting seems to be divided and the plan of Directing them not mutually concerted by me, & those who affect and assume, to be superfluous.

I must beg leave to repeat to Your Lordships the necessity there is of redressing the Complaints of the Mohawks with regard to their Lands, which they are incessantly murmuring about & very troublesome to me as they live so contiguous.

The Mohican Indians living in Connecticut Colony, have also intreated me to represent their case to Your Lordships, that their Lands may be ascertained to them, or at least paid for; I understand they have formerly præferred a Petition to his Majesty in Council, from thence am apt to beleive their affair is better known to Your Lordships' Board, by means of their former Agent, than they can explain it to me, so shall not trouble Your Lordships with a further Detail.

Enveloped with this is the Substance of the Mohawks complaints from both Castles, made at a Conference at my house & by letter from Conojohary, Extracted from the Records in the Office of the Secretary of Indian Affairs to which Office I have appointed M<sup>r</sup> Richard Shuckburgh, after the decease of Capt. Wraxall, who died the 11<sup>th</sup> of last July, & would be glad Your Lordships would procure for him a Warrant or Commission for that purpose; the late M<sup>r</sup> Wraxall's I believe was issued from the Secretary of State's Office: The above mentioned gentleman has resided many years in this country is acquainted with the Customs of the Indians & every way qualified to discharge the Duty required, thereupon recommend him for Your Lordships approbation: I acquainted Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst when I appointed him & he readily agreed to it; should any interest themselves against this Recommendation, I hope Your Lordships will discountenance their Solicitations, as it may be presumed I am the proper Judge of an Officer so near me as the Secretary of Indian Affairs.

I have now only to acquaint Your Lordships that I have the most favourable answers from the Six Nations & their Confederates on a Message I sent to them some time agoe to hold themselves in readiness, till the time I receive the General's orders for them to join the army, & have sent this Spring both to Niagara and Oswego Presents to the Foreign Indians I treated with last autumn at those Posts, as well as to the six Nations, to be given at the Discretion of the commanding Officers there, & I expect to muster more Indians for the service this summer

than I did last Campaign by far, having great Expectations from the assurances given to me by y<sup>e</sup> Ottawawas, Missiagos, Chippeways, &c (who where in the French Interest, till the surrender of Niagara) that they will join his Majesty's Arms this Campaign, some of whom I have already employed with several of the six Nations, who are now out on Parly<sup>1</sup> in the French Country.

I am, with all due respect,

My Lords,

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

The Lords Commissioners  
of Trade & Plantations.

Your Lordships' most obedient

and most humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Canajoharie Indians to Sir William Johnson.*

[Plantations General Papers, XVII., (Q.,) No. 9.]

Conojohary 25<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Sachems of Conojohary assembled together in Council have found most proper to acquaint you of our present concerns; We are very much at a loss and ashamed to be so ignorant in an Affair of the greatest importance to us, which is concerning the boundaries of our Lands, or the Division between us & our neighbours: We therefore thought proper to make our address to you in order to beg Your assistance, to have all the lines renewed & surveyed, in the presence of our Young Men and Boys in order to prevent contention and Debate for the future, it being so long a time, and of some the division lines never known to us; but if a Renovation should ensue which is our request this would be a lasting Memory to our young ones and prevent future Difference. But in our present condition we know not whether we have any lands, that are truly our own or not for as much as we hear, every now and then, that the lands are all taken up; and beg therefore not to be left too ignorant. And beg Dear Brother of you an answer, & remain, Your Bretheren

The Sachems of Conojohary.

To Sir William Johnson Bart

A true Copy Examined

by R<sup>d</sup> SHUCKBURGH

Sec<sup>y</sup> of In<sup>dn</sup> Affairs.

*Sir William Johnson to the Sachems of Canajohary.*

Fort Johnson 26<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1760

Bretheren and Friends of Conojohary.

I received Your letter by the two Messengers sent with it this day, and as you mention no particular Tract of Land, it will be impossible for me to see justice done you, as you all know

<sup>1</sup> Duty. *Johnson Manuscripts*, IV. — Ed.



there are many Tracts & Parcels of Land sold by Your people formerly to the white people, some of which I suppose were justly purchased: It would be an endless piece of work, & Expensive, to survey them over again, besides it would be of no service to you; but if there be any land that you really know has been unjustly taken from you, and will lay Your Complaint with the true state of the Case before me, I will (as his Majesty's Agent for Indian Affairs) Represent it properly to the King, who, I am convinced, will order justice to be done to you, & you may be well assured, I will do what lays in my power for Your interest, at the same time must desire, you will make no complaints but such as you may with justice do, otherwise it will appear litigious and unbrotherlike. Do nothing but what you are sure is right, then I can serve you, without being ashamed, If you should proceed in an unjust cause, or make any wrong claims to Lands, then you and I will be reflected on, which I hope you will be carefull to avoid

I am Your well wisher and loving Brother

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

To the Sachems of Conojohary

A true Copy from the Records

Examin'd by R<sup>d</sup> SHUCKBURGH

Sec<sup>y</sup> of Indian Affairs.

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*Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Lower Mohawk Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVII., ( Q., ) No. 6. ]

At a Meeting of the Sachems & Warriors of the Lower Mohawks at Fort Johnson, 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1760.

PRESENT—

Sir William Johnson

Lieut. Clause

Ensign Price

R<sup>d</sup> Shuckburgh Sec<sup>y</sup>

Little Abraham their Speaker stood up and told Sir W<sup>m</sup> that they were come on an affair of the utmost importance to them and their Posterity and beg his most serious attention, then proceeded: Brother Warraghiyagey. We are now come to you with tears in our eyes, on account of the Reports we daily hear among our Bretheren the White people, which are, that we are a poor people, having no Land we can call our own, for even the Land we plant and live on we are told is the Property of the people of Albany, which we are entirely ignorant of, and can hardly think it true, as our attachment to the great King and our Brethren has ever been so strong and sincere, which you brother have been a Witness of upwards of twenty years, and that we have stood by and assisted them in the worst of times, by which we have lost the bravest and most of our people, when very few or none of our allies the six Nations would join or even countenance us in it.

Should then the depriving us of the little land we have left in Reserve for our selves and children be the Return we are to meet with from our Regard for and Service done to the White people many ways? We are certainly then the poorest & most unhappy people upon this continent, which we hope the great King will not suffer to be our case. Gave a Belt.

Brother as we are now upon the Subject of Land, We must beg to trouble you once more about that large Tract called Kaniadarusseras which was never honestly purchased of us, nor any consideration paid for it, You told us some time agoe that you did not doubt but it would be settled to our satisfaction, this gave us great Encouragement but hearing no farther about it, We are afraid it will be forgot, & then we must be a ruined people, which (after what you had told us so often) we can hardly think to be the great King's desire. To him therefore Brother, we most earnestly desire you will in our name apply for Justice and assure him that whatever he does for us will not be lost, as long as the Mohawks are a people.

A Belt of Wampum.

Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Answer.

Brethren & Friends of the Mohawks.

I have given that attention which the Regard I have for you and the nature of Your complaint demanded, and now I desire Yours while I acquaint you that the great King on a complaint of that nature made to him by your cousins the Delawares has out of his great goodness and regard to justice, taken their case into consideration, and ordered me his Agent here to meet the Delawares and those whom they accuse, as early as I possibly can; & after hearing what both parties have to say to send him a true state of the case for his Decision, which will be impartial, this may encourage you to expect he will do you justice for which end I will make the best Enquiry I can, into the true state of Your Complaint, & when I am Master of it, will transmit it to England, to be laid before the King, and to confirm what I now promise. I deliver you

A Belt of Wampum.

The Mohawk's Reply

Broth<sup>r</sup> Warragh<sup>y</sup> What you have now told us concerning the great George's orders to you and the assurances you give us of Your examining narrowly into the Nature of our complaints, and sending them to the King for his consideration, gives us great Satisfaction, and we expect that our case will be thought as worthy of a hearing as that of our cousins the Delawares (who we are sorry to say have acted a very bad part hitherto)

A true Copy. Examined.

by R<sup>d</sup> SHUCKBURGH

Sec<sup>y</sup> of Indian Affairs.

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*Tydescung to Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVII., ( Q. ) No. 10. ]

Brother, I rec<sup>d</sup> Your Letter by my son and was glad to hear that King George has been so good to take my matters to heart, and I thank you for your love and care in sending me so

early word. But as I am to morrow setting off from here, being desired by the Governor and other Gentlemen of this Province to go to the Wiandot Nation, & others, to invite and convene them to a Treaty at Easton. Therefore at present I can neither appoint time or place to confer about the complaint I made about Land affairs. But when I return shall take the first opportunity to let you know, & am Your sincere Brother, that wishes you good luck against his Majesties Enemies.

 Tydescung Chief Sachem of the  
Delawares, his mark.

Berth<sup>m</sup> in Northampton County }  
& Province of Pensylvania }  
April 8<sup>th</sup> 1760.

To Sir William Johnson.

A true Copy from the Records

Examined by Rich<sup>d</sup> SHUCKBURGH

Sec<sup>y</sup> of Ind<sup>n</sup> Affairs.

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey.*

[ New-York Entries, B. P., p. 176. ]

To Ja<sup>s</sup> De Lancey Esq<sup>re</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York

Sir,

By the arrival of the last packet, We were favoured with your letters of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 5<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of Febr<sup>y</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of April last, and the papers referred to therein.

An authentic copy of the Act, for trial of small causes referred to in your letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Jan<sup>y</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> not being yet come to our hands, we have directed the printed copy to be referred to our Counsel, together with your observations upon it, for his opinion in point of Law, and as soon as he has made his Report, we will take the Act into our consideration, and give you our sentiments upon it.

We entirely agree with you in opinion, that the settlement of our frontier lands is, in the general view of it, a measure of great public utility and advantage; provided such settlements do not interfere with the claim of our Indian Allies, founded upon our solemn engagements with them; and therefore, we have laid the proceedings of yourself and the Council, upon the application made for grants of the Lands, lying between Fort Edward and Lake George, before His Majesty, humbly proposing that they may receive His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Royal approbation, and that proper orders may be given for exempting the grantees from the payment of Quit-Rents for ten years, from the date of the Grants.

It is necessary however, that we should upon this occasion inform you, that Petitions, of which the inclosed are copies, have been transmitted by Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst, to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Pitt, who having by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Command, referred them to us for our consideration, We have made a full representation to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> thereupon.



You will observe, that the limits of the Land petitioned for are very loosely and vaguely described; but as it is clear, that it is meant to comprehend Lands as far westward as Fort Edward, We think it would not be adviseable to make any further Grants in that part of the Country at least, not to the Eastward of the Lakes, until His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s pleasure be known upon the above mentioned Petitions. We are

Sir

Your most obedient humble servants

DUNK HALIFAX

SOAME JENYNS

W. SLOPER

E<sup>d</sup> BACON.

13. June 1760.

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*Reverend Dr. Johnson to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

[“American Colonies MS.” Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., Nos. 190 & 191: Postscript marked 191.]

King's College N. York,

July 13<sup>th</sup> 1760.—

May it please Your Grace,

The great kindness and condescension with which Your Grace hath permitted, and even required, me to write to you on the affairs of the Church in these parts of the World, will, I humbly trust, be admitted as some apology for my troubling you so often, and with such long Letters; tho' I am not without fears of being thereby tempted to take liberties that may not become me, perhaps rather expose me to Your Grace's Censure, as using too great an assurance; particularly in sending You the papers enclosed.—In my retirement the last winter at Stratford, having little to do, I did, in consequence of some conversation with several gentlemen of good understanding and public Spirit, and at their request, draw up the enclosed paper,\* with a view at first, of publishing it in the London Magazine: but upon second thoughts, I doubted whether we were proper judges, either of the propriety of such a scheme, or in what manner, or whether at all, it would be fit to publish it. I apprehended if any thing were done with it, it would be best to do nothing without Your Grace's approbation; and therefore, upon their further desire, I concluded, relying on your great Candor, to presume to transmit it to Your Grace to do with it as you should think proper, either in suppressing or communicating it: and as we had made copies of it to the Earl of Halifax and Mr Pitt, I presume also to enclose them to be either suppressed or sent, as Your Grace, who can best judge, shall think proper: some small additions were made in this enclosed draught. This I confess, My Lord, is too great a stretch of assurance, but I humbly hope Your Grace will forgive it, and impute it to the feeble struggles of a well-meaning mind that would be useful to the world if it could, but desires to be retired & concealed.—I can only assure Y<sup>r</sup> Grace, that it is the wish of many gentlemen in these Colonies, that something to this effect may be done for us, tho' but few, (in confidence,) know any thing of my taking this step.

\* Note. The paper here referred to does not seem to have been preserved among the MSS. at Lambeth. The copy annexed was furnished me by Mr. Bancroft.—J. R. B.

While I was in Connecticut, about 6 months, I had opportunity to know much of the condition of the Church in those parts, & therefore thought I could be a little more particular in giving Your Grace an account of it.—The Church is generally, in a flourishing and increasing condition; and much more so, on occasion of the virulent contention of the Dissenters among themselves, which in effect, drive people into the Church. The Wallingford affair was again before the Assembly last May, and the lower house were still more zealous in the cause of the minor party, which seems the prevailing disposition of the Country; so that there will probably be a great struggle to get out the Governor and several of the Upper house for not favoring them: and I here send Your Grace two pamphlets relating to these controversies that have been published since my last.

The parties are both upon bad extremes; Hart & Gale &c. are followers of Taylor Foster &c. and I doubt Socinianism is at the bottom, and the President, Hobart &c. are most rigid Calvinists, and intent at any rate to oppose the others to their utmost.—Meantime the Church is every where in peace and the Clergy orthodox; only I find there are some of the leading laity in good Mr Palmer's district that are infatuated with what is here called Taylerism, i. e. Socinianism and Pelagianism, and they are somewhat disaffected, I believe without reason, towards their Minister for preaching against those errors, charging him with Calvinism: and perhaps he may be a little too warm.—On these accounts I advised Mr Beach to preach at their Convention in Trinity Week, in defence of the Trinity and against those loose notions, which he did, to good acceptance, and it is to be published, a Copy of which, I shall send Your Grace when I write next.

It is a great detriment to the Churches at Middletown and Wallinford that Mr Camp hath left them, induced partly by his necessities, and partly by the persuasion of Governor Dobbs to move to North Carolina: How they will be supplied I am at a loss. They ought each to have a Minister. And I wish the Society were in a condition to settle at least 40 pounds on the former and 30 on the latter, who hope for one Mr Andrews, a Candidate of a good Character. And one Treadwell, said to be a worthy Youth, has lately appeared for the Church, both bred at New Haven College, where I found 3 or 4 hopeful young men preparing for Orders.—Mr Punderson seems a very honest and laborious man, yet the Church at New Haven appears uneasy and rather declining under his Ministry, occasioned, I believe, partly by his want of politeness, and partly by his being so much absent, having 5 or 6 places under his care. I wish he was again at Groton, and some politer person in his place, and another at Guilford and Branford.

There are now 30 Churches in that Colony (tho' but 14 Ministers) there being 3 or 4 new ones; one of which is a third within the bounds of Stratford, in a remote corner, 10 miles from one, and eight from the other, under the care of Mr Newton, who desires me to intercede for a few prayer books and small practical tracts for them, being poor and some of them dissolute: and as he has this additional labor, I wish the Society could add 10 pounds to his Salary, being both laborious & needy.—The more I now know of Mr Winslow, the more I am pleased in him as my successor: He excels all the Clergy in that Colony, as a Preacher, and is behind none of them in discretion and good Conduct: and being Rector of the first Church there, and is otherwise duly, if not the best, qualified, I wish, when Commissaries are appointed, he may be the Commissary, being also of most creditable family & education: and as he has a large, young growing family, and is obliged in that situation to live at the most

expense of any of them, it would be highly expedient, if practicable, to add 10 pound more to his support.

And here, My Lord, I beg leave to add a few words of that Colony in general though it might perhaps hurt the Chh were I known to write too freely. I am humbly of opinion, that every thing being taken into the account, *That*, for its bigness, is the best of all His Majesty's provinces in America. All the disadvantages it labors under, are owing to its wretched constitution, being little more than a mere democracy, and most of them upon a level, and each man thinking himself an able divine and politician: hence the prevalency of rigid enthusiastical and conceited notions and practices in religion, and republican and mobbish principles & practices, next door to Anarchy in polity: and hence frequent feuds and factions in both; and every thing is managed by profound Hypocrisy & Dissimulation: so that they may, in effect, be called a Commonwealth of Hypocrites.—I speak of the prevailing bulk, who all conspire to keep men of true, sober and honest principles and integrity out of places, and such indeed, as things go, abhor to have any hand in their public Affairs; the rest having almost lost all notion of any King or Kingdom to which they are accountable.—This state of things makes multitudes very inquisitive after better principles, and many, from too much indignation, run into the wild extremes of boundless latitude and free thinking, while many, (I hope the most of of those that are inquisitive,) seem disposed to sit down in the Golden mean, the Church of England, if they could be provided for.—So that it is of the utmost importance for the best Weal of that Colony and its Eastward Neighbors, that the Church be propagated, and, if possible, supported: & if at the same time their Charters were demolished, & they could be reduced under the management of wise and good Governors and Council appointed by the King, I believe they would, in a little time, grow a good sort of people, and be the best of all the provinces.

And now, My Lord, I return homeward.—West-Chester and New-Rochel, in this province, have both lost their Ministers, who had been disabled for some considerable time before, and Rye hath lately suffered a grievous loss by the death of good Mr Wetmore of the small pox: so that there is not one Clergyman in all that County nor the County above.—Rye have been trying to prevail on Mr Dibble of Stamford; but he, good man, tho' in great need of a better support, apprehensive of the great detriment it would be to that Church, has refused, being also made to hope for the enlargement of his Salary, which he truly deserves, and if it be not done, I earnestly wish it may. They think next of trying for Mr Sturgeon; but I hope they may unite in a worthy son of Mr Wetmore's, who is preparing for orders. & I believe these vacancies must wait a little, till our Candidates, 3 or 4 of them are ready. West Chester were sadly disappointed in Mr Greateon's failing them, and I hope they will unite in one Davies, a good sensible Young man who will go the next Fall, and perhaps another.

I am now, My Lord, tho' not without some danger, returned to my College, ever since the middle of May, and have lately held a Commencement, which was generally well approved, when six were graduated Bachelors none having, till next May, sufficient standing for Masters.—My absence, together with the long sickness and death of my best Tutor has been a great damage, 5 or 6 having left the College. I conclude Your Grace has had our letters, earnestly begging Your Assistance in providing two more Tutors, one that may be qualified to succeed me, and the other to succeed him that is dead, in teaching Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy.—This latter is now extremely needed, and I beg, if possible, he may be sent, tho' it be late, in the Fall, for we must entirely suspend those parts of learning till he comes.



Our house, all at present intended, is now near finished, and is a very neat & commodious building, 180 feet in length by 30, 3 Stories in a very delightful Situation near Hudson's river, opening to the Harbor. This is designed for one side of a Quadrangle, to be carried on, and completed in time, as we shall need and be able: but we cannot go any further without a Collection at home, which we hope ere long may be obtained. I now long for Dr Bristow's library, having got a good room ready for it.—Our college has also lately suffered an unspeakable loss in the death of one of the best and most active of its Governors, in the meridian of life; one Mr Nicoll a Lawyer of great note, who was my Son-in-law, than whom no man was ever more lamented throughout this province. Under these losses and difficulties, I humbly beg leave to recommend both it and myself to Your Grace's prayers and blessing.

By a letter I had lately from Dr Smith of Philadelphia he puts me upon humbly requesting of Your Grace the honor of a Doctor's degree for the Worthy Mr Barclay, wishing with me, that if it cannot be procured at Oxford, it may come from Lambeth.—I was surprised and very sorry to be told by him, upon my inquiry that he had not yet then prepared the draught he was to make and transmit to Your Grace, for which I furnished him with some materials from Connecticut, and expected it to have been done last fall.—He again promises to do it soon.—And now My Lord, I again beg Your pardon for this tedious letter, & whatever improprieties there may be in it, & remain, may it please Your Grace,

Your Grace's most obliged,

most dutiful and devoted

humble Servant

To His Grace of Canterbury.

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON

P. S.

July 30.

This letter, My Lord, having waited thus long for an opportunity, and may yet wait some days, I humbly take occasion to inform Your Grace, That this day died very suddenly our Lieut. Governor De Lancey; so that we shall need to have a Governor soon sent us: and I need not suggest to Your Grace of how much importance it is to us, that he be not only a good statesman, but a friend to Religion and the Church, & exemplary in attendance on her public Offices; for want of which, Religion hath suffered extremely in this Province. If therefore Your Grace can have any influence in the next appointment, I doubt not it will be duly exerted that we may have such an one.—As Mr Standard is dead and West Chester are about applying to Your Grace and the Society for another Minister, I question whether a more suitable man for them can be found than Mr Milner, by whom I wrote to your Grace, and who I conclude is now at Oxford, I could therefore wish, if the Society think proper, that he may be appointed to supply that vacancy.—I am, My Lord, &c

#### Questions relating to the Union and Gov<sup>t</sup> of the Plantations.

To the Author of the London Magazine.

As I have at once a most intense affection for this my native country and the highest veneration for our ancient Mother Country, I beg leave by your very useful collection, humbly to suggest to the consideration of the public, the following Queries relating to what I apprehend, may be of the utmost consequence to these American Colonies.

*Query* 1<sup>st</sup> Whether it be not of very great importance to the weal of the Mother Country that she do now, in consequence of the peace enter upon the consideration of what may most contribute to the best future and joint weal of these her daughters?

2<sup>d</sup> Whether it would not be of great advantage to the best weal of the daughters that their constitution, or form of government should be as near as possible, the same one with another, and all, as near as may be, conformable to that of the Mother?

3<sup>d</sup> Whether, since it is not very probable that they would agree among themselves, to any variation from their present model, it would not become the wisdom and goodness of the Mother, by an Act of her Legislature to establish a model for them?

4<sup>th</sup> In doing this, she would doubtless proceed with as great tenderness as could consist with the public good, but Qu: whether it is for the best public good, that the Charter Governments should continue in their present Republican form, which is indeed pernicious to them, as the people are nearly rampant in their high notions of liberty, and thence perpetually running into intrigue and faction and the rulers so dependant on them that they in many cases, are afraid to do what is best and right for fear of disobliging them?

5<sup>th</sup> Whether, therefore it might not consist with all proper tenderness, by an Act of the Legislature at home, to oblige them to accept of a model that would reduce them to a nearer resemblance to their mother and sisters? And whether this might not in all reason be done, without giving umbrage for any dark apprehensions to the Corporations at home?

6<sup>th</sup> The Colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut are nearly allied in their situation, principles and interests, nor does there appear any manner of reason why the two latter should not be contented, at least with the like constitution with the former.

Qu: Therefore since the constitution of the Massachusetts comes nearer to that of the other governments than they, whether it might not consist with the wisdom and goodness of the Legislature to oblige the Colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut to accept of the same establishment with the Massachusetts? I am sure it would be vastly best for them, and I have good reason to believe if they were polled, by far the majority of considerate persons would choose it.

N. B. They have especially besides others, two monstrous absurdities, viz: That they have vastly too numerous and unequal a representative, and that they make their General Assemblies, Courts of Equity, where, in many cases, perhaps not above four, or five in a hundred understand any thing of the matter.

7<sup>th</sup> As the King is by the English Constitution, the head of the Legislature and the fountain of all executive power, whether it be not extremely fit and best, that the Governor of each Province be immediately appointed by the King? And whether some method could not be found to reduce the Proprietary gov<sup>ts</sup> under the same regulation with the rest?

8<sup>th</sup> As the disunited state of our Colonies was found attended with many disadvantages at the beginning of the War, and was one great occasion of our ill success at first, and would at any time and on any occasion be attended with many fatal effects;

Qu: Whether some scheme could not be pitched upon, that for the future, might be a principle of Union?

9<sup>th</sup> Let it be, in particular, considered, whether it would not be a wise expedient for this purpose, that some gentleman of great dignity and worth, should be appointed by the King to be in the nature of a Vice Roi, or Lord L<sup>t</sup> to reside at New York, as being best situated, to preside over and inspect the whole, with a commission to continue only for three years?

10<sup>th</sup> Whether it would not contribute to the same good end that once every year, two from each Province, one of the Council and one of the Assembly (or three from the largest Provinces) should be chosen and appointed by each Legislature, as a representative, to meet at New York to attend on the Lord L<sup>t</sup> and under his presidency, to represent and consult whatever may contribute to the union stability and good of the whole,—Something in the nature of the Amphietyons of the ancient States of Greece? Here the common affairs of war, trade &c might be considered and the confirming or negating the Laws passed in each government, and the result to be confirmed or negated by the King.

11<sup>th</sup> The only objection I can foresee against such a scheme for an union would be an apprehension of the possibility, in the course of time, of an affectation of independency on the Mother Country; But this, I must think will be scarce ever possible under such a regulation, in such a distant set of Provinces separate from each other, and dispersed over so large a tract, especially if the true loyal principles of Christianity be perpetually well inculcated, there being the strongest connexion between fearing God and honoring the King. To this purpose should not something be done for the better regulation of the affairs of Religion in these Plantations? And particularly,

12<sup>th</sup> As there are multitudes of each denomination of Protestants in these Colonies, will it not be best that no one should labor under any discouragements from either of the other but preserve as far as possible, a spirit of harmony, mutual indulgence and forbearance with regard to each other, avoiding every thing unkind and invidious,

And 13<sup>th</sup> Would it not be well to consider, whether it is not very dishonorable to the Mother Country, and extremely unbecoming in itself as well as a great detriment to religion, that the Church which is established in England and consequently an essential part of the British Constitution and hath ever been the greatest friend to loyalty, should not be, at least, upon as good a foot as the other denominations, as complete in her kind as they in theirs? And consequently since they enjoy as they ought, each their own form and method of government, worship and discipline without molestation, is it not a very great hardship that those of the church should be destitute of any part of theirs? And particularly can any good reason be given why the Church should not have Bishops, at least two, or three, in this vast tract, to ordain and govern their Clergy and instruct and confirm their Laity, which they are as conscientiously persuaded they ought to have, as any other denomination can be of their respective tenets and practices?

N. B.—It is not proposed that the Episcopal gov<sup>t</sup> should have any superiority, or authority over other denominations, or make any alterations relating to, or interfering with any civil matters as they now stand.

14<sup>th</sup> And lastly—Whether considering the trouble and confusion attending the endless diversity of money, it would not be best by an Act of the Legislature at home, to establish one medium to obtain in all the Colonies?

These things, Sir, if you think proper, are humbly submitted to public consideration by  
Sir,

Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

America. 1760.

PHILANGLUS AMERICANUS.



*Mr. Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New York Bundle, Oo., p. 6.]

New York Aug. 7<sup>th</sup> 1740.

My Lords

L<sup>t</sup> Governor De Lancey died on the 30<sup>th</sup> of last month after a short illness. You know, My Lords, that on this misfortune the administration devolves on me being the first in His Majesty's Council for this Province. M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey was certainly a gentleman of great abilities & experience in the present situation of affairs, I am therefore under great concern lest His Majesty's service suffer in my hands. I am now advanced in years about 37 of which have passed since the first time I was of the Council. Your Lordships can judge better than others of some part of my past conduct; & I hope that you have observed the special regard I at all times had to the rights of the Crown as well as the privileges & liberties of the people. Were my abilities in any proportion to my zeal for His Majesty's service, I should have strong hopes of your approbation of my administration; as it is, the behaviour of people in general, as well of those more immediately in the Government, during the few days in which I have had the administration, gives me great hopes, that the people of this Province will be as much united in their zeal for His Majesty's service as ever they were at any time & I have reason to hope that they will make my administration easy to me. These things give me likewise hopes that under all my infirmities I may obtain your Lordships favour.

By M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey's death the Office of Chief Justice is vacant, I know not whether there may be a necessity for supplying that vacancy, However it be I shall grant no commission otherwise than during His Majesty's pleasure.

A Seat at the Council Table is likewise become vacant by his death, Permit me, my Lords, to recommend my eldest son Alexander

My Lords be assured that nothing in my power shall be omitted for obtaining your approbation of my conduct. If I shall be so happy it will compleat all the ambition of

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient &  
most humble servant

To the Right Honourable  
the Lords Com<sup>rs</sup> Trade & Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Mr. Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New York Bundle, Oo., p. 7.]

New York Aug 30<sup>th</sup> 1760

My Lords

On the seventh of this month by a ship bound to Bristol I informed your Lordships that L<sup>t</sup> Governor De Lancey died on the 30<sup>th</sup> of last month after a very short illness, You know, my Lords, that on this misfortune the administration of Government devolves on me, being the first

in His Majesty's Council for this Province. Mr De Lancey was certainly a gentleman of great abilities & experience in the present situation of public affairs, I am therefore under great concern least His Majesty's service suffer in my hands. I am now advanced in years about thirty seven of which have passed since I was of the Council. Your Lordships can judge of some part of my past conduct, & I hope you have observed, that I have had special regard to the Rights of the Crown, as well as to the Privileges & Liberties of the People. Were my abilities in any proportion to my zeal for His Majesty's service I should entertain strong hopes of your Lordships approbation of my conduct, as it is, the behaviour of the people in general, as well as of those more immediately in the Government of the Province, gives me great hopes, that the people of this Province will be as much united in their zeal for His Majesty's service, as ever they were at any time, & I have reason to hope they will make my administration easy to me. These things give me likewise hope that under all my infirmities I may obtain your Lordships favour

By Mr De Lancey's death the Office of Chief Justice is vacant, I know not whether there may be a necessity for supplying that vacancy: However it be, I shall grant no commission otherwise than during His Majesty's pleasure.

A Seat at the Council Table is likewise become vacant by his death, Permit me, my Lords, to recommend my eldest son Alexander.

Since my former as above on the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, I received the honour of your Lordships commands of the 13<sup>th</sup> of June by the packet and I shall punctually observe them.

I am not as yet sufficiently informed of what has been don during Mr De Lancey's administration in relation to granting of lands. As your Lordships are of opinion that the settlement of our frontier lands is a measure of great public utility, as it certainly is, it shall be a principal object of my attention, but until the boundaries or limits of the Colonies in regard to the French be settled by the peace, it cannot be considered with precision. I have been forty years Surveyor General of the King's lands in this Province, and by that means have gained long experience. If your Lordships think that I can be of any use to you in your deliberations on this matter, I shall with the greatest pleasure obey your commands in every point within my knowledge.

Your Lordships observe that the limits of the lands petitioned for in the Memorials to General Amherst are very loosely and vaguely described; & I may add, in the same manner that the boundaries of the great tracts formerly granted in this Province generally are.

The extent of the waters & rivers mentioned in Captain Skene's petition are known to few people, & perhaps to none with any degree of certainty, but I am informed that within these boundaries a very large tract is contained and a great part of it of a rich soil. As to the tracts petitioned for by the Six Provincial Colonels, I suppose that the boundaries of the several townships are to be fixed in the usual manner by the proper officers of the Crown. All the land mentioned in both these petitions are undoubtedly within the bounds of this Province, as granted by K. Charles the 2<sup>d</sup> to his brother the Duke of York. This I thought necessary to observe to your Lordships by reason of a claim some time since made by New Hampshire, on what pretensions I know not.

Inclosed your Lordships will receive a Memorial of Mr Chambers, Second Justice of the Supreme Court of this Province, that he may be appointed Chief Justice. I know that the allegations in his Memorial are true. He is brother of the late Admiral Chambers, has an ample fortune & I never heard his integrity called in question, but, as I am not a competent Judge of the proper qualifications of a Chief Justice, I shall not presume to say farther.

Since I had wrote so far, a petition of several of the officers of the forces raised in this Province was presented to me, for lands, which I find are included within the boundaries of the lands petitioned for by Capt<sup>n</sup> Skene: & therefor I have put a stop to the proceedings thereon 'till I shall know your Lordships pleasure. The Officers of this Province have, in every respect, equal pretensions with those of New England, with this farther in their favour, that the lands are in this Province. Coll. Haldiman of the Royal Americans, I am told, joins with the New York Officers, tho' his name be not made use of 'till he can take the benefite of the naturalization Act for America. I shall only farther observe to your Lordships, that the lands, contained within the boundaries mentioned in Capt<sup>n</sup> Skene's petition, are sufficient to give ample encouragemt to him & to the New York Officers.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month, as the ship Sampson of Bristol, Osborn Greatrakes Master, a ship of 22 guns on one deck & 67 men, was comeing from sea to this port, & passing His Majesty's ship Winchester, the Winchester fired signal guns to bring to, & sent her barge to know what she was. Assoon as the barge with the 3<sup>d</sup> Lieutenant & 13 men came on the Sampson's bow, the Lieutenant hail'd her, & bid her bring to: on which the crew of the Sampson fired a volley of Musquetry on the Wintchester's barge; and tho' the Lieutenant called out to them to cease firing, & rowd from the Sampson, the crew of the Sampson continued firing their Musquetry, by which four men on board the barge were killed, tho' not one piece was fired from the barge at any time. The Sampson crouding all the sail she could, got into the Harbour. Soon after which Capt<sup>n</sup> Hale Commander of the Winchester sent his first & 3<sup>d</sup> Lieutenants to me, with the men remaining of the barge crew. Their evidence being taken by the Mayor of this City in my presence & in presence of one of the Judges, the Mayor issued his warrant for apprehending the People on board the Sampson; but the ship being placed at a small distance from the end of the wharf & the crew having armed themselves bid defiance to all authority. Next day Capt<sup>n</sup> Hale brought up his ship to the assistance of the Magistrates, on sight of which the crew of the Sampson seized the boats and went on shoar armed, in different parties, at a distance from the toun. Assoon as the Council could be called I issued by their advice a Proclamation to have the crew of the Sampson, every man by his name, apprehended any where within this Province: & I wrote to all the neighbouring Governors for the same purpose, in case any of that crew should escape into their Governments: and I ordered a detachment of the Militia of this City to assist the Sheriff; but all ineffectually except as to one man now in jail. The Master & first Mate being on shoar were committed to jail, & afterwards admitted to bail by Judge Horsemanden. It may be proper for me to add that tho' Capt<sup>n</sup> Hale had not attempted to press one man since his ship came into this River, I am told, that some other Captains of His Majesty's ships, had distressed the toun by pressing men from the market-boats & wood boats & by other acts of severity, whereby the people in the toun & country had generally received strong prejudices: and the Merchants in this port had suffered by their seamen's removeing to the neighbouring Colonies where they were free from any press.

It shall be my constant indeavour to deserve your Lordships approbation, having nothing more at heart than to be with humble submission

My Lords

Your Lordships' most obedient

& most humble servant

To the Right Honourable

CADWALLADER COLDEN

The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.



*Mr. Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 9. ]

New York Sept<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1760

My Lords,

With great joy I congratulate your Lordships on the entire reduction of the whole Country of Canada to His Majesty's Dominion, by his forces under the command of Major General Amherst; & that the finishing part, by the General's prudent conduct, has been without bloodshed. The particulars, no doubt, your Lordships will have learned from the Generals dispatches, by way of Quebec, before this can reach you. However I cannot pass over the pleasure I have, in the General's having had an opportunity of convincing the World, that the Indians are as capable of learning humanity of the English as they were of cruelty from the French. We now persuade ourselves that an end is put to the War in America.

With this will be transmitted to your Lordship in a box

Ingrossed Copies of ten Acts passed by L<sup>t</sup> Governor De Lancey the 10<sup>th</sup> of June last.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Council from the 13<sup>th</sup> of May to the 10<sup>th</sup> of June last.

Minutes of Council from the 2<sup>d</sup> of July 1759 to the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1760.

Votes of the Assembly from the 11<sup>th</sup> of March 1760 to the 10<sup>th</sup> of June.

The Salary of the Governor being determined by M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey's death, & the Sallaries of all the Officers of Government on the first of this Month, it is become necessary to meet the Assembly of this Province, which I propose to do the 21<sup>st</sup> of next month. I still hope, that the Public affairs will be transacted with unanimity. I am with the highest respect

My Lords

Your Lordships' most obedient

&amp; most humble servant

Right Honourable

Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade & Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Thomas Cant to Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[ Copied from "American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 213. ]

Lambeth, Nov. 4. 1760

Good D<sup>r</sup> Johnson

I am much in your debt for the information, which I receive from your letters: and it is a great while since I wrote to you. But indeed the home business of my station is enough to fill up my time: and I have had besides it, much employment about the Church Affairs of Virginia and Philadelphia. I have written a very long letter to M<sup>r</sup> Macclenachan, in answer to one which he wrote me, and to another from his followers. D<sup>r</sup> Smith hath Copies of them all, from whom perhaps they may come to your hands. M<sup>r</sup> Macclenachan, I find, hath a copy of the letter, which I wrote to you in 1758: and I do not know, that he can make any considerable bad use of it. But as he, or others, may be disposed to make such uses, you will be cautious in that respect

I have your letter of July 25th 1759, which is a sequel to that of March 20, I am greatly obliged to you for it, and for the two tracts, that come with it. But the postage of them amounted to thirty five shillings: and therefore you will do better to wait a little for opportunities of sending books, as indeed you have done since. In that letter there are some things recommended to be done, of which I have postponed the consideration too long: but will not forget them.

The Society are now well satisfied about Mr Beach whom you mention in your letter of Oct. 20, 1759. Dr Smith's vindication, mentioned in the same letter, as intended to be drawn up from Mr Barclay's remarks and your materials, is not yet come to my hands. I thank you for accepting my proxy, which I send you now, and should have sent you sooner.

I did not receive your letter of Oct. 29. 1759 till Sept. 9. 1760. Many thanks to you for the intelligence contained in it, and the pieces which accompanied it.

Your next letter, I think is that of Feb. 15. 1760 accompanied by one from a Committee the Governors of the College, dated Feb. 16. I have considered the contents of both, particularly the Qualifications requisite in the persons wanted. And I much approve your desire, that one of them should be well skilled in Hebrew. But indeed I should be afraid to send you, either Mr Horne, who is, I believe, a good man, but deeply tinctured with Mr Hutchinson's notions in Philosophy and Hebrew, both which I take to be groundless, notwithstanding a superficial attempt of his to prove a seeming agreement between the former and St Is. Newton, whom Mr Hutchinson held to be an atheist: or Mr Bayly, who is ingenious, but hath too high an opinion of himself and of some singularities of his own; and wants, in my opinion, the needful dignity, prudence and temper; besides that his station of minor Canon of St Pauls and Westminster Abbey and singer in the King's Chapel, would not perhaps contribute to his being received with respect, & would probably, together with a living which he hath, be thought by him preferable to the offers from New York. Another objection is, that he hath a family. I have heard of a Mr Graham, Fellow of Queen's College in Oxford, who was Reader of Philosophy and Mathematics in the College at Williamsburgh, and reckoned a man of good character: but I can learn nothing more of him, not even whether he is in America or in England. One Mr Cooper, a Fellow also of Queen's College, hath been recommended to me, as a grave and good man, and very well affected to the Government; well qualified for the inferior Tutors place, but not inclined to accept it: not unskilled in Hebrew, and willing to take the Vice-President's Office; but not of age for Priest's orders, till next February. I am afraid, though I have not seen him, that he should appear too young: but have given no decisive answer. The only remaining person, hitherto mentioned to me, though I have inquired diligently, is one Mr Wall Fellow of Christ College, a studious man, and very good Mathematician: a good preacher also; but his voice is not strong, though clear. His age, I believe, towards 30. But he understands little or nothing of the Hebrew. And as he would not accept the inferior place, so upon the whole he thinks himself unfit for the superior, though the Head of his College thinks otherwise. He wanted to know as others may, what is the particular business of the President and of the Vice-President, whether the manner of living be collegiate, at a Common table, & whether the Country be a very dear one. I am unable to answer these questions. It grieves me, that you should be without help so long. If any other person can procure it for you, I shall be heartily glad. But I think you had better wait, than have a wrong person sent you from hence. Could not you get some temporary assistance in your neighbourhood? I come now to your letter of July 13, 1760,

and assure you that I shall always be pleased with your notifying and proposing to me whatever you apprehend to be material: because I know it will always be done with good intention, and almost always furnish me with useful notices; and indeed will be of no small use, even when you may happen to judge amiss, as it will give me an opportunity of setting you right. In my opinion the paper intended for the London Magazine, and the letters for Lord Halifax and Mr Pitt are of the latter sort. The things said in them are in the main right, so far as they may be practicable: but publishing them to the world beforehand, instead of waiting till the time comes, and then applying privately to the persons, whose advice the King will take about them, is likely to raise opposition, and prevent success.<sup>1</sup> Publishing them in a Magazine indeed may raise no great alarm: but then it will be apt to produce contempt. For those monthly collections are far from being in high esteem. And as soon as either of those great men should see that the Queries offered to him were designed to be inserted in any of them; he would be strongly tempted to throw them aside, without looking further into them, even were he otherwise disposed to read them over: which men of business seldom are, when they receive papers from unknown hands, few of them in proportion deserving it. You will pardon the Frankness, with which I tell you my thoughts. Whatever good use I can make of your notions, I will. But the use, which you propose, is not agreeable to my judgment.

The Dissenters here, and too many who continue in the Church, have been running, for a considerable number of years, into what you call Taylorism. I am glad, that the Clergy in your parts are orthodox. Mr Macclenachen gives them a very different character. I hope they will cut off occasion from them, who desire occasion against them, by preaching faithfully and frequently the distinguishing Doctrines of the Gospel: which we in this nation have neglected too much, & dwelt disproportionately on Morality and Natural Religion; whence the Methodists have taken advantage to derry and gain followers.

I will take notice of what you say in this letter as well as a former concerning Missions & Missionaries, & write further to you, as soon as I can do it to any good purpose.

Your observations concerning a certain Colony shall not be mentioned to your detriment. I have a paper on the same subject in a great measure, without date, and not of your handwriting, but indorsed by Archbishop Herring, as coming from you. God grant this Confusion may be reduced into order, and that in the mean time some good may come out of the evil.

I have spoken concerning a New Lieutenant Governor, in the manner which you desired, to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr Pitt; and also to Lord Halifax, in whom the choice is. They all admit the request to be very reasonable and important one; & promise that care shall be taken about it. The last of them is very earnest for Bishops in America. I hope we may have a chance to succeed in that great point, when it shall please God to bless us with a peace.

We have lost our good old King, a true well-wisher to his people, and a man of many private virtues. His successor is a regular, and worthy & pious young man: and hath declared himself, I am satisfied very sincerely, to have the interests of Religion at Heart. God keep him in the same mind, and bless his endeavours. He continues the same Ministry, which his Grandfather had, with as few changes as possible. And I know not, whether this nation was ever so much at unity in itself, as it is at present.

Since I have written thus far, I have seen Mr Cooper, who appears well but tells me, that he only made a short attempt to learn Hebrew and laid it aside therefore I dare not send him without especial direction.



God bless you, good Dr Johnson, and all your Brethren, and his whole church in your parts.  
I am with much regard and esteem, your loving brother

(Signed) THO. CANT.

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*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New York, Oo., p. 14. ]

New York Nov. 11<sup>th</sup> 1760.

My Lords,

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of Sept. last, I had the honour to write to your Lordships, at which time I transmitted under the Seal Transcripts of the Acts passed in the last Session of the General Assembly, while Mr De Lancey had the Administration. And on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October I had likewise the honour to inform your Lordships, of my having met the Assembly & transmitted a printed copy of my Speech to them, which was all I could do at that time.

I have now the pleasure to inform your Lordships that I have not been disappointed in my expectations, that the public affairs would be carried on with unanimity, which I am well assured was never more perfect than at this time. The Assembly has granted me the same Salary they did to Mr De Lancey. The doing this is certainly the most effectual testimony of their confidence and regard. At the same time, I believe, they were sensible of the extraordinary expence, which unavoidably attended the administration at this time, from the excessive prices of provisions & from other contingent expences not usual at other times.

The Assembly was adjourned on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant to the first Tuesday in January next. General Amherst having ordered the Packet to proceed immediately with his dispatches for the Secretary of State, I have not time to give your Lordships a particular account of the proceedings. I can only at this time transmit printed copies of the addresses of the Council & Assembly. I shall transmit copies of the Minutes of the Assembly & of the Proceedings of the Council, as soon as they can be made out. I flatter myself your Lordships will not be displeased with any thing I have done.

My Lords. I have served the Crown many years, I have often endeavoured to support the Rights of the Crown to the prejudice of my private fortune. I hope your Lordships may think it consistent with his Majesty's service, to allow me to continue some time in the administration, as a reward to my past services & an encouragement to others. The confidence of the people & their regard is now so apparent, that I flatter myself, I may be as usefull as an other in promoting His Majesty's service. Sure I am, that, how far soever I may be exceeded in ability, none can be more sincerely zealous, for the interest of the Crown, or will more punctually observe any commands which shall be given.

If your Lordships shall think proper to signify the King's pleasure, that I may continue to execute the powers in the Governor's Commission, it will add to the influence I have for His Majesty's service. The Commission of Lt Governor would be a stronger proof of any Confidence your Lordships shall please to place in me, & thereby give me more influence; but cannot be of any greater advantage to my private interest.

Allow me to assure your Lordships of my constant attention to my duty, that I may thereby merit your approbation, and that I am with great submission.

My Lords,

Your Lordships most obedient

The Right Honourable

& most humble servant

The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Archbishop Secker to Dr. Browne, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.*

[ " American Colonies MS." Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 215. ]

Lambeth, Nov. 22. 1760.

Good Mr Vice-Chancellor

The University of Oxford hath from time to time granted degrees to worthy Clergymen in America: and this favour hath been found conducive to procure them greater honor and influence amongst their Brethren, and to increase the dignity and reputation of our Church in those parts. Dr Cutler of Boston and Dr Jenney of Philadelphia are disqualified by paralytic strokes for any further usefulness. Dr Johnson, President of the College of New York, I believe is near 70, and seems declining: and he hath earnestly desired me, in more letters than one, to recommend Mr Henry Barclay, Rector of Trinity Church in the City of New York, to this mark of the University's Regard. It appear from the journals of the Society for propagating the Gospel, that Mr Barclay is the Son of a Missionary of that Society to the Indians on the Frontiers of New York; that he was educated under Dr Johnson at New Haven College; that in 1735 he was appointed by the Society Catechist to the Mohock Indians, and in 1737 ordained priest, and settled as a Missionary amongst them; on which occasions the fullest testimonials were given in his favor by persons of the first rank and character, Clergy & Laity; that having learnt the language of these Indians, he preached to them in it with such success, as to form out of them a Christian Congregation of 500 persons, 61 of whom, in all appearance were worthy Communicants; that he continued in this station till the year 1745, when the French Indians, falling on the Mohocks, obliged him to retire for the safety of his person; that in 1746 he was chosen Rector of Trinity Church, vacant by the death of Mr Commissary Vesey, and hath continued there ever since. Dr Johnson saith further, that he is a prudent & laborious man, an accomplished divine and an excellent preacher. I have never had any personal connection or correspondence with him: but by all that I have heard of him, believe him to be a person universally esteemed; and therefore wish he were distinguished by a Dr<sup>s</sup> Degree. I would indeed give him that title myself, but I avoid making use of that power, as much as I well can, from respect to the Universities; and am sensible besides, that my degrees are by no means equivalent to theirs in the estimation of the World. I have now told you all my inducements to make this application. If you or the Heads of Houses, disapprove it, or think the convocation will disapprove it, I desire the matter may go no further, and assure you, that the failure, will give no offence to

Your loving Brother.

*Secretary Pitt to the Governors in America.*

[Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 77.]

Whitehall, 17<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Sir,

His Maj<sup>ty</sup> having nothing so much at heart, as by the most vigorous prosecution of the War, to reduce the Enemy to the necessity of accepting a peace, on terms of Glory and advantage to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Crown, and beneficial, in particular, to His subjects in Am<sup>ca</sup>, and as nothing can so effectually contribute to that great and essential object, as the King's being enabled to employ, as immediately as may be, such part of the regular forces in N<sup>o</sup> America, as may be adequate to some great and important enterprise against the Enemy; I am commanded to signify to you, the King's pleasure that in order the better to provide for the full and entire security of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s dominions in N<sup>o</sup> America, and particularly of the possession of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s conquests there, during the absence of such part of the regular forces, You do forthwith use your utmost endeavours & influence with the Council and Assembly of Your Province to induce them to raise with all possible dispatch, within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, two thirds of the number of Men, they raised for the last Campaign, and, forming the same into Regiments as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, and particularly as much earlier, than former years as may be, to march to such place or Places, in North America, as His Majesty's Commander in Chief there, shall appoint, in order to be employed there, under the supreme Command of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s said Commander in Chief in America, in such manner as he shall judge most conducive for the King's service; and the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province, as you shall judge, from their weight and credit with the people, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed, and able to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the great number of Men; In the disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view, but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief; and all officers of the Provincial Forces, as high as Colonels inclusive, are to have rank according to their several respective Commissions, agreeable to the regulations contained in His late Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Warrant of the 30<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1757 which is renewed by his present Maj<sup>ty</sup>.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Amunition & Tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the same by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commissaries, in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces; The whole therefore, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> expects & requires from the several Provinces, is, the Levying, Cloathing and Pay of the Men; and on these heads also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary service, the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their Session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above according as the active vigour, and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall justly appear to merit.

It is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do with particular diligence, immediately collect, & put into the best condition all the arms, issued last Campaign, which can be any ways rendered serviceable, or that can be found within Your Govern<sup>t</sup> in order that the same may be again employed for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service.



I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent, by this conveyance Massachuset's Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Jersey; the Southern Govern<sup>t</sup> are also directed to raise Men in the same maener, to be employed in such offensive operations, as the circumstances and situation of the Enemy's Posts, and the state and disposition of the Indian Nations, on that side may point out and require.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your zeal in the execution of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders in this important conjuncture, which is finally to fix, the future safety and welfare of America, and of your own province in particular; and the King doubts not, from your known fidelity and attachment, that you will employ yourself with the utmost application and dispatch in this promising and decisive Crisis.—

I am etc.

W. PITT.

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*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 21.]

New York Jan<sup>y</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

Your Secretary has notified to me the melancholy event of the death of the King, and that the necessary orders in consequence thereof will be sent me. These orders are not yet arrived, & as the winter has sat violently in, I am affrayed of my not receiving them in time, to prevent all prejudice to His Majesty's service; Chiefly by the want of a warrant to make use of the old seals, which Mr Pownall informs me is preparing for me. The processes in the Courts of Justice are thereby in many cases at a stand; but what gives me most concern is, that the General Assembly of this Province, dissolves by the King's death, as there is no provision made in this case, either by Act of Parliament or by Act of this Province. The Council is of opinion that I cannot make use of the old seals, without the King's warrant for that purpose. If so I cannot call a New Assembly, & if I should take upon me to do it, from the necessity of affairs, the legality of the writs may be called in question.

General Amherst informs me, that the future military operations may require, that a number of troops be raised in the Northern Colonies, for the next campaign, but this cannot be done in this Province without the concurrence of a new Assembly. It is therefor become my duty to inform your Lordships of this, least by your want of timely information the public service suffer.

After I had wrote so far, I was informed, that the Governor of the Massachusets bay had proclaimed his present Majesty without waiting for particular orders. The people in this place & all the Churches are to be in mourning next Sunday. I have advised with the Council whether it be proper to proclaim his present Majesty without waiting for the orders mentioned in Mr Pownall's letter, as, by the severity of the Season, the ship which carries the orders may not be able to get into port. Their advice is to wait some time longer, as they apprehend no inconveniency by the delay. I have the honour to be with great submission

My Lords

Your most obedient &

most humble servant

The Right honourable

The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Archbishop Secker to the Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[ " American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1128, III, No. 217. ]

Lambeth Jan 20. 1761.

Good D<sup>r</sup> Johnson

The University of Oxford have unanimously given M<sup>r</sup> Barclay, at my request, the Degree of a Doctor of Divinity by a Diploma, which is in my hands, but shall be sent to the Doctor in such manner, as he shall direct. Be pleased in the mean time to congratulate him from me on the justice done in this respect to his merit.

My further inquiries for Tutors in your College, though diligent, continue to be unsuccessful. Nor do we find persons to supply our vacant Missions, which are now seven or eight. Pray is M<sup>r</sup> Gibbs of Simsbury in a condition to do any duty properly, and what? and is there any hope, that M<sup>r</sup> Lyons of Brookhaven, if removed with an admonition, would mend? I hope you will send us over good young men for Missionaries, when you can. We must supply the old parishes, before we attempt erecting new ones.

The King hath had no opportunity, as yet, of shewing what his dispositions are towards the American Churches, excepting that in general all his dispositions are good. But whom he will consult particularly on this head, hath not hitherto appeared. I presume the Episcopal Clergy will transmit addresses to him, as their Predecessors, when they were much fewer, did to the late King. This may lead him to enquire concerning them and express himself in relation to them. If any such addresses come to me, I will take the best care of them, that I can.

You shall hear further, as occasion may require, from

Your loving Brother.

*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 38. ]

Duplicate

New York Feb<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords,

By my letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of August last, I informed your Lordships that four Men belonging to His Majesties Ship Winchester commanded by Captain Hale, had been killed by the Crew of the Ship Sampson of Bristol of which Osborn Gratrakes was Commander. In that letter I inform'd your Lordships what steps had been taken to bring the offenders to justice.

Some time afterwards four of the Sampson's crew, besides the Master and his Mate, were taken and committed to jail. In October Sessions of the Supreme Court, indictments were prefer'd against the Master and Mate, but the Grand Jury found the fact to be committed without the body of the County.

Gratrakes and his Mate continuing in jail by a new Mittimus, a Petition was presented to me for their discharge, or to be brought to tryal by a special Commission, as the ship was detain'd thereby to the great loss and dammage of the owners. Which Petition being laid

before the Council, for their advice, and the Attorney General being of opinion that a Commission might issue for trying the offenders or an Act passed in this Province the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1699 Intituled \* *An Act for restraining and punishing Privateers and Pirates.*

\* This Act was repealed Sept. 5. 1700.

A Commission was issued accordingly by the advice of His Majesties Council, what has been done in pursuance of this Commission will appear by the Report of the Commissioners, a Copy of which I inclose, Gratrakes and his Mate saild away in the ship a few hours after their discharge.

I should have informed your Lordships of this by the preceeding Packet, had I not daily expected this report to be made to me, which was delayed by the sickness of Mr Morris Judge of the Admiralty and first in the Commission. I receiv'd it this Day.

I am told that several Acts in Baskets Edition of the Acts of New York in 1718, are noted to be repeald, of which repeal not the least evidence appears any where in this Province. This may deserve your Lordships attention, as I make no doubt the Judges continue to proceed upon them as of force.

I am, with great submission,  
My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient and  
most humble Servant

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade and Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New York Bundle, Oo., p. 35.]

Duplicate.

New York February 28<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords,

General Amherst by his letter to me of the 26<sup>th</sup> of August last, informing me that His Majesties Troops were in possession of Fort Levis, that thereby the settlements on the Mohawk were effectually secured, and as the improvement of the settlements already along that River, and the cultivation of the uncleared Country, cannot but prove of the greatest advantage to the Province, he recommended to me the issuing a Proclamation iviting the People thereto, and assuring them of peaceable and quiet abode in their habitations. By the advice of His Majesties Council, I issued a Proclamation accordingly, in consequence of which several persons have applied to me for Licenses to purchase lands in that part of the Country, and for Grants of Lands.

That the Attorney General might be inform'd of the restrictions and reservations, directed by His Majesties Instructions for granting of Lands, and to be inserted in the Letters Patent of which he makes the Draft, I gave him copies of the Instructions on that head. In consequence thereof he sent me a Memorial, in which he represented the difficulties he was under by a seeming contradiction in the Instructions. By the 51<sup>st</sup> Instruction the Patentees are to cultivate and effectually improve, a certain quantity of land in a reasonable time, which by advice of Council is now limited to three years, after the end of the present War, under penalty



of forfeiture of the Grant: and by the 57<sup>th</sup> Instruction they are not to cut down any Pine Trees fit for masts under the same penalty. In some cases it is impossible to cultivate effectually without cutting down such Pine Trees, so that whether the Grantee do cultivate or do not, he is subject to a forfeiture of his grant.

I communicated this Memorial to the Council, who have it now under Consideration. In the Debates in Council it was remarked, that this is laying the Inhabitants of this Province under greater difficulties and hardships, than any Inhabitants to the Eastward are under, in the Charter Governments, or to the Westward in the Proprietary Colonies of New Jersey and Pensilvania, and may discourage the selling of Lands in this Province. That without cutting down Pine Trees, which may be fit for Masts, The Inhabitants of the Province in General cannot have Boards or Planks, every where necessary for their buildings; all ship building must cease and the navigation be greatly distress'd. That the Lands now petitioned for are at such a distance from New York and Albany, that it is improbable any Masts can be transported from thence. That in most parts of the Country where the Timber consists of Oaks and Wallnuts, a few stragling Pine Trees may be found, which may be of great use and necessary for the Grantee, and yet by cutting them down he subjects his Land to forfeiture, tho otherwise they remain useless and an incumbrance till they rott. It was supposed that the King would not take advantage of this clause where it is so prejudicial to the Grantee, & of no use to his service; but it was answered that, it was not proper to leave people to the discretion of an Attorney General or other Officer. It seems inconsistent with the English constitution and all good Government, to make the property of the subject precarious, & may be productive of great mischeifs. I humbly presume it is my duty to mention these things, as deserving your Lordships consideration, and I mention them with less reserve, that I expect few, if any of the Grants in which these difficulties have arisen, can pass while the Administration remains in my hands considering the time that must necessarily pass in making the Purchase and other previous steps.

I have been lately informed that, one John Lydeus of Albany, has combined with numbers of the Inhabitants of the several New England Governments to settle the greatest part of the Land lying to the Eastward of Hudson's River, and Southward of Crown Point, so as to take in all that Tract mention'd in your Lordship's Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of June last, and included within the Bounds mention'd in the petitions recommended by General Amherst to Mr Secretary Pitt; and likewise includes the very spott on which Fort Edward is built, and takes in several Tracts of Land heretofore granted by the Governor's of this Province, yielding Rents to His Majesty at the Rate of 2/6<sup>d</sup> for every hundred acres. The whole of what this Man claims contains more than a Million of Acres, but not one settlement at present made.

This Man, I am informd, was several years supported by the Government of the Massachusetts Bay in opposition to the Jurisdiction of New York, before the time that the boundaries between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire were determined, since which time Massachusetts Bay makes no claim to these Lands: but New Hampshire pretends to the same claim which the Massachusetts had. While the Jurisdiction of His Majesties Governments remain thus contested, a lawless people may take advantage of it, and settle in those parts of the Country without any regard to the authority of any Government, under the pretence of Indian purchases, which, I believe, is the present case. While these disputes as to Jurisdiction remain, these lawless people are often defended, or may be, in their illegal proceedings by one Government in opposition to the Jurisdiction of the other: and a regular settlement and

improvement of the Country, under a due course of Law, is prevented, and the King is deprived of his Quit Rents. For these reasons, I have, by the advice of the Council, issued a Proclamation, of which a copy is inclosed.

I am clearly convinced that, the Province of New York extends Eastward as far as Connecticut River, that New Hampshire can have no pretence to the Westward of that River, being bounded Westward by the neighbouring Governments and by no other boundary. The truth of what I now assert, I am confident will be evident to your Lordships, after perusing, what you will find enter'd on the Minutes of Council of this Province, the 15<sup>th</sup> Day of October 1751, and more fully and clearly in the Minutes of the 2<sup>d</sup> of March 1753, which I make no doubt have been transmitted to your Lordships.

As many mischeifs and great inconveniences daily arise from these contentions, as to jurisdiction, it seems evidently necessary that an end be put to them as soon as possible, which may be soon done as to the disputes between New York and New Hampshire, by His Majesties declaring his pleasure therein; for both the right of soil and the jurisdiction in both Governments are immediately in the Crown.

With respect to the dispute between New Hampshire and New York, I shall beg leave to observe, that, by the boundaries of the Province of New York, the right of Jurisdiction is evidently in New York, as far East as Connecticut River; I can conceive no reason for abridging that Jurisdiction, but on the contrary every reason from policy & conveyniency, seem to favour it. New York is now become the most considerable of any of the Northern Colonies, as to commerce both by Sea and Land. Its situation gives it a superior advantage both by Sea and Land, beyond any of the others, especially as to the inland Trade, thro' the great Lakes. The abridging the Jurisdiction of New York, any where to the Westward of Connecticut River, must be attended with a general inconveniency to the Inhabitants to the Westward of that River, as the Trade & Commerce to the Westward is, and can only be carried on from the Citys of New York and Albany by Hudsons River, It must lay all contending parties, in that part of the Country, but more especially the Merchants of New York, under great inconveniencies, to be under the necessity of going to Pourtsmouth in New Hampshire for redress.

While the people of New York are indolent, as to the King's rights, every private man in the Charter Governments thinks he has a share in the general property, & the people in general are fond of extending their claims, and are pleased with every artifice for delay, in bringing them to a determination, in hopes, after the example of Connecticut, that the King, for the quieting the minds of his people, will give up his Right. If this be a reason why the Massachusets endeavour to delay a determination, it is requisite, in my humble opinion, on the part of the King, that an end be put to it as soon as possible. This, it seems to me, can only be done in two different methods, vz. Either by Writs of intrusion issued from the Courts of New York by the King's order to his Governor, with directions at the same time to the Massachusets Government to plead the Jurisdiction of New York, if they resolve to defend their claim, in order to bring the affair to a final determination by appeal, which may be better done in England, than any where else, as the whole dispute depends on the construction of words in the Massachusets Charter. Or the dispute may be determined by special Commission to determine the dispute. In the last method commonly twelve are appointed. The expence ariseing on the execution of such a Commission, by delatory pleas & proceedings, is unavoidably so great, that the Assembly of this Province, as I am inform'd, are unwilling to give an unlimited

credit for that purpose ; but if the other method be thought proper & legal, of which I am no judge, they will I believe freely contribute to the expence in America.

My Lords,

In pursuance of the Orders which I received from His Majesties Privy Council, I proclaim'd His present Majesty in the form transmittd to me, as by a printed copy of that Proclamation inclosed. It was done with all the solemnity that could be in this place.

It was the unanimous opinion of His Majesties Counsel for this Province, that the Assembly dissolved on the notification of the late King's Death : and I having receiv'd a letter from General Amherst, dated the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, in which he acquaints me that, the services which yet remain to be put in execution, for compleating the great object of the War in America, will require the farther aid and assistance of his Majesties good and faithfull American Subjects. Wherefore he desired me to be ready for the immediate compliance with the King's requisition for such a number of Men from this Province as shall be thought requisite by His Majesty to answer the proposed end of procuring a good and lasting peace, which requisition he doubts not I shall receive soon.

In compliance with this desire I issued writs by the advice of Council, for the election of Representatives in Assembly, who by the writs are to meet on Tuesday next the soonest that could be done after the Proclamation of the King ; but as yet I have received no Requisition, or other signification of His Majesties pleasure. The packett which I am informd saild in December last, is not yet arrived, and the General having ordered the Packett now in this place to sail unexpectedly, I am more hurried in my writing than I expected to have been, for which reason I beg your Lordships to excuse any inaccuracies or indistinctness that may have happened.

I am with the most entire Submission

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient  
& faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

P. S. I am informed that the Packett by which the original of this was sent has been taken by the Ennemy. I must beg leave farther to observe that the Instruction which makes it a forfeiture of any grant, if a docket of the same be not entered in the Auditors Office may prove very hard on ignorant farmers who often take grants of land, while the intention of the Instruction may be as effectually obtained by direction to the Secretary, who makes out the Patents & records them, to enter such docket in the Auditors Office before he deliver the Patent.

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*Commission of Sir Wm. Johnson to be Superintendent of Indian Affairs.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 45, p. 57. ]

George the third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith &c. To Our Trusty & Welbeloved Sir William Johnson Baronet Greeting We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Fidelity and Ability do by these



Presents constitute and appoint you to be our sole Agent for and Superintendant of the Affairs of Our faithfull Subjects and Allies the six united Nations of Indians & their Confederates, in the Northern Parts of North America with the annual salary of six hundred Pounds sterling payable quarterly at the four most usual feasts or days of payment in the year, out of such sums of money as shall be in the hands of the Commander in Chief of Our forces in America for the time being applicable to the service of America To hold exercise and enjoy the said office, with the several salaries perquisites & advantages thereunto belonging during Our Pleasure. And We do hereby direct Our Commander in Chief of our forces in America now and for the time being, whoso Commands and Directions you are punctully to observe in all matters relating to the Affairs of the said Indians to take effectual Care that the said Salary of Six hundred Pounds be duly paid & satisfied to you, according to our Will and Pleasure herein declared. Given at Our Court at S<sup>t</sup> James's the      Day of      1761 in the first Year of Reign.

By His Majesty's Command

11 March 1761.



*Order in Council respecting Correspondence with the Plantations.*

[Plantations General Entries, XLV., (M.) p. 70.]

Whereas there was this Day laid before His Majesty at the Board, an Order made by His late Majesty in Council bearing date 11<sup>th</sup> Day of March 1752, containing several Rules and Regulations relating to His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, particularly with respect to the nomination of Governors, Lieutenant Governors and other Officers and Magistrates by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and likewise to the Correspondence to be carried on between the said Lords Commissioners and the Governors of the said Colonies and Plantations respectively. His Maj<sup>ty</sup> taking the aforementioned Order into His Consideration is hereby pleased, with the Advice of His Privy Council, to revoke and repeal the same in every part except which relates to the Correspondence to be carried on between the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations and the Governors of His Majesty's Colonies, which is still to be carried on in the same manner prescrib'd by the Additional Instruction which was directed by the above Order of Council of His late Majesty of 11 March 1752, to be prepared and sent to the Governors of all His Majestys Colonies and Plantations respectively. And His Majesty doth hereby signify His further Pleasure that the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations do cause a Copy of this Order to be entred upon the Books of the Plantation Office, and that One of his Majestys Principal Secretaries of State do cause Copies thereof to be sent to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, to the end that all Persons concerned may govern themselves accordingly

W. BLAIR

15 March 1761.

*Representation of the Lords of Trade on the Government of New-York.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 18. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty.

The government of your Majesty's Province of New York being vacant by the resignation of S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hardy late Governor of that Province, and the offices of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor and Chief Justice, of the said Province being also vacant by the death of James Delancey Esq<sup>r</sup> we beg leave humbly to propose to your Majesty that Robert Monckton Esq<sup>r</sup> may be appointed Capt. Gen<sup>l</sup> and Governor in Chief, Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> and Benjamin Pratt Esq<sup>r</sup> Chief Justice of the said Province.

And if your Majesty shall be graciously pleased to approve of these nominations, we further beg leave humbly to propose to Your Majesty that Jonathan Belcher Esq<sup>r</sup> may be appointed Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia in the room of the said Robert Monckton Esq<sup>r</sup>

All which is most humbly Submitted

Whitehall  
March 17. 1761.

DUNK HALIFAX  
W. G. HAMILTON  
W. SLOPER  
EDW<sup>d</sup> BACON.

*Order in Council appointing Robert Monckton, Esq., Governor of New-York.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 25. ]

At the Court at St. James's the 20<sup>th</sup> day of March 1761.

PRESENT—The KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY in Council.

Upon reading this day at the Board a Representation from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 17<sup>th</sup> of this instant proposing that Robert Monckton Esq. may be appointed Captain General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty's Province of New York, in the room of Sir Charles Hardy who hath resigned.—His Majesty in Council approving thereof, is pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the said Robert Monckton be constituted and appointed Captain General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's said Province of New York in the room of the said Sir Charles Hardy who hath resigned.—And that the said Lords Commissioners do prepare a draught of a Commission and likewise a Warrant for passing such Commission under the Great Seal, and that they do also prepare draughts of Instructions for the said Robert Monckton, and lay the same before His Majesty at this Board for His Royal approbation.

W. SHARPE.

*Order in Council appointing Cadwallader Colden Lieutenant-Governor of New-York.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 26. ]

At the Court of St. James's the 20<sup>th</sup> day of March 1761.

PRESENT—The KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY in Council.

Upon reading this day at the Board a Representation from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 17<sup>th</sup> of this instant proposing that Cadwallader Colden may be appointed Lieutenant Governor of His Majesty's Province of New York in the room of James De Lancey Esq<sup>r</sup> deceased.—His Majesty in Council approving thereof is pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the said Cadwallader Colden be constituted and appointed Lieutenant Governor of His Majesty's said Province of New York in the room of the said late James De Lancey deceased.—And that the said Lords Commissioners do cause a commission to be prepared for that purpose and lay the same before His Majesty at this Board for His Royal Approbation.

W. SHARPE.

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*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 31. ]

New York April 5<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

The last letter I had the honour to write your Lordships was on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, by the General Wall Packett Boat.

His Majesties Council for this Province were unanimously of opinion that the Assembly were dissolved by the King's demise. And General Amherst haveing by letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> of January acquainted me that His Majesty might require the farther assistance of His faithfull American Subjects, for the prosecution of the War: in order that I might be in readiness to to comply with the King's requisitions, I did immediately on receiving the notification of the King's demise issue Writs for the Election of Representatives to serve in General Assembly, who accordingly met on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of March last, and after seting a week they were adjourn'd to the 24<sup>th</sup> as I had not then receiv'd His Majesty's Commands.

Some of the Gentlemen, who had had most influence, and had chiefly taken the lead in the former Assembly, were not elected for the present Assembly; and tho some other Gentlemen attempted to take the lead at this time in the House, they were not able to establish themselves so well as is necessary for pushing on of business. This has laid me under some difficulties in promoting His Majesties Service.

On my message of the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, in which I informed them that His Majesty required that they should make provision for raising two thirds of the Men they did the last year, they came to a Resolve for raising only 1400 men. I applied myself earnestly to get the Assembly to make provision for the whole number required; at first I only succeeded so far as to obtain



a Vote of the House for an Addition to the deficient number, but they would not then make it a part of the Bill; however at last I perswaded them to make provision for the whole number required. viz 1787 Men, Officers included; & they alter'd all their former Votes making them agreeable to this last resolution. I mention these particulars that your Lordships may be apprised of the difficulties I have been under, from the New Assembly not having yet established a proper confidence and unanimity among themselves.

In this Sessions a Bill was brought into the House intituled "An Act to remove doubts and scruples occasioned by the Demise of the King, & other purposes therein mentioned." This odd Tittle allarm'd me somewhat, as it might appear that they intended to keep the purport of the Bill from me, & from their Constituents. I thought it adviseable to get them to stop the Bill at this time, while His Majesties necessary service required all our attention; and it has not passd the House. The intention of the Bill was to establish the Courts of Judicature of this Province by Act of Assembly, & to oblige me to grant the Judges Commissions duering good behavior, with a clause that they might be removed by the Governor or Commander in Chief, on an Address from the Assembly, or by advice of at least Seven of the Council, signified under their hands.—I thought it necessary that they might likewise be removed on the King's pleasure, signified under the Signet & Sign Manuel, but in what manner they may form the Bill should they hereafter proceed in it, I cannot tell: this much I thought it proper to inform your Lordships of. By the method which I propose the prerogative of the Crown will be preserved, and the Arbitrary proceedings of a Governor will be garded against. The Lawyers are endeavouring to raise a distinction between the Authority of Commissioners when they are continued by Act of Parliament, & when it is done by the King's Proclamation: Every thing of this kind I shall endeavour to discourage as much as possible, as I think they may be productive of bad consequences

Since I began to write my letters I have been disabled by an accident from writing in my own hand, I hope your Lordships will excuse it, and permit me to be with great truth and submission

My Lords

Your Lordships

most obeydient and

most humble servant

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup>  
for Trade & Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Secretary Pownall to President Colden.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 55. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup>

Sir.

I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to send you the inclosed copy of a petition presented to their Lordships by M<sup>r</sup> John De Noyelles, late one of the fifty

foreign Officers which engaged in His Majesty's service in North America under the authority and upon the encouragement of the Act of Parliament of the 25<sup>th</sup> of his late Majesty. As these gentlemen did in the most generous manner engage their lives and fortunes in His Majesty's service, their Lordships think they were justly entituled to the countenance protection and support of Government in every part of His Majesty's dominions. It was therefore a great concern to them to receive a complaint of such nature as that contained in Mr De Noyelles petition.

It is not their Lordships' intention at present to give any opinion upon the propriety or impropriety of the practice which has long prevailed in the Province of New York of naturalizing persons by Act of the Legislature there, but as they apprehend that such naturalization has seldom or ever been refused to any persons upon a proper application, their Lordships are at a loss to guess at, and it is their duty to desire to be informed of the motives which induced the Council to reject the bill which Mr De Noyelles alledges had passed the House of Representatives for his naturalization.

Their Lordships are unwilling to believe that the Council's rejecting the Bill could have been founded upon such motives as Mr De Noyelles suggests in his petition; but whatever the causes were that produced the effect, the situation of the Petitioner under the circumstances he mentions, appears to their Lordships to be attended with great hardship and to claim every relief which it is in the power of government to afford him, and at their Lordships observe that Letters of Denization have heretofore been frequently granted, upon particular occasions, by Governors of the Plantations, they see no cause why this power may not be properly exercised by you in the case of Mr De Noyelles; provided it be done consistant with those regulations and under those restrictions which are prescribed in an Order of Council made in the year 1699. with respect to letters of Denization in the Colonies; a copy of which Order I am directed to inclose to you.

I am with great regard

Sir

Your most obedient and

most humble Servant

Whitehall April 14. 1761

J. POWNALL.

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*Report of the Lords of Trade on the Instructions to Governor Monckton.*

[ New York Entries, Q., 58. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty.

In obedience to Your Majesty's Order in Council dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of March last, We have prepared draughts of general instructions and of those which relate to the observance of the Acts of Parliament for the regulation and encouragement of Trade and Navigation, for Robert Monckton Esq<sup>r</sup> whom Your Majesty has been pleased to appoint Captain General and Governor in Chief

of the Province of New York. In which draughts we have made no alterations from the instructions given by his late Majesty in the year 1755. to Sir Charles Hardy Bart the late Governor of that Province, except only in the following particulars.

In the first article of the present draught of General Instructions, We have inserted the names of twelve persons to be Your Majesty's Council, of which the eleven first were appointed by His late Majesty, and the last mentioned Benjamin Pratt Esq. having been lately appointed Chief Justice of New York, we have added his name to compleat the number of the said Council. It being usual in all Your Majesty's Plantations, to give the Chief Justice a seat at that Board. In the 16<sup>th</sup> article of the present dra<sup>t</sup> whereby the Governor is directed to recommend to the Assembly the Establishment of a permanent revenue, we have omitted that clause which restrained Sir Charles Hardy from giving his assent to any temporary law for raising money for the support of government, His late Majesty having been pleased in 1756. upon the representation of the said Governor to permit him to assent to such temporary laws, until a revenue could be established. We have therefore inserted the like permission to the present Governor. At the end of the 23<sup>d</sup> Article we have in these as in the Instructions which we have prepared for Your Majesty's other Governors on the Continent of America, added some words directing the Governor to discourage and restrain all attempts that may be made to set up any such manufactures or trades as are or may be prejudicial to the commercial interests of this Kingdom.

We have, for the reasons set forth in our humble representation, upon the Instructions which we lately prepared for your Majesty's Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, omitted the 16<sup>th</sup> Article of the former instructions; whereby the Governor was directed, jointly with the Council and Assembly to revise the several laws in force in the Province and to digest and pass them into a new body.

We have also omitted all such articles of the former instructions as appeared to us to have become useless and unnecessary; the several purposes for which they were formerly given having since been sufficiently provided for by the laws of the Province, viz<sup>t</sup> the 33<sup>rd</sup> for securing the life limb and property of the subject; the 34<sup>th</sup> requiring proofs to be sent with prisoners to this kingdom; the 35<sup>th</sup> for restraining inhuman severities towards servants and slaves; and the 36<sup>th</sup> directing all writs to be issued in Your Majesty's name.

And we have omitted as useless and improper, in time of war, the 84<sup>th</sup> article, concerning the observance of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> articles of the treaty of Neutrality.

The draught of Instructions which relate to the observance of the Acts of Parliament for the encouragement and regulation of Trade and navigation, is exactly conformable to the Instructions which we have prepared for the Governors of Your Majesty's other Provinces on the Continent of North America.

All which is most humbly submitted.

SANDYS  
SOAME JENYS  
ED. BACON  
EDMUND THOMAS  
GEORGE RICE.

Whitehall  
May 6<sup>th</sup> 1761



*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 33. ]

New York May 15<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

I now transmit to your Lordships Transcripts of nineteen Acts to which I gave my assent last fall, and of two Acts to which I gave my assent in April last, with the seal of the Province affixed to them. In the same Box are the Minutes of Council from the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1760 to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1761 And the Journal of the Proceedings of the Council from the 21<sup>st</sup> of October to the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1760. Likewise the Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly from September 1760 to April 1761.

Tho' the Acts to which I gave my assent last fall, are nineteen in number few of them are of any consequence as your Lordships may perceive from Inspection of their Titles, contained in the inclosed list of the Acts. Some are necessary for the support of Government, others for the continuance of Acts which have been usually continued from time to time, and others on trifling subjects which do not deserve your Lordships attention. The only two new Acts pass'd at this time, which appear of any consequence, are. The Act *For the better Government and Regulation of Seamen in the Merchants Service*. this I am assured is conformable to an Act of Parliament for the same purpose, and is only made from a doubt that the Act of Parliament does extend to the Plantations. And the Act *For makeing process in Courts of Equity effectual against Mortgagers who abscond and cannot be served therewith, or who refuse to appear*. The reason for this Act is that, Lands in this Country, if not effectually improved yeild no Rent, and if improved, never a rent near the interest of the money for which they can be sold: for as great quantities of land are continually ready to be sold in small parcels, the Farmers chuse to bestow their labour where they think their posterity shall enjoy the benefit of it, rather than on lands, the property of others, however low the rent may be in proportion to the value of the lands. I do not imagine that any objection will be made to this Act, but if there should be it may be repealed before it can take effect in any one case. The Act *For raising paying and cloathing Seventeen hundred and eighty seven effective Men, Officers included, to be employ'd in securing his Majesties conquests in America, and other purposes therein mention'd*, to which I gave my assent in April last, is in pursuance of His Majesties commands signified to me by M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Pitt's letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> of December last; and is similar to the Acts pass'd in former years for the like purposes, except that in this there is not a clause for impressing Men, in case the number required could not be compleated by voluntary inlistment. I could not prevail with the Assembly to insert such a clause in the present Act, and was therefore oblidged to pass it as it is; especially as I am inform'd that none of the other Governments have used compulsive methods for inlisting men. The other Act is to revive an *Act for regulating the Pilots and establishing their Pilotage between Sandy Hook and the Port of New York, and other purposes therein mentioned*, which has been found necessary and usefull and this Act is only a revival of it.

With this I have likewise the honour to transmit to your Lordships a report of the Council on the Quitrents and Grants of Lands in this Province, the reasonings in which are so clear and full, that I think it needless to trouble your Lordships with any observations on it.

My Lords

I met the Assembly of this Province again the beginning of this Month, in hopes of perswading them to enable me to compleat the Quota of Men to be levyed in this Province, by passing an Act for impressing the deficient number ; but tho I pressed this strongly they would not yield to it : alledging that as a Thousand Men were already inlisted, there was a good prospect of the whole being compleated by voluntary inlistment, which would save much uneasiness and expence to the people of the Province. I must defer giving your Lordships a particular account of this Sessions till after they are ended, which I expect will be soon. I have lately had a severe fit of illness which has disabled me from writing a letter of any length with my own hand, but I am now daily gaining strength. It is my constant indeavar to do my duty zealously for His Majesty's service & to deserve the honour of being

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

& faithfull servant

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade and Plantations

CADWALLADER COLDEN

— ♦ ♦ ♦ —

*President Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New York Bundle, Oo , p. 41. ]

New York June 2<sup>d</sup> 1761.

My Lords

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of May last I had the honour to transmit to your Lordships transcripts of all the Acts to which I had given my assent, since the administration came into my hands, with the seal of the Province affixed to each of them : together with the Minutes of Council from the 2<sup>d</sup> of August 1760 to the 2<sup>d</sup> of March 1761. and Journal of the Proceedings of the Council from the 21<sup>st</sup> of October to the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1760 And the Journal of the Votes & Proceedings of the General Assembly from Sept<sup>r</sup> 1760 to April 1761.

With this your Lordships will receive printed copies of five Acts to which I gave my assent the 19<sup>th</sup> of May, & the printed votes & proceedings of the General Assembly from the 5<sup>th</sup> of May last to the 19<sup>th</sup> at which time they were adjourned. Your Lordships will see the reason of my calling the Assembly at that time from my message to them the sixth. General Amherst thought it proper that I should press the Assembly to enable me to raise the full number of men provided for by the law past at their last meeting by compulsory methods tho' I told him at the same time that I did not expect they would comply. This was verified by their answer on the 9<sup>th</sup> as in their printed votes

Besides the four Acts to which I gave my assent, the Council & Assembly passed two other Bills. One intituled *An Act to prevent disputes & controversies which may arise by the Demise of the Crown, & for other purposes therein mentioncd.* the other *An Act providing that the Judges of the Supreme Court shall have their commissions during good behaviour as to which I took time to consider.*

The Objections to the first of these Bills which occurred to me, were 1. The title of the Bill is in such general terms that no man from it can judge of the real contents of the Bill—2. Three different matters are put in the same bill which is expressly forbid by His Majesty's 12<sup>th</sup> Instruction. 3. It is of an unusual and extraordinary nature, whereby His Majesty's prerogative may be affected, & has no clause restraining its takeing effect 'till His Majesty's pleasure be known & therefor contrary to the 14<sup>th</sup> Instruction.

The first part of this Bill is framed on a Supposition that all Acts of Government after the King's death, tho' impossible to be known at that time, are illegal and void. In my humble opinion while the King's death is absolutely unknown it can produce no effect. Knowledge with a power of deliberating are the objects of all law & for this reason laws do not extend to brutes, ideots or madmen. It seems to me, with submission, an absolute absurdity, to say, that a man can be restrained in his lawfull acts by any matter or thing of which it is impossible for him to have any knowledge. That the allowing any thing to be a Maxim in Law, which is in it self absurd, & destructive of common sense & reason may be of pernicious consequence. It is establishing a kind of Law Popery, & productive of similar consequences. By setting Law & common sense in opposition Lawyers may obtain a most extensive power over the minds of the rest of mankind.

That part of the Bill relating to Courts of Justice is expressed in such terms that I suspect its design & purpose is wilfully obscured in order to conceal it.

As to the other Bill relating to the Judges it may be sufficient for me to observe that it is framed in contradiction to the 39<sup>th</sup> Instruction. There is no fixed Sallary to the Judges. It is from year to year on the pleasure of the Assembly & while they are thus dependent on the people for their subsistence this Bill may be highly prejudicial to the just rights of the Crown & the Acts of Trade.

Inclosed are copies of both these Bills that your Lordships if you think proper may give directions in case they should be again introduced as I suspect they may.

Inclosed are likewise a duplicate of my letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of February & of the *Report of the Commissioners of Oyer & Terminer for holding an Admiralty Session* which went by the Packet which was taken by the Ennemy.

I am with the greatest submission

My Lords

Your most obedient &

Right honourable Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup>  
for Trade & Plantations.

faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 44. ]

New York Aug. 12<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

On the 7<sup>th</sup> instant I had the honour of your Lordships commands of the 28<sup>th</sup> of April last. At the same time I received the honour of His Majesty's Commission appointing me Lieutenant



Governor of this Province. I shall punctually from time to time obey your commands; but the answering of the Queries which I received with your Letter requires more time, than I can have before the packet sails.

By His Majesty's commission I am directed to observe the late King's Instructions to S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hardy: By the 39<sup>th</sup> of which I am directed to grant Commissions to Judges & other Officers during His Majesty's pleasure only; notwithstanding of which, M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, while he was Govnor, & M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey, while Lieutenant Governor granted Commissions to the present Judges of the Supreme Court of this Province dureing their good behaviour respectively; & M<sup>r</sup> Clinton's appointment of one of them was afterwards approved of by the King. It is thought however that these commissions cease by the demise of the Crown: & are only continued by His Majesty's Proclamation. The present Judges have applied, by Memorial, to me in Council to have their Commissions renewed dureing their good behaviour; notwithstanding that I showed the 39<sup>th</sup> Instruction to the Council, it appeared to me, that they would have advised me to grant these Commissions during good behaviour, had I not put off the consideration of it for that time.

In their last Sessions the Council & Assembly passed a Bill enacting that the Commissions of the Judges shall be dureing their good behaviour. I took it, at that time, into farther consideration; but I expect, the Assembly will insist to have this Bill passed. If they do, I shall urge that they at the same time make the Judges sallaries perpetual for at present their sallaries, as well as of all the other Officers, are annually given by the Assembly. It is objected to this that they have no perpetual fund for this purpose & the doing of it must be involved with great difficulties. As I expect this matter will occasion difficulties in the administration, not only to me at present, but may afterwards to the Governor in Chief likewise, I apprehend that I may be under a necessity to comply with what both the Council and Assembly seem to have much at heart.

The troops, in the pay of this Province, raised in April last in consequence of His Majesty's requisition, being inlisted to serve only to the first of November next, the General, by his letter to me, made requisition of 170 men to be continued in the pay of this Province from the 1<sup>st</sup> of November to July next, to supply the place of the regulars, who are now to be employed in a different service. I have called the Assembly to meet the first of next Month for this purpose. I hope and expect they will comply with the Generals requisition.

I laid before the Council the Copy of John Noyelles petition to your Lordships sent to me by your Secretary. They seemed to be exceedingly surprised as they assured me, that every allegation in that petition is absolutely false or egregiously misrepresented. No doubt they will vindicate themselves to your Lordships, assoon as a true representation of the matters he complains of can be made

It shall be my constant endeavour to merit the honour of being

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

& faithfull servant

Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New York Bundle, Oo., p. 45. ]

New York Sept 25<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

On the second of June last I had the honour of writing & transmitting to your Lordships copies of two Bills, passed last May by the Assembly & Council, to which I did not think proper to give my assent; and I there desired your Lordships directions thereon. As I am informed, that the ships, which carried these letters, is arrived safe, I think it needless to trouble your Lordships, with a repetition of what I then wrote.

At General Amherst's desire, I called the Assembly to meet the first of this Month, to make provision for the inlisting, cloathing & pay of 173 men officers included, as the quota of this Province, for securing the frontiers, in the absence of the Regulars on the important intended expedition. The Assembly has so fully complied with the General's requisition, that in his letter to me he declares himself fully satisfied therewith.

Besides this *Act providing for one hundred and seventy three Volunteers, Officers included, to be employed in protecting the differnt posts on the frontiers.* I gave my assent to *An Act to prevent frauds in the sale of damaged goods imported into this Colony* and to *An Act for naturalizing John De Lisle, Frederick Frank & 14<sup>s</sup> others, whose names are therein mentioned,* printed copies of which I now transmit to your Lordships.

The General's requisition is a sufficient reason for my assent to the first of these Acts, The second is to prevent a fraud which, I am told, has been prejudicial to Insurers in Great Britain.

As to the Act for naturalizing John De Lisle &c. tho' I doubt much of the authority of the Legislature to naturalise, yet as the Lawyers think, that it may enure as an Act of Denisation within this Province, I conceived, from your Secretary's letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, that you would not be displeased with my continueing a practice, which had been long in use, & in which no inconveniency has been hitherto observed. It was likewise represented to me, that should we in this Province refuse such acts of naturalisation, which can be easily obtained in the neighbouring colonies, it would draw all foreigners, who are willing to settle & improve lands, from this Colony to the others.

As the General Assembly was called meerly to comply with General Amherst's requisition, & General Moncton's commission, to be Governor in Chief, was then every day expected, I did not think proper to propose any thing else, for their deliberation, nor to propose the annual provision to be made, for the support of the Officers of the Government; tho' the last year's provision for that purpose, ceased the day on which the Assembly met.

The Assembly & Council, in this Session, again passed the two Bills, to which, by my letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> of June, I informed your Lordships, I had delayed to give my assent, I again delayed my assent & informed the Council that I had transmitted copies of them to your Lordships & must wait, at least, a reasonable time for your directions.

The title of the Act to prevent Disputes &c. is altered, but it is otherwise nearly the same with that of which I transmitted a copy to your Lordships. Besides the reasons against this Bill, which I mentioned in my letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> of June, I told several of the members in private, that I thought it imprudent to alter a method, which had long subsisted without any inconvenience: because the wisest men cannot foresee all the consequences of innovation.

The bill for the Judges Commissions to be dureing good behaviour, is so very popular, that I let my sentiments be known on that head, the first time I met the Assembly of this Province, as I supposed it was chiefly intended to prevent arbitrary removal of the Judges by the Governor, I proposed in private discourse with the Speaker & others, to restrain the Governor, by a Law, from removing any Judge without consent of at least seven of the Council, signed with their hands, or by address of the General Assembly for that purpose, or by express command of the King, which last, they seemed convinced, could not be obtained without sufficient reason.

After the Assembly had passed the Bill in their first Session in April last, I told several of the Members that if they would make proper provision for the Judges Sallaries, to have the same continuance with their Commissions, it would be a great inducement to give my assent & might excuse me with the King's Ministers: Notwithstanding of this, in the last Session they did not make provision as I proposed, but on the contrary inclined to make the Judges dependent on them yearly for their Sallaries. This seems to me, to have such evident view to undue influence, not only in cases where the King's rights may be disputed, but likewise in private suits, where a leading man in an Assembly may be a party, that I cannot pass it over without mentioning it to your Lordships. It is the more remarkable that this Bill was urged a second time when no provision is made for any officer in the Government.

As probably my administration will soon be at an end, I am the more desirous of informing your Lordships of the reasons of my conduct, that I may retain, with your Lordships, the honour of being with the greatest respect & submission

My Lords

Your most obedient &

Right honourable the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations.

most humble servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 43.]

New York Oct. 6<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

Since the writing of my last inclosed with this, which I expected would have gone about that time, I have been informed, that the Judges design to forbear acting until their Commissions are renewed, & that they will not accept of them otherwise, than dureing good behaviour as they had their Commissions formerly. This may lay me under great difficulties, unless before the sitting of the Supream Court, which is to be in a fortnight, I shall know His Majesty's pleasure on this head, or M<sup>r</sup> Moncton's commission arrive very soon & free me from this uneasiness.

It may be of most dangerous consequence to stop the course of Justice, & this may lay me under a necessity of complying in a matter which is so popular, tho' the doing of it be against my own judgement (as well as His Majesty's instructions) unless the Judges be made



independent of an Assembly as well as of the King. From the first of my administration I have indeavoured to gain this, tho' without success

I am with the greatest submission

My Lords

Your most obedient

Right honourable Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for  
Trade & Plantations.

& faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Governor Monckton to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 54. ]

New York Nov<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of October I had the honour of receiving (by the Alcide Man of War) His Majesty's Patent, appointing me to the Government of this Province. And on the 26 I was sworn in.—But, as at the same time I receiv'd His Majesty's leave to Quit the Province, to go on an Expedition, that is fitting out here; And on which His Majesty has been pleas'd to order me; I have not enter'd into any thing more than the necessary forms of Government. I have therefore only to acquaint your Lordships, that M<sup>r</sup> Archibald Kennedy one of His Majesty's Council, having represented to me his desire of retiring from the Council Board on account of his age, And that he may be the better able to attend his office of Collector of the Customs.—And having for a long time served His Majesty with much Honour & Fidelity, I could not but comply with his request & accept of his Resignation. I would therefore beg leave to recommend to succeed to M<sup>r</sup> Kennedy at the Council Board, one M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Reade of this place, a Gentleman of a good fortune. & strongly attach'd to His Majesty, & His Government; & in everyshape qualifi'd for the trust. I must recommend to your Lorkships the forwarding M<sup>r</sup> Reads nomination, as I know of no one so fit to succeed to M<sup>r</sup> Kennedy's Vacancy; both from his steady attachment to His Majesty's Interest, & his Ability's

I have the Honour to be

with much Regard

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient,

& Humble Servant

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations

ROB<sup>t</sup> MONCKTON.

*Report of the Lords of Trade on the Commissions of Judges in New-York.*

[ Plantations General Entries, XLV., ( M. ) p. 160. ]

To the KING's MOST EXC<sup>t</sup> MAJESTY

May it please Your Majesty

Since the Date of Our humble Representation to your Majesty upon the Measures which had been in Agitation in your Majesty's Province of New York for granting lands upon the Mohawk

River, and for making the Judges Commissions during good behaviour, we have received two other letters from the Lieutenant Governor of that Province, containing a further account of the proceedings of the General Assembly in reference to the making the Judges Commissions during good behaviour, and as they appear strenuously to persist in urging this measure, and the Lieutenant Governor states himself to be under much doubt and difficulty and seems to be inclined in part to give way to the proposition It is our duty humbly to lay before your Majesty the annex'd extract of such parts of his letter as relate to this matter.

Which is most humbly submitted

Whitehall  
Nov: 18. 1761.

SANDYS  
SOAME JENYNS  
ED: BACON  
EDMOND THOMAS

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*Order of the King in Council on a Report of the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XVII., ( Q. ) No. 21. ]

At the Court at St. James's the 23<sup>d</sup> day of November 1761.

PRESENT—The KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY in Council.

Upon reading this day at the Board a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of this Instant in the words following, viz<sup>t</sup>

“ Your Majesty, having been pleased to referr unto this Committee a Representation from  
“ the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 11<sup>th</sup> of this Instant, Setting  
“ forth “ That they have had under their consideration several letters and papers which they  
“ “ have received from Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor and late Commander in  
“ “ Chief of Your Majesty's Province of New York in America, and as those letters and papers  
“ “ have reference to certain measures of Government there which have either been acted  
“ “ upon, or become the subject matter of discussion, and which appear materially to affect  
“ “ Your Majesty's Service and the Interest and welfare not only of that province but of all  
“ “ other your Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America they thought it their indispensable  
“ “ duty to lay the same before Your Majesty with such observations as have occurred to them  
“ “ thereupon. That the material Points to which those papers referr and to which the said  
“ “ Lords Commissioners confine these Observations are 1<sup>st</sup> The Measures which the Lieutenant  
“ “ Governor and Council have entered upon for granting Lands and making Settlements upon  
“ “ the Mohawk River, and in the Country adjacent to Lake George.

“ “ 2<sup>ndly</sup> The Proposition made to the Lieutenant Governor by the Council to grant  
“ “ Commissions to the Judges during good behaviour, the limitation of which Commissions  
“ “ is, by Your Majesty's Instructions to all Your Governors in America to be during  
“ “ pleasure only.

“ “That the Said Lords Commissioners shall not upon this occasion take upon them to  
 “ “controvert the general principles of Policy upon which either one or other of these general  
 “ “propositions is founded, but however expedient and constitutional they may appear in the  
 “ “abstract view and consideration of them, Yet they apprehend that when they come to be  
 “ “applied to the present State of Your Majesty’s Colonies they will appear in a very different  
 “ “light and be found, the one to be dangerous to their Security and the other destructive to  
 “ “the Interests of the people, and subversive of that Policy by which alone Colonies can be  
 “ “kept in a just dependance upon the Government of the Mother Country.

“ “That this is the General Light in which they see these, measures, but as they are in  
 “ “their nature separate and distinct, so they will as the said Lords Commissioners apprehend  
 “ “require a separate and distinct consideration and therefore they humbly offer to Your  
 “ “Majesty what has occurred to them upon each in the order in which they have placed them  
 “ “That it is as unnecessary as it would be tedious to enter into a Detail of all the Causes of  
 “ “Complaint which, our Indian Allies had against us at the commencement of the troubles  
 “ “in America, and which not only induced them thô reluctantly to take up the Hatchet  
 “ “against us and desolate the Settlement on the Frontiers but encouraged our enemies to  
 “ “pursue those Measures which have involved us in a dangerous and critical war, it will be  
 “ “sufficient for the present purpose to observe that the primary cause of that discontent  
 “ “which produced these fatal Effects was the Cruelty and Injustice with which they had  
 “ “been treated with respect to their hunting grounds, in open violation of those solemn  
 “ “compacts by which they had yielded to us the Dominion, but not the property of those  
 “ “Lands, It was happy for us that we were early awakened to a proper sense of the Injustice  
 “ “and bad Policy of such a Conduct towards the Indians, and no sooner were those measures  
 “ “pursued which indicated a Disposition to do them all possible justice upon this head of  
 “ “Complaint than those hostilities which had produced such horrid scenes of devastation  
 “ “ceased, and the Six Nations and their Dependants became at once from the most inveterate  
 “ “Enemies our fast and faithfull Friends.

“ “That their steady and intrepid Conduct upon the Expedition under General Amherst for  
 “ “the Reduction of Canada is a striking example of this truth, and they now, trusting to our  
 “ “good Faith, impatiently wait for that event which by putting an End to the War shall not  
 “ “only ascertain the British Empire in America but enable Your Majesty to renew those  
 “ “Compacts by which their property in their Lands shall be ascertained and such a system of  
 “ “Reformation introduced with respect to our Interests and Commerce with them as shall at  
 “ “the same time that it redresses their Complaints and establishes their Rights give equal  
 “ “Security and Stability to the rights and Interests of all Your Majesty’s American Subjects.

“ “That under these Circumstances and in this scituation the granting Lands hitherto  
 “ “unsettled and establishing Colonies upon the Frontiers before the claims of the Indians are  
 “ “ascertained appears to be a measure of the most dangerous tendency, and is more particularly  
 “ “so in the present case, as these settlements now proposed to be made, especially those upon  
 “ “the Mohawk River are in that part of the Country of the Possession of which the Indians  
 “ “are the most jealous having at different times expressed in the strongest terms their Resolution  
 “ “to oppose all settlements thereon as a manifest violation of their Rights.

“ “That the pinciples of Policy which the said Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> have laid down are they  
 “ “apprehend in their nature so clear and uncontrovertible that it is almost unnecessary to add



“ “ anything further to induce Your Majesty to give immediate Orders for putting a stop to all  
 “ “ Settlements upon the Mohawk River and about Lake George until the Event of the War is  
 “ “ determined and such Measures taken thereupon, with respect to our Indian Allies as shall  
 “ “ be thought expedient, and yet it may be proper to observe that independant of what regards  
 “ “ our Connection with the Indians the conduct of those who have in former times been  
 “ “ intrusted with the Administration of the Government of New York has in reference to  
 “ “ granting of Lands in general been very exceptionable and has held forth a very bad example  
 “ “ to their Successors.

“ “ That the exorbitant Grants of Lands which Governors and others have heretofore made,  
 “ “ greatly to the benefit of themselves, but very much to the prejudice of the Interests of the  
 “ “ Crown, and of the people in general have long been the subject of great Complaint, and  
 “ “ the said Lords Commissioners cannot but think that the Lieutenant Governor and Council  
 “ “ would have shewn a greater regard to Your Majesty's Interest and the welfare of the province  
 “ “ in general, by a pursuit of such measures as might have operated to correct those abuses,  
 “ “ and remedy the Evils arising from so improper a Conduct in their proceedings in Government,  
 “ “ than by entering upon Measures for making fresh grants and settlements which they have  
 “ “ great reason to apprehend from Information which may be depended upon are more for the  
 “ “ benefit of themselves and their Families than for the subject in general and therefore they  
 “ “ submit to Your Majesty whether this may not be an addittional reason why speedy and  
 “ “ positive orders should be given for putting a stop to Measures which appear in every light  
 “ “ so destructive of Your Majestys Interests and the general welfare and security of the Colony.

“ “ That with respect to the other point relative to the granting the Judges Commissions  
 “ “ during good Behaviour it will be less necessary to detain Your Majesty long upon this  
 “ “ Question, as it has been already so solemnly determined in the case of a Law some time  
 “ “ since passed in Jamaica, and one lately in the Proprietary Government of Pensilvania for  
 “ “ establishing such a constitution.

“ “ That the principles laid down in the Attorney and Sollicitor Generals Report upon the  
 “ “ Jamaica Law, and in that of the said Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> Predecessors in Office upon the Act  
 “ “ passed in Pensilvania are so clear and explicit that it is almost unnecessary to add any thing,  
 “ “ thereto, But as the People of New York appear from the Lieutenant Governor's letters to  
 “ “ be so strenuous upon this point, alledging the preceedent and example of the Mother Country,  
 “ “ The said Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> observe that the cases are in no degree similar.

“ “ That the Change which the tenure of the Judges Commissions underwent at the Revolution  
 “ “ in this Kingdom was founded upon the most conclusive and repeated Proofs of arbitrary  
 “ “ and illegal Interposition, under the Influence of the Crown, upon points of the greatest  
 “ “ importance to the constitution, and the liberty and rights of the subject ; It was not however  
 “ “ by the tenure of their Commissions alone that they were rendered independant, but such  
 “ “ Salaries were settled upon them as not only rendered them less liable to be corrupted, but  
 “ “ was an Encouragement for the ablest men to engage in that Profession which qualified  
 “ “ them for such high Trusts.

“ “ That the same circumstance does in no degree exist in the American Colonies where as  
 “ “ there is no certain established allowance that may encourage men of learning and ability  
 “ “ to undertake such offices, Your Majesty's Governors are frequently obliged to appoint such  
 “ “ as offer from amongst the Inhabitants however unqualified to sustain the character, and

“ “tho a more fit person should afterwards be found, yet if the Commission was during good  
 “ “behaviour such unqualified Person could not be displaced.

“ “That late years have produced but too many examples of Governors having been obliged  
 “ “for want of such an Establishment as might induce able persons to offer their service, to  
 “ “confer the Office on those who have accepted it merely with a view to make it subservient  
 “ “to their own private Interests, and who, added to their ignorance, of the Law, have too  
 “ “frequently become the Partizans of a factious Assembly upon whom they have been  
 “ “dependant for their support, and who have withheld or enlarged that support according as  
 “ “the conduct of the Judges was more or less favourable to their Interests.

“ “That it is difficult to conceive a State of Government more dangerous to the Rights and  
 “ “Liberties of the Subject, but aggravated as the Evil would be by making the Judges  
 “ “Commissions during good Behaviour without rendering them at the same time independant  
 “ “of the factious will and Caprice of an Assembly, The said Lords Commissioners cannot  
 “ “but consider the proposition as subversive of all true policy, destructive of the interests of  
 “ “Your Majesty’s Subjects, and tending to lessen that just Dependance which the Colonies  
 “ “ought to have upon the Government of the mother Country.

“ “That this was in a great Degree the Opinion of the Lieut. Governor himself, as will  
 “ “evidently appear from a Letter to the said Lords Commissioners of the 2<sup>d</sup> of June last, in  
 “ “which he acquainted them with his having rejected a Bill passed by the Assembly for this  
 “ “purpose, and urges as a Reason that there was no fixed Salary to the Judges, that it was  
 “ “dependant from year to year on the pleasure of the Assembly and that whilst they were  
 “ “thus dependant upon the people for their subsistence such a measure might be highly  
 “ “prejudicial to the just Rights of the Crown, and the Acts of Trade. That these were then  
 “ “the sentiments of the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor and though the said Lords Commissioners are at a  
 “ “loss to guess at the motive which could have induced him to declare, as he does, in his  
 “ “letter to them of the 12<sup>th</sup> of August following, That he apprehended he should be under  
 “ “a necessity of giving way to the Proposition, Yet they cannot but be of Opinion that if  
 “ “under these circumstances he should have complied with so pernicious a Proposition, he  
 “ “would justly have deserved Your Majesty’s Royal Displeasure.” ”

“ The Lords of the Committee this day took the said Representation into their consideration,  
 “ and agreeing in opinion with the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations do  
 “ humbly report to Your Majesty that they conceive it advisable that Your Majesty’s Pleasure  
 “ should be made known upon the first point of Granting Lands, as well in the Colony of New  
 “ York as in all other Your Majesty’s Colonies on the Continent of America, where such  
 “ grants interfere with the Indians bordering on those Colonies. And that Your Majesty’s  
 “ pleasure should be made known upon the last point which relates to the appointment of  
 “ Judges, not only in the Colony of New York but in all other Your Majesty’s Islands and  
 “ Colonies in America: And therefore that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to order  
 “ the said Lords Commissioners to prepare Draughts of Instructions proper to be sent hereupon  
 “ to the Governors or Commanders in Chief of all Your Majesty’s Islands and Colonies in  
 “ America accordingly, to the end that due obedience be given thereto and the matters  
 “ complained of so detrimental to the public service, prevented for the future.”

His Majesty taking the said Report into consideration was pleased by the advice of his Privy Council to approve of what is therein proposed and accordingly to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations do prepare Draughts of

Instructions proper to be sent with respect to the first point of granting Lands, as well to the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Colony of New York, as to the Governors or Commanders in Chief of all other His Majesty's Colonies on the Continent of America where such grants interfere with the Indians bordering on those Colonies. And that they do also prepare like Draughts of Instructions upon the last point which relates to the Appointment of Judges, to the respective Governors and Commanders in Chief of all other His Majesty's Islands and Colonies in America, to the end that due obedience be given thereto, and the matters complained of, so detrimental to the public service, prevented for the future. And that such Draughts of Instructions be laid before His Majesty at this Board for his Royal Approbation.

T. SENFFANE.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 55. ]

New York Nov. 25<sup>th</sup> 1761.

My Lords

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month, Major General Monckton published his Commission of Captain General & Governor of this Province; On the 13<sup>th</sup> of this month, he produced in Council His Majesty's leave of absence & redelivered the Seals to me.

I have now again entered on the Administration, by virtue of His Majesty's Commission appointing me Lieutenant Governor, & of the clauses contained in the Governor's Commission for that purpose.

It is necessary that I inform your Lordships, that General Monckton did not receive His Majesty's Instructions with his commission, notwithstanding of an express reference in the Commission to them, as delivered with it. The Governor did not inform me or the Council of this 'till after his Commission was read in Council, when some doubts arose as to the appointment of his Majesty's \_\_\_\_\_ for this Province, their nomination & appointment & rank being expressly referred by the commission to the Instructions delivered with the Commission. This, in case of my death, while the Governor is absent, may occasion difficulties of greater consequence.

The Assembly met yesterday inclosed is a printed copy of what I laid before them.

I flatter myself, that I was appointed Lieutenant Governor, as a reward of my past services, while many years in the Council, which were best known to your Lordships, & of my conduct in the administration after M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey's death.

By the late King's Instructions to Sir Charles Hardy, our last Governor, in case of his absence *One full Moyety of the Sallary and of all perquisites & emoluments, which would otherwise become due to (the Governor) are to be paid to the Lieutenant Governor.* This Instruction was formerly *One full moyety of the Sallary and all perquisites & emoluments which would otherwise become due to you.*

I was informed by M<sup>r</sup> Burnet, that when he was appointed Governor of this Province, about the year 1720, a Clerk of the board of Trade, without direction from the Board, inserted the word [of] between the words [and] and [all] by which single word so considerable an



alteration has happened in this Instruction, before that time and afterwards. This I presume will appear by the copies of the Instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Hunter & preceding Governors, and of the Instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Burnet & succeeding Governors remaining in your Lordship's Office. And I presume that nothing appears in the minutes of Transactions at your Lordships Board to authorise so material an alteration.

Perquisites cannot legally or equitably be due to any besides the person who performs the service on which they arise. They are received as a *quantum meruit* for those services. It may therefor be reasonably inferred, that the King's Ministers, when this Instruction was originally framed, intended, that the person who performs the services should receive the whole of the perquisites & emoluments of those services; and that the alteration made in the Instructions has been fraudulently procured.

I therefor humbly pray, that, if the Instructions be not already transmitted, this Instruction be restored to its original form, as it was really intended to be: or that some other proper relief be given as Justice requires.

The value of the currency of this Province is so greatly diminished since the first establishment of the perquisites & the price of all necessaries for living so greatly increased, that a family cannot be supported, with the least distinction, on the half Sallary, and half perquisites. To this may be added, that, while the Governor in Chief resides in the Province, the Lieuten<sup>t</sup> Governor has not the least profit or advantage by his office.

It shall be my continued endeavour to show how ambitious I am of being as my greatest honour

My Lords

Your most obedient &

faithfull servant

The Right honourable the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lords of Trade to the King.*

[Plantations General Entries, XLV., p. 162.]

To the KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MASESTY

May it please your Majesty

In obedience to your Majesty's Order in Council the 23 of last month We have prepared the Draughts of an Instruction for the Governors of such of your Majesty's Colonies upon the Continent of North America as are under your Majesty's immediate Government and where the property of the Soil is in your Majesty, forbidding them to pass Grants of or encourage settlements upon any lands within the said Colonies which may interfere with the Indians bordering thereon.

We have also in obedience to the said Order prepared the Draught of an Instruction for the Governors of your Majesty's American Islands, and for the Governors of those Colonies on the Continent of America, which are under your Majesty's immediate Government containing

directions with respect to the tenure of the Commissions to be by them Granted to the Chief Judges and Justices of the Courts of Judicature of the said Colonies both which Draughts, We humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty for your Royal approbation

Which is most humbly submitted

Whitehall  
Dec: 2. 1761.

SANDYS  
ED: BACON  
GEORGE RICE  
SOAME JENYNS

Draft of an Instruction for the Governors of Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia forbidding them to Grant Lands or make Settlements which may interfere with the Indians bordering on those Colonies.

WHEREAS the peace and security of Our Colonies and Plantations upon the Continent of North America does greatly depend upon the Amity and Alliance of the several Nations or Tribes of Indians bordering upon the said Colonies and upon a just and faithfull Observance of those Treaties and Compacts which have been heretofore solemnly entered into with the said Indians by Our Royall Predecessors Kings & Queens of this Realm, And whereas notwithstanding the repeated Instructions which have been from time to time given by Our Royal Grandfather to the Governors of Our several Colonies upon this head the said Indians have made and do still continue to make great complaints that Settlements have been made and possession taken of Lands, the property of which they have by Treaties reserved to themselves by persons claiming the said lands under pretence of deeds of Sale and Conveyance illegally fraudulently and surreptitiously obtained of the said Indians; And Whereas it has likewise been represented unto Us that some of Our Governors or other Chief Officers of Our said Colonies regardless of the Duty they owe to Us and of the Welfare and Security of our Colonies have countenanced such unjust claims and pretensions by passing Grants of the Lands so pretended to have been purchased of the Indians We therefor taking this matter into Our Royal Consideration, as also the fatal Effects which would attend a discontent amongst the Indians in the present situation of affairs, and being determined upon all occasions to support and protect the said Indians in their just Rights and Possessions and to keep inviolable the Treaties and Compacts which have been entered into with them, Do hereby strictly enjoin & command that neither yourself nor any Lieutenant Governor, President of the Council or Commander in Chief of Our said <sup>Colony</sup> <sub>province</sub> of do upon any pretence whatever upon pain of Our highest Displeasure and of being forthwith removed from your or his office, pass any Grant or Grants to any persons whatever of any lands within or adjacent to the Territories possessed or occupied by the said Indians or the Property Possession of which has at any time been reserved to or claimed by them. And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that you do publish a proclamation in Our Name strictly enjoining and requiring all persons whatever who may either wilfully or inadvertently have seated themselves on any Lands so reserved to or claimed by the said Indians without any lawfull Authority for so doing forthwith to remove therefrom And in case you shall find upon strict enquiry to be made for that purpose that any person or persons do claim to hold or possess any lands within Our said <sup>Province</sup> <sub>Colony</sub> upon pretence of

purchases made of the said Indians without a proper licence first had and obtained either from Us or any of Our Royal Predecessors or any person acting under Our or their Authority you are forthwith to cause a prosecution to be carried on against such person or persons who shall have made such fraudulent purchases to the end that the land may be recovered by due Course of Law And whereas the wholesome Laws that have at different times been passed in several of Our said Colonies and the instructions which have been given by Our Royal Predecessors for restraining persons from purchasing lands of the Indians without a Licence for that purpose and for regulating the proceedings upon such purchases have not been duly observed, It is therefore Our express Will and Pleasure that when any application shall be made to you for licence to purchase lands of the Indians you do forebear to grant such Licence untill you shall have first transmitted to Us by Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations the particulars of such applications as well as in respect to the situation as the extent of the lands so proposed to be purchased and shall have received Our further directions therein; And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that you do forthwith cause this Our Instruction to you to be made Publick not only within all parts of your said <sup>Province</sup> Colony inhabited by Our Subjects, but also amongst the several Tribes of Indians living within the same to the end that Our Royal Will and Pleasure in the Premises may be known and that the Indians may be apprized of Our determin'd Resolution to support them in their just Rights, and inviolably to observe Our Engagements with them.

Draught of an Instruction for the Governors of Nova Scotia New Hampshire New York, New Jersey Virginia North Carolina South Carolina Georgia Barbados Leeward Islands Bermuda Bahama and Jamaica relative to the Tenure of the Commissions to be by them granted to the Judges & other Officers and Ministers of Justice in the said Colonies.

WHEREAS laws have been lately pass'd or attempted to be passed in several of Our Colonies in America enacting that the Judges of the several Courts of Judicature or other chief Officers of Justice in the said Colonies shall hold their offices during good Behaviour And whereas the Governors or other chief Officers of several other of Our said Colonies have granted Commissions to the Judges or other chief Officers of Justice by which they have been empowered to hold their said Offices during good Behaviour contrary to the express Directions of the Instructions given to the said Governors or other chief Officers by Us or by Our Royal Predecessors And whereas it does not appear to Us that in the present situation and Circumstances of Our said Colonies it would be either for the interest or advantage of the said Colonies or of this Our Kingdom of Great Britain that the Judges or other Chief Officers of Justice should hold their Offices during good Behaviour It is therefore Our express Will and Pleasure that you do not upon any pretence whatever upon pain of being removed from your Government give your Assent to any Act by which the tenure of the Commissions to be granted to the Chief Judges or other Justices of the several Courts of Judicature shall be regulated or ascertained in any manner whatever And you are to take particular care in all Commissions to be by you granted to the said Chief Judges or other Justices of the Courts of Judicature that the said Commissions are granted during Pleasure only, agreeable to what has been the ancient Practice and usage in Our said Colonies and Plantations.



*The Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 165. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor of New York.

Sir.

The inclosed instructions signed by His Majesty will fully inform you of the result of our deliberations upon those two points in your several letters to us, to which the instructions refer, and the inclosed copy of our Representation to His Majesty will more particularly point out to you our opinion upon them, and the light in which they appeared to us.

We have maturely considered the Bill passed by the Council and House of Representatives "for preventing disputes and controversies which may arise by the Demise of the Crown," and are fully convinced that those parts of the Bill which continue the Assembly for six months after the demise of the Crown, and which establish the legality of the Acts of Government done between the Demise of the Crown and the notification of it in the Colonies, are both inexpedient and unnecessary.

The reasons which existed in this country for continuing the Parliament six months after the Demise of the Crown, do not in any (or at least in a very small) degree, extend themselves to the Colonies; no complaint that we know of has ever been made of any inconvenience or obstruction to the Administration of Government in any of the Plantations from the want of such a constitution, nor has any doubt ever arisen (except in one single instance) as to the validity of Acts done in the name of the deceased King, before such decease was known or promulgated. We might quote many cases which have happened, even here in England, to support this opinion, but the case speaks for itself & renders the evidence of facts unnecessary.

As to those parts of the Bill which relate to Courts of Justice, they are either wilfully or carelessly so obscured, as to render it altogether impossible for us to judge of what is meant by them. There can be no doubt but that the Courts are in all cases bound to proceed conformable to the powers and authorities given them by the Common Law, the Statutes of England, and those laws of the Colony by which they are established; provided such Laws are consonant to reason and the Laws of England. The Demise of the Crown does neither take away from or add to that jurisdiction or the Authority of their proceedings, and any regulations with respect to this matter by Provincial Laws, appear to us not only unnecessary but improper, as the Act of the first of Queen Anne which extends to the Plantations, has fully provided for the Continuance of all Courts of Judicature of every kind, and for establishing their proceedings notwithstanding the Demise of the Crown.

Under these circumstances we cannot but consider this Bill as both unnecessary & improper and are of opinion it ought not to be passed into a law.

There is one other matter contained in your letter to us, upon which we could have wished to have given you our sentiments by this opportunity, and that is, the doubts which had occurred in the case of the Captain and crew of the Sampson Privateer, with respect to the want of an Authority to try and punish persons guilty of murder within the Admiralty jurisdiction; but as this is a question of great delicacy in point of law, we have thought it our duty to refer it to the consideration of His Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General, and also

to the Advocate General, and must defer giving any opinion or taking any steps upon it, untill they have made their Report.

We are, Sir,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>ble</sup> Servants

SANDYS

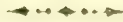
ED: BACON

GEO: RICE

JOHN ROBERTS.

Whitehall

Dec<sup>r</sup> 11. 1761



*Earl of Egremont to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ Governors and Commanders in North America, (S. P. O.) No. 77. ]

Whitehall, Dec<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1761.

Sir,

As the King has nothing so much at heart, as to secure, and improve the great, and important advantages gained since the commencement of this War, in North America, and having seen his good dispositions to restore the public tranquility, entirely frustrated by the insincerity and chicane of the Court of Versailles, in the late negotiation; and as nothing can so effectually contribute to the great and essential object of reducing the Enemy to the necessity of accepting a peace, on terms of glory and advantage to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Crown, and beneficial, in particular, to His subjects in America, as the King's being enabled to employ as immediately, as may be such part of the regular forces in North America, as may be adequate to some great and important enterprise against the Enemy; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that in order the better to provide for the full and entire security of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s dominions in North America, and particularly of the possession of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s conquests there, during the absence of such part of the regular Forces, you do forthwith use your utmost endeavours, and influence with the Council and Assembly of your province, to induce them to raise with all possible dispatch within your Government, at least the same number of Men, they raised last year: viz<sup>t</sup> two thirds of what had been levied for the former campaigns; and, forming the same into Regiments as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, and particularly as much earlier, than former years, as may be, to march to such Place or places, in North America, as His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief there shall appoint, in order to be employed there, under the supreme command of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s said Commander in Chief in America, in such manner as he shall judge most conducive to the Kings service; and the better to facilitate, this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province, as you shall judge, from their weight and credit with the people, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed, and able to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the greatest number of Men; in the disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded, you will have nothing in view, but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole, to his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commander in Chief; and all Officers of the provincial Forces, as

high as Colonels inclusive, are to have Rank according to their several respective Commissions, agreeable to the regulations contained in his late Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Warrant of the 30<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1757. which has been renewed by His present Maj<sup>ty</sup>.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men, so raised as above, with Arms, Ammunition, and Tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the same, by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commissaries, in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces; the whole therefore that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> expects and requires from the several provinces, is, the levying, cloathing, and pay of the Men; and on these heads also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary service, the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament in their session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall justly appear to merit.

It is His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure, that you do, with particular diligence, immediately collect, and put into the best condition, all the arms issued last Campaign, which can be, any ways, rendered serviceable, or that can be found within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, in order that the same may be again employed for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service.

I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent, by this conveyance to Massachuset's Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and New Jersey; the Southern Govern<sup>ts</sup> are also directed to raise Men in the same manner, to be employed in such offensive operations, as the circumstances and situation of the Enemy's Post and the State and disposition of the Indian Nations on that side, may point out, and require.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate Your zeal, in the execution of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s orders, in this important conjuncture, which is finally to fix the future safety and welfare of America, and of your own province in particular: and the King doubts not, from your known fidelity and attachment, that you will employ yourself with the utmost application and dispatch in this promising and decisive Crisis.

I am etc.

EGREMONT.

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*Earl of Egremont to the Governors in America.*

[Governors and Commanders in America, (S. P. O.) No. 77.]

Governor's of:

New Hampshire	New York
Massachuset's Bay	Maryland
Connecticut	Pensylvania
Rhode Island	Virginia
New Jersey.	N <sup>o</sup> and S <sup>o</sup> Carolina.

Sir,

The King having taken into His most serious consideration, how highly essential it is to the interests and security of his subjects in North America, that the Regular Regiments,



serving in that Country, be recruited, with all convenient expedition, to their full complement of Effectives, and at the same time, seeing the impracticability of compleating them from Great Britain, considering how this Country is drained, by the great number of Men, furnished for the various services in all parts of the world; I am therefore to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do, immediately on the receipt of this letter, exert your utmost influence to induce your province to carry into the most speedy and effectual execution this very important object, by immediate compliance with any requisition, which Sir Jefferey Amherst shall, in consequence of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> orders, make for furnishing on certain conditions, which he will explain to you, such a number of Recruits, from your Province as he shall demand as their quota, towards compleating the regular Regiments, which have been sent to America, for the defence and protection of the possessions of his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> subjects there; and the King cannot doubt, but that the Provinces will chearfully and readily comply with this reasonable demand, so obviously calculated for their own security and advantage, at the same time, that your zeal for His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> service will naturally excite you to use all your influence and power in bringing effectually to bear a measure, which his Maj<sup>ty</sup> has so much at heart, and with regard to which, any failure or disappointment would be extremely disagreeable

N. B. This paragraph was omitted to: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & Carolina. So Carolina, the above Provinces, being ordered, as last year, to raise their full number of Men.

I have it also in Command from the King to acquaint you, that tho' the present situation of affairs, would have fully justified, the having required of the Provinces, as large a number of Men, as they ever have raised for any of the former Campaigns, instead of the quota, which was demanded the last year; yet, His Maj<sup>ty</sup> considering the high importance of the service, which makes the subject of this letter, and being desirous to ease the burthens of his faithful subjects, as far as shall be consistent with their own safety, has been pleased to require only the same number of Men, as for the last year, in order thereby to facilitate a measure, so essential as the compleating the Regular Regiments, by Recruits to be furnished from the Provinces in N<sup>o</sup> America; and the King is persuaded that the said Provinces, duly sensible of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> tender and paternal care for their welfare, will in return, readily, and chearfully comply with the orders now sent you.

I am etc.

EGREMONT.

Whitehall Dec<sup>r</sup> 12. 1761.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, On., p. 57. ]

New York Jan<sup>ry</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1762.

My Lords

By my letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of September last, I had the honour to inform your Lordships of my having refused my assent to a bill to enact that the Judges Commissions be *dureing their good behaviour*; & I gave your Lordships my reasons. Since which time, in October last, Benjamin Prat Esq. arived in this Province, with His Majesty's commands to me, under the signet and sign manual, to make out a commission for him, under the Seal of this Province, to be Chief Justice *dureing His Majesty's pleasure*, & Mr Prat's residence in the Province: which

is accordingly don. This has freed me from the difficulties I was under, by the other Judges refusing to act, unless they have their commissions *during good behaviour*; but at the same time it lays Mr Prat under some difficulties, as he is a stranger to the practise in our Courts.

Notwithstanding that the Assembly knew the Tenor of Mr Prat's commission, & His Majesty's Instruction, that commissions to the Judges be granted *during His Majesty's pleasure only*, they absolutely refused to grant any sallary to the Chief Justice, or to any of the Judges, unless their commissions be *during their good behaviour*, and their sallary to be granted, even in that case, for one year only. They allow no amendment to be made by the Council to such bills.

At this time likewise, the Assembly sent up the same Bill to the Council, to which I had twice refused my assent, viz to make the Judges commissions *during good behaviour*. The Council had a conference with the Assembly, to perswade them to add a clause to make the Judges Sallaries of the same continuance with their commissions, but without effect. The Council therefor refused their concurrence, at this time, in passing this Bill. This obstinacy of the Assembly, as to the Sallaries of the Judges, seems to me an evident proof of a formed design of undue influence.

I shall not repeat the reasons in my letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of September, but beg leave to add some other arising from what has happened since. I sent a message to the Assembly, (a copy of which & the answer is inclosed) shewing that the usual allowance for the Sallary of the Chief Justice is insufficient to support a family with the least distinction. This is too well known to be denied & there inclinations plainly appear, in their answer to have no Chief Justice unless he be a gentleman of Estate in this Province & to discourage the appointing of any other. This fallacious argument takes with the people, tho, in my opinion, not only the King, but the Inhabitants likewise may more safely trust the Administration of Justice with a stranger, who has no private connections, than with an inhabitant, who has numerous private connections & interests, opposite to those of many others in the Colony. Sure I am men of greater abilities may be found out of the Province than in it.

The puisné Judge having declined to act & Mr Prat being under a necessity to return to Boston by his want of sallary, they expect that the Governor to prevent a failure of Justice, must be under a necessity, in a short time, of appointing a person in Mr Prat's place who is ambitious of this office, & on such terms as he likes. From what I know of particular persons, I am perswaded this is their principal view.

I must observe to your Lordships, that the yielding to this view may greatly affect the administration, in every part of it. Few people in this Province have any dependence on a Governor, but a Chief Justice has an influence on every man in it; because no man knows when he may have a dispute at law with his neighbour. If then a Chief Justice for life, with large family connections, form a party, to serve ambitious or interested views, the Governor must either become the tool of this party, or live in perpetual contention. This is not a meer hypothesis, we had, not long since, a glaring instance of it.

I know no method to prevent these evils, which I apprehend, but by his Majesty's granting a sallary to his Chief Justice, out of the Quit Rents of this Province; which, I am well informed, may be don, without prejudice to any appointment on that fund, already made. The doing of this without delay, may prevent the Governor's being reduced to the dilemma, of either appointing in the manner an interested or ambitious man may desire, or of leaving the Province without a Court of Justice.

Mr Prat has come to this place with the best character, as to his skill in the law and integrity. He was at the top of his profession at Boston. He has left a beneficial practice & now lives at the expense of his private fortune, to shew his regard to the honour His Majesty has don him, in appointing him Chief Justice of this Province. A neglect of him must bear hard on him, & I beg leave to add, may greatly affect the King's authority in this Province, by the influence it may have on the minds of the people.

I flatter my self, that I need make no excuse for this trouble, as it proceeds from the sense I have of the duty of

My Lords

Your most obedient &  
faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

The Right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New York Entries, Q., 170. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor of New York.

Sir.

We have received your letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> of November last, and are fully aware that great inconveniences may arise from His Majesty's instructions to General Monckton not having been received with the commission; but as we find by enquiry made of General Monckton's Agent to whom both Commission and Instructions were intrusted that the Instructions were sent some time after by a safe hand, we hope they will have been received before this reaches you. If however they should have miscarried, the inclosed copy, certified by our Secretary, of that article which contains the names of the Council, will obviate any difficultys with respect to their rank and appointment.

We have directed a carefull examination into the entry upon record in this Office of the instructions given to Governors Hunter & Burnet and find that articles relating to the allowances to be made to the Lieutenant Governor in the absence of the Governor in Cheif, copys of which we inclose, were the same to both, and as they both correspond exactly with the original declaration of King William at the Treasury Board in 1697, a copy of which we also enclose, upon which declaration this instruction to all the Governors in America was founded, there is little reason to apprehend that there was ever such an interpolation, of a Clerk, as you suppose, but that the article was originally formed as it stands in the Instructions to the late Governor S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hardy and in those to General Monckton.

We are &c &c

Whitehall  
Jan<sup>r</sup> 20 1762

SANDYS  
SOAME JENYNS  
ED: BACON  
EDMOND THOMAS



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Co., p. 59. ]

New York Jan<sup>ry</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1762.

My Lords

The last, which I had the honour to write to your Lordships, was of the 11<sup>th</sup> of the month, by a ship to Bristol, a duplicate of which is inclosed.

In the last Session of the General Assembly, begun the 24<sup>th</sup> of November & ending the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month January, I gave my Assent to 17 Acts, a list of which is at the end of the minutes of the Assembly likewise inclosed.

The only act of Importance is the *Act for the more effectual collecting of His Majesty's Quitrents, in the Colony of New York; & for partition of lands in order thereto.* The first part of this Act, for collecting of the Quitrents, is the same with an Act formerly passed under the same title, which expired at this time by its own limitation, & has been found of great use for that purpose. The second part, for the partition of lands, is new, and on a different plan from the former. I found my self under great difficulties in giving my assent to it; but both the Council & Assembly had it so much at heart, that, I found, the refusing of my assent would lay me under a load, too heavy for me to bear *alone.* I hope to find some excuse for my sending with this, an Exemplification of the Act under the Seal of the Province, by the first Packet after it was passed; & so soon, that in case His Majesty shall disallow of it, the Disallowance may reach this place, before the Act, can in any one instance, take effect by reason of the length of time requisite to give the previous notices & other previous steps necessary, before any partition can be made.

The arguments used for the bill were, that the Act is principally designed, for the partition of lands, which have lain long unimproved, by reason of the difficulties the patentees or their assigns are under, in makeing partition among themselves, & which, according to the common methods in law, cannot be don without too great expence, & very tedious proceedings.

It is certainly of prejudice to the Province that these lands remain uncultivated: and as the Act gives no title, nor can prejudice the rights of the Crown, nor of any other person, other than the patentees, or their assigns, it is said, no equitable objection can be made to it.

However I must inform your Lordships, that this Act is principally intended, for the partition of the great tracts of land, granted before the year 1708, paying trifling Quit rents, & in relation to which, by His Majesty's 51<sup>st</sup> Instruction to S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hardy, & 46<sup>th</sup> Instruction to General Monckton, the Governor is *directed & required to put in practise all methods whatsoever, allowed by law, for breaking & annulling such exorbitant, irregular and unconditioned grants & in case of any difficulties therein, to report to the Commissioners of Trade & Plantations &c.* But as no one step has been hitherto taken, for this purpose, it may seem unreasonable to prevent the improvement of the Country, by selling of these lands.

As these grants do not mention the quantity of land granted, & the boundaries, in most of them, if not in all, are uncertain, & many other irregularities appear on the face of them, on breach of the trust which the King reposed in His Governor who granted them, it may be probable, that these grants are void in law; yet any attempt to break them, will lay a Governor of this Province under great difficulties, by reason, that the owners of these are generally of great interest in the Province, & will certainly employ all the most popular artifices, in such case, in prejudice to the Governor, which they can invent.

It is proper to inform your Lordships on this occasion that the Governor of this Province has not a single farthing allowed for any contingent expence, & therefor should he order prosecutions to annull any of these grants, the expence must be out of his own pocket. The Attorney General's office, for upwards of 30 years past, has been filled with men of no esteem as to their skill in the law. Formerly, and I believe every where else, when a Gentleman came in the office of Attorney General, it gave such reputation to his character, that he was thereby introduced into a great share of practise in suits between private persons; but for some time past, we find no man intrusting his private affairs to the person with whom the King's rights in this Province are intrusted. This lays a Governor likewise often under difficulties, when he cannot confide in the skill of the person, whom he ought to consult in all cases of law.

It is proper to inform your Lordships farther, that, by reason of the many uncertainties in the description of the boundaries of these great tracts, the Patentees have extended their boundaries in many Instances, so as to take in a much greater quantity of land, than was originally intended, & thereby in several instances disturb & disquiet possessors of lands granted since that time, & paying 2/6<sup>d</sup> for every hundred acres. For this reason, with some difficulty I got a clause added to this Bill, whereby the outlines of every tract are to be run by the King's Surveyor General of lands before partition be made. Tho' what the Surveyor General shall do be not made binding on the Patentees yet thereby the quantity of land granted will be discovered, & how far they intrude on the King's lands by their claims; in consequence of which writs of intrusion may be brought, or other legal process, for ascertaining the true boundary. The doing of this will be attended with less popular clamour, then will attend prosecutions to break grants, on account of any legal defects; for in the ignorance of the times, bona fide grants may be very defective in form of law.

That your Lordships may perceive to what excess intrusions are, in some cases, carried from the different interpretation of the words, by which the boundaries are expressed, I inclose a map, by which such intrusion will appear, & which is discovered by a Dispute, now depending before the Council, between Van Renslaer & several other persons, who have petitioned for a grant of lands within his claim, but not within the true boundaries of his grant. The question before the Council is, whether it be proper for them to advise me to grant any lands within his claim, to people who are willing to pay at the rate of 2/6<sup>d</sup> for every hundred acres, & to defend their grant against any legal claim of Van Ranslaer? The Question still remains undetermined.

These are the principal things, of which I think it my duty to inform your Lordships, in respect to this act. Perhaps on reading it, other objections may occur from its face, which I pass over, as, the care taken in the Act to avoid all cognizance in the King's Courts of the proceedings from first to last.

In the last place, as the Patentees of several large tracts have already begun to give the notices previously requisite to the partition, I humbly conceive that it may be for His Majesty's interest & may prevent hardships and great inconveniences to His subjects, to have the King's pleasure, with respect to this act, known assoon as may be.

I am with the greatest submission

My Lords

Your most obedient

The right honourable the Lords Commissioners

& faithfull servant

for Trade & Plantations

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Petition of Merchants of Albany to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 66. ]

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

The Humble Petition of the principle Merchants living in the City of Albany,

Sheweth

That your Lordships Petitioners and their Ancestors have long uninterruptedly enjoy'd the Liberty & privilege of carrying a free Trade with their Indian friends and Allies to the Crown of Great Britain.

By the 91 Article of His late Majesty's Instructions to Sir Charles Hardy late Governor of this Province of New York, reciting, That Whereas at a meeting or interview held with the principal Tribes of the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians in the year 1726. they did by a solemn deed ratify, confirm, submit & grant unto His then Majesty His Heirs & Successors for ever all their Lands & Beaver hunting lying and being Sixty Miles distant from the Lakes Beginning from a Creek called Canahoga on the Lake Oswego all along the said Lake and all along the narrow Passage from the said Lake to the Falls of Oniagara and all along the River of Oniagara & the Lake Catarakie to the Creek called Sodoms belonging to the Senekes and from Sodoms to the Hill called Tigerhunkserode belonging to the Cayougas & from Tigerhunkserode to the Creek called Cayhunhage belonging to the Onondages, all the said land being of the bradth of Sixty English Miles from the aforesaid Lakes or Rivers Directly into the Country & thereby including all the Castles of the aforesaid nations with all Rivers, Creeks & Lakes within the said limits to be protected & defended by His said late Majesty, His Heirs & Successors for ever to and for the use of the said Nations and further by the said Article it appears that the said Governor was ordered not upon any pretence whatever to grant Lands to any person whatever within the limits described in the said Deed, but to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any settlements being made within the same, as by the same Article of y<sup>e</sup> said Instructions may more fully appear to which for greater certainty we beg leave to refer.

Your Lordships Petitioners further beg leave to shew that His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst since the conquest of Niagara being unacquainted (as they presume) with the aforesaid Deed and the matters therein contained has lycensed and authorized Cap<sup>t</sup> Rutherford Lieut<sup>t</sup> Duncan & others to settle at the Niagara carrying place and given them Ten thousand Acres of Land there all which is included in the said Indian Deed, in pursuance of which permission or Grant they have already settled thereon and we are well assured that strong application has been made to His Majesty to have the above Lycence confirmed by the Royal approbation. Permit your Petitioners further to observe that should a Confirmation be obtained the Proprietors of the aforesaid lands would in a little time monopolize all the Indian Trade in their own hands and by that means amass to themselves great sums of money without any Benefit to the Publick and reduce thousands of His Majesty's American Subjects to want who might otherwise be supported thereby. The granting those lands to a particular Company would be big with many mischiefs and among others irritate the Indians, when they discover that settlements are made on those lands contrary to a Solemn Agreement & that Free Trade is suppressed among them & how much it is the interest of this Province to keep the Indians at peace with us is obvious



to every Impartial Eye. Your Lordships Petitioners flatter themselves that the reasons offered for keeping the Indian Trade free and open will be deemed just & right, & they humbly hope that a General Prejudice will be prevented before a mischief peculiar to a few individuals only.

The well known disposition of your Lordships towards the American Colonies gives your Petitioners a right to hope that the Grievance will be represented to His Majesty by your Lordships.

And your Lordships Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

VOLCKERT P. DOUW.  
SYBRANT v: SCHAICK JUR  
DAVID VAN DER HEYDEN  
SEIJMON JOHS VEEDER  
HARMANIS WENDELL  
NEICHOLAS CUYLER  
BARENT TEN EYCK  
AB<sup>m</sup> TEN BROECK  
JOHN TEN EYCK  
ISAACK KIP.  
EVERT WENDELL  
HENDRICK *m* ROSEBOOM  
JACOB. C. TEN EYCK  
ROB<sup>t</sup> SANDERS

JN<sup>o</sup> DE PEYSTER  
HENDRICK CUYLER JUNIR  
CORNELIS TEN BROECK  
JOHN GLEN  
H. v. SCHAACK  
GERARD GROESBECK  
JOHN JA LANSING  
GERRIT JA LANSINGH  
HARME GANSEVOORT  
JN<sup>o</sup> R. BLEECKER  
JOH<sup>s</sup> BEECKMAN  
JACOB LANSING JUN<sup>r</sup>  
JACOB JACOB BEECKMAN

Albany 25 January 1762.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 61. ]

My Lords

I expected to have had an opportunity of sending my last, of the 25<sup>th</sup> of the last month, about the time it was wrote, but haveing been disappointed it goes with this.

I am now to give the reasons for my assent to the Bill, for paying the Officers Sallaries, in the manner it is passed with a proviso, that the Judges Sallaries be paid them on condition of their commissions be[ing] dureing good behaviour. This was don in hopes I would refuse my assent to it in this manner. The Gentlemen of the Council assured me, that if this Bill was sent back to the Assembly with any amendment we should never see it more, & therefor I recommended to them the passing it as it was. I thought it more eligible to suffer the Judges only to be without Sallaries, than that they and all the other Officers of Government be without any support.

The consequence of this has been, that the Chief Justice, Mr Prat, acts alone, & serves the publick at the expence of his private fortune. Your Lordships may therefore perceive the necessity of some speedy resolution in answer to my letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of last month. So long as the King does not provide for the support of the Chief Justice, independently of the Assembly, the design of reducing the Governor to the dilemma, of either leaving the Province

without Judges, or of appointing them dureing good behaviour, & dependent on an Assembly for their support, will continue. I must with humble submission beg leave to observe, that the putting the Governor under restriction by Instruction, will certainly in many cases, lay the Governor under great difficulties, but may have no effect on an Assembly, & in such cases they tend to lessen the force of Instructions in the minds of the People.

Haveing received the King's Instructions to Mr Moncton by the merchant ships which arived about the 20<sup>th</sup> of last month, Mr Prat took his seat at the Council Board the 27<sup>th</sup>.

After I had wrote so far I received the honour of your Lordships letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of December, with a copy of your Lordships representation to the King & His Majesty's additional Instruction of the 9<sup>th</sup> of December. As to that part of the Representation relating to the Judges commissions I have anticipted an Answer, by my letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of last month. It gives me the greatest satisfaction, that my conduct on this head is intirely conformable to your Lordships sentiments; and you may be assured shall continue such. As to the other part relating to the purchase of lands from the Indians, I must beg leave to say, that I am at present intirely ignorant of some facts therein set forth, and as to others I am confident your Lordships have been misinformed. At this time it is impossible for me to make the proper inquiry into the facts which I do not know, or to give sufficient evidence of others which are within my knowledge; but I shall indeavour to set the whole in a clear light assoon as possible.

In my letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> of February last year I represented how His Majesty's Interest suffers by the Intrusions of the people of the Massachusetts Bay & New Hampshire. The restrictions now laid on the Governor of New York may give these people great advantages, in continuing their intrusions to the prejudice of the King's Rights; and therefor I humbly conceive that my letter, on that subject, may deserve your Lordships consideration. In this case you cannot be deceived, by misinformation of facts, the whole dispute depending on the construction of the words in the Grant of this Province to the Duke of York, & of King Williams Grant of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

I have nothing more at heart, than to convince your Lordships, by a punctual performance of my duty, that I am with the greatest sincerity and submission

My Lords

Your most obedient &  
faithfull servant

New York  
Feb<sup>ry</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1762

CADWALLADER COLDEN

The right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 72. ]

Duplicate  
My Lords

New York March 1<sup>st</sup> 1762

The Packet went so soon after I had the honour of your Lordships of the 11<sup>th</sup> of December, that I could not answer it then, as it is my Duty to do now. When I enter'd on the

administration of Government, tho' it was by a casual event, I received it as a trust which I was carefully to perform; I was in hopes that my conduct would have evinced this to your Lordships. Had I not been scrupelous in observing this Trust, in regard to the Crown, my administration would have been more popular and much more beneficial to myself; but I apprehend whatever I may say to this purpose, & however justly, it may not have its proper weight, untill I shall have removed some prejudices, which I perceive you entertain to my disadvantage.

In your Lordships representation to the King you say, that you have reason to apprehend from information that may be depended on, that the Lieutenant Governor and Council of New York, have enter'd into measures, for makeing Grants & Settlements, more for the benefit of themselves & families, than for the subject in general. As to myself, I solemnly declare to your Lordships that I am in no shape interested in any purchase of lands from the Indians, or in any license to purchase, or in any grant of Lands in any share or part, either great or small, or by any person in trust for me, at any time since the administration of Government has been in my hands. Nor have I had so much as an inclination to be interested in any purchase of the Indians or Grant of lands whatsoever. This is all the answer that can be given to a general accusation. If the Persons who have inform'd your Lordships, will give any one instance wherein I am interested in any purchase from the Indians, or licence to purchase or in any Grant of Lands, in any shape whatsoever, I engage to make that particular clear, by all the evidence that can in such case be given.

As to my family I must observe to your Lordships that, my children have been grown up to the state of Men and Women for some years past; some of them have children of full age of maturity. They are not under my direction, and I know of no reason to debar them from any privilege or benefit which His Majesty's other subjects in this Province have, but at the same time I declare that I do not know that any of them have been interested in any purchase of lands from the Indians since I have had the Administration of Government. That my whole conduct in this affair, wherein I have had the great misfortune to incur your Lordships censure, may more clearly, appear to you, I shall give you a succinet account of my proceedings therein.

In the begining of September 1760, about four weeks after I had enter'd upon the Administration, I received a letter from General Amherst Dated *River St. Lawrence below the Isle Royal 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1760*, wherein after a particular account of the success of His Majesty's forces under his command, he inform'd me that thereby the settlements and inhabitants on the Mohawks River were perfectly secured; and desired me to issue a Proclamation to invite the People to improve the lands already settled, and to cultivate the uncleared country, which, by the advice of Council I did accordingly.

All Canada haveing soon after submitted, the People thought themselves safe from both French and Indians; and the Inhabitants every where return'd to their habitations. In the Spring following numbers gave in Petitions for licences to purchase Lands of the Indians on the Frontiers, among which were the Provincial Officers of this Province, in behalf of themselves and of several of their Men who had served in conjunction with His Majesty's Regular Troops.—Major Rogers in behalf of himself, his officers and several of his men.—Several others likewise Inhabitants of this and of the Neighbouring Colonies, received at different times in the year 1761. Licences to purchase lands on the frontiers from the Indians.

As it is necessary to call the whole Tribe or Nation of Indians together, in order to purchase any Lands from them, and to have several conferences with them at different times this is



attended with so great an expense, that it became necessary for numbers to join together in order to purchase a large tract at one time. And as the persons willing to settle and improve lands in the woods on the Frontiers, at a great distance from the Markett, are of the poorest of the Inhabitants, they were desirous to join with Men of Fortune, who, on certain conditions agreed on, were willing to advance money for them, to enable them to settle, to build houses and to purchase other necessaries for improving the Lands, and to support them untill such time as they may be able to support their families by their own labour; which they cannot do in less than three years after they have begun to improve. Of these Gentlemen who thus undertook the charge of making settlements, only two, so far as I know, were of the Council, and they offer'd to give any security to have the settlements made, pursuant to the King's Instructions.

Soon after that two or three, only, of these Licences had issued, Sir William Johnson informed me, by letter, that the Mohawk Indians had by deed of Gift conveyd to him a Tract of about 40,000 acres of land, and desired me to Grant him letters Pattent for the same. This I communicated to the Council, who refused their consent to any such Grant, as it was contrary to the established rules, to grant any lands which are purchased of the Indians without previous License; that, under pretence of a Deed of Gift all these Rules may be evaded.—After the Council had refused to confirm this Deed of Gift by the King's Grant, the Indians refused to sell any Lands, which, from that time put an entire stop to all Indian purchases, Only two tracts were purchased by any Licence from me, one large tract of 20,000 Acres, for which no Grant has yet been made out, and the other a small one of                      Acres, and was granted by Letters Pattent before I receiv'd His Majesty's Additional Instructions. By this your Lordships may perceive, on what slender grounds the Information was founded which you have received.

On this occasion I think it proper to inform your Lordships of the method followed in this Province, in the Purchase of lands from the Indians, and of the reasons why this method has been strictly pursued ever since the year 1736: since which I have not heard of any fraudulent purchase or of any complaint of that sort.

In the year 1736 I went to the Mohawks Country in the Execution of my Office of Surveyor General of Lands, and had several conferences with some of the most distinguished Indians. They talked often and had long discourses with me, & with much vehemence, of some cheat as to their lands: but as I was obliged to make use of interpreters, I suspected that they had not fairly interpreted what the Indians spoke to me: and I found the Indians had the same suspicions, for they several times, by signs, express'd their earnest wish, that we could understand each other. All that I could learn with any certainty was, that some persons had fraudulently obtained a conveyance from them, of the very lands on which they lived and planted; but the particulars by whom, or in what manner I could not learn, by the unwillingness, as I suppose, of the Interpreters to have the fraud discovered.

On my return I gave in a Memorial to the Governor in Council, respecting frauds in purchasing lands of the Indians so far as I knew them in this Province. In consequence of which Regulations were made to prevent frauds in purchasing Lands of the Indians, copies of which are inclosed, and have been ever since strictly pursued, and no complaint has been made since that time of any fraudulent Purchases: so far is it from being true that this was the occasion of the war with them. Nor did I ever hear that the Six Nations had taken up the Hatchet against this Province, tho' at the same time it may be true, that several of their

young men were perswaded, by the French to join their schalping parties, but as I understand they were disownd by their own Nation. Only the Mohawks and Oneydas could have any pretence that they were cheated of their lands: for not a foot of land had at any time been purchased of any of the other Nations, and yet the Mohawks certainly have continued the most faithfull of any Indian Nation on the Continent. The Senecas have given the greatest grounds of suspicion, but they live the remotest of any of the Six Nations from any settlements of His Majesty's subjects, so far off, that it is probable never any attempt has been made to purchase lands of them.—The Indians who made inroad on this Province, on the side of the River Delawar, consist of a number of Fugitives, from all the other Nations, and will at all times be ready to plunder when not restrain'd by fear.

If it be allowed to judge from Events, M<sup>r</sup> Braddocks defeat gave rise to the war with Savages, who delight in plunder and bloodshed, and the takeing of Oniagara and Quebeck put an end to it: and the Conquest of Canada has secured tranquility to the Province in futurity. Nothing with regard to lands had the least share either as to Peace or War, between the Indians and the Inhabitants of this Province. How it may have been in any other Colony I do not pretend to say.

With respect to the Mohawks I must beg leave farther to inform your Lordships, that the Mohawks River has been settled above 30 years farther up the River than the lands, claim'd by the Mohawks, extend: that it is now as well improved and as fully settled as any part of this Province. The Mohawks consist of two Villages where they plant Corn. These Villages are surrounded on all sides by the settlements of the British Subjects, only at some distance from the River are there any vacant Lands. I never heard that any Indian had been interrupted in his hunting any where, and from my own knowledge I can say, they have had free liberty to hunt wherever they pleased, even within our improved Lands.

I must beg leave to say that your Lordships have been entirely misinformd, in respect to the purchases of lands from the Indians, and of the Grants of lands in this Province, since I have had the Administration, by some person, either ignorant and biass'd by some prejudice, or moved by Interested Views.

I am of opinion my Lords that you may be well informed of every thing relating to the Indians, from the Accounts which I doubt not Sir Jeffery Amherst has sent to his Majesty's Ministers. He has had better opportunities to be well informed than any other can have, and he has taken great pains to be so. He has no conections in this Country to biass him, & therefore his accounts may with the greatest certainty be depended on. If I mistake in anything his accounts will rectify the error.

Before I conclude it may be proper to inform your Lordships that, a few months since, Sir William Johnson informed me of a person who had given uneasiness to the Mohawks, by makeing some claims to the lands before mention'd, which I suppose to have been fraudulently purchased and that person was ordered to be prosecuted before I received the honour of your Lordships letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of December.—This is the only complaint from the Indians which has come to my knowledge.

I flatter'd myself that my zeal for His Majesty's Service and Interest in this Province had been well known on several occasions, to your Lordships Predecessors in Office, and that this was their motive in recommending me to be appointed Lieutenant Governor; and with hopes that, I had not, by my conduct since the administration has been in my hands given any occasions to lessen any good opinion that had been entertain'd of me. With these flattering

hopes I once thought of giving my sentiments of the most proper method, for settling the uncultivated lands in this Province, so as it might be done with the greatest benefit to the King and his Subjects, but now I dare not offer any thing from my self, till I shall have the happiness to know that I stand fair in your Lordships opinion. In the mean while I shall faithfully observe His Majesty's commands, and endeavour by my conduct to convince your Lordships that I am

With sincere zeal and submission

My Lords

Your most obedient

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations.

& faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ " American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 123, III., No. 259. ]

Kings Coll. N York April 10. 1762.

May it please Your Grace

A copy of Your Grace's most kind letter of Nov<sup>r</sup> 4. 1760 is this week come to my hand, and with it your no less kind and condescending letter of December 10. 1761 for both which I now return you my humblest thanks.—Your Grace does me too much honor in speaking of yourself as my correspondent:—Your condescension has indeed been unspeakable in writing so much to me, but I very well know that your Cares and labors must be so many and great, (especially on the late August occasions, on which I most humbly congratulate your Grace) that I am far from expecting or desiring that you should trouble yourself particularly to answer all my letters, or write to me oftener than you judge any public utility may require it, which indeed is the only view with which I would trouble your Grace with any of my letters

But my dear Lord, it gives me very great and inexpressible anxiety, to be informed that your Grace has been afflicted with these most exquisite tormenting pains, the Gout and the Stone; and do most earnestly pray to the Almighty to relieve you, and restore you to perfect Health and Ease, and yet long preserve a Life of so vast importance to his Church, even to the utmost extent of usefulness, and at length abundantly reward it with an exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.

I am sorry, my Lord, very sorry for the expense of that unlucky packet,—Going out of Town, I had engaged a private hand to carry it, who, having some how forgot it, it was in my absence, inadvertently sent by the packet-boat, contrary to my intention,—I will take more care for the future.

I am also sorry Dr Smith hath neglected to do what he undertook about Dr Barclay's Remarks: as he is gone to England, I must leave him to account for it, if it can at all be accounted for.

I am most humbly thankful to your Grace for the honour you have done me in constituting me your proxy at our Board, the second Instrument being now arrived, and I am sorry the loss of the first has put your Grace to the trouble of sending another.



I was vastly pleased with your Grace's Letter to Mr McClenachan,<sup>1</sup> which did a great deal of good, and I wished in the time of it, it had been printed; but perhaps, for the reason you give, it may not now be advisable. I know not how he should come by the knowledge of any thing in your Letter to me in 1758, having never had the least Communication or correspondence with him. I believe it must have been only by hearsay, from my having communicated it to the Clergy of New England New York and New Jersey as you directed; of which three Governments, I know he had not the least reason for reflecting on the Clergy, on the account you mention. Whether any of the Clergy Southward have given him any occasion, I am not able to say: perhaps some of them may have gone too much into the modern and too fashionable way of dwelling too much on natural religion and morality, to the neglect of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; an extreme, I apprehend, of worse tendency than that of Mr Hutchinson, which yet I am far from approving, having much endeavoured always to inculcate the golden mean.

I come now, my Lord, most humbly to thank your Grace, for the care and trouble you have taken about providing Tutors for us; on which I shall not need to enlarge, as I conclude Your Grace must, by this time, have received an answer to your Message by Mr Read. I am convinced by the Reasons you give, that the gentleman I mentioned would not have well suited us, but I intirely submitted it to your Grace's judgment, and I hope Mr Cooper may suit us very well, and release me in a degree from the daily drudgery of tuition, which grows too tedious for my years, being far in my 66th. I only wish he were a little older, that he might be the better qualified to succeed me, if I should be soon called off. But the difficulty is, that the College cannot well provide for the support both of him and me at the same time, in our present circumstances.

The President's Business here is, to oversee and govern the College, to read prayers, moderate in Disputations and prescribe Exercises, and to hold commencements and give Degrees, and besides, to act the part of a tutor to one of the Classes, (I have often two.) all which the Vice-president must do in my absence, and be always one of the Tutors, living in a Collegiate way, at a common Table, at the expence of about 6 shill. sterling p<sup>r</sup> week, for meer board.—

I humbly thank your Grace for the Candor with which you received my little Tracts, and my letter of July 1760, and for the frankness you use in the observations you make on that subject. I only desired you to make what use you should think proper of that paper of Queries, if any good use at all could be made of it, of which you alone are the proper judge. I do not recollect anything of that paper to Archbishop Herring. I might, perhaps, inclose it to him, but somewhat doubt whether I wrote it.

I am greatly obliged to Your Grace for suggesting to those great men the importance of sending us good and religious G——rs, and am glad they admit the request to be very reasonable and important, and wish it may be always admitted, and the choice considered with great care: but cannot say our present case is a great deal mended. The G——l appointed for us seems a very humane, generous and benevolent gentleman; but how he will conduct in respect to what I mentioned, there has not been yet opportunity to see, since his accession. It would be a very unfortunate thing for such a Country as this, if any time hereafter a gentleman in that high station should neglect religion and keep a m——s: a thing we have too much reason to fear may come to pass.

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 415. — Ed.

Indeed I fear the times are so bad, that it will be difficult to find many Gentlemen, otherwise likely to gain such stations, that have much sense of Religion left.—Our only Hope, under God, is in (what Your Grace mentions next, to my inexpressible joy,) the example and influence of our most excellent young Sovereign, whose unquestionable sincerity in his Declarations, I do, with Your Grace, most earnestly pray, may ever be preserved incorruptible.—Blessed be God for the happy unanimity of the nation, and the good dispositions of Lord Halifax towards our being in due time provided for with Bishops, and your good hopes relating to that affair. I was sorry for the præmature mention of it in the Boston Address, and am very thankful for your Candid acceptance of the Draught I presumed to send to be considered in its proper time, and for presenting our Addresses to His Majesty, particularly the Governors of the College for your presenting theirs, and I doubt not of Your Grace's influence, when you have a proper opportunity, that he may become a kind Benefactor to it.

I have not since heard any thing of M<sup>r</sup> Veits and Symsbury: poor M<sup>r</sup> Gibbs I doubt has nothing to depend on but the Society's Salary, what they hoped for, was that the Society might give M<sup>r</sup> Veit's 20 pounds p<sup>r</sup> An<sup>m</sup> to minister there as his assistant, as they did M<sup>r</sup> Greateon at Boston to assist D<sup>r</sup> Cutler: but this I doubt is hardly practicable; I wish it was. I hear they are about building a Church at Hartford the Chief town in Connecticut, and hope to have a considerable Congregation there and several people of note, where, if a Mission were opened it might include the care of Symsbury 15 miles off.—By the way the good D<sup>r</sup> is yet living: the mistake was occasioned by the Death of one D<sup>r</sup> Cutler a physician of that town.

I am much grieved that we have so soon lost so worthy a Bishop of London.<sup>1</sup> I doubt how that important station will again be so well supplied. I also lament the loss of good D<sup>r</sup> Bearcroft, and am very glad his place is supplied by so excellent a gentleman as D<sup>r</sup> Burton, from whom I have received a kind letter.

M<sup>r</sup> Camp hath never returned Northward. It is said he hath got a good living in Virginia. I know nothing of M<sup>r</sup> Lindsay or M<sup>r</sup> Craig. I have heard a very bad character of M<sup>r</sup> Ross, but as I am much a stranger to the affairs of the Church beyond New Jersey, I must beg leave to refer Your Grace to D<sup>r</sup> Smith, who can better inform you, and perhaps about M<sup>r</sup> Moir of whom I know nothing, nor have I any correspondent in that Colony by whom I could inform myself.

M<sup>r</sup> Martin of South Carolina was once here,—I took him to be a worthy man, and am glad he hath acted so honorably with the Society, which I believe others in that Colony might do as well as he, where the Government have so well provided. Your Grace doubtless judges right with regard to many of our Layity, who in many places do not do what they might, and what others do; but in most places within my knowledge, I believe they do as much as they well can, and some much more in proportion, than other Denominations; as in Connecticut;—particularly at Stratford; and now at Middletown they engage 50 Ster. p<sup>r</sup> an<sup>m</sup> to one M<sup>r</sup> Jarvis, who is preparing to go for them next fall.—I have been long suspicious about the Barbadoes Affairs, and am glad they are likely to be so thoroughly canvassed.

As to Rye (though I have once or twice put them upon applying to the Society,) I suppose the Reason why they have not, has been, because they have been trying and desirous to get one they know, in these parts, but have not yet succeeded, and they are too much governed

<sup>1</sup> Right Rev. THOMAS HAYTER was consecrated bishop of Norwich in 1749; translated to the See of London in 1761, and died soon after. *Perceval's Succession*, 718. — Ed.



by an overbearing gentleman there, a member of our Assembly,<sup>1</sup> who I doubt not has but little regard to religion, which was also the case at West Chester.—As to what Mr Wetmore writes, the case is this:—The Government formerly, when they had a religious Governor, established the Church in several parishes, viz. N. York with a Salary of 100 p<sup>r</sup> an<sup>m</sup> Statten Island, West Chester, Rye, Jamaica and Hempstead with 50 p<sup>r</sup> an<sup>m</sup> to be raised from the people; to whom by their Chh-Wardens and Vestry, the Law gives a right of presentation. The Society adds 50 St. but if they send them a Minister, he must also be chosen by the people and inducted by order of the Governor, in order to be intitled to their Salary. As on the other hand, they may chuse and present a Minister, and he is inducted, and then they apply to the Society for their Salary. And there never was but one Instance wherein the Society refused, viz. at Statten Island, because the person inducted had not had the Society's leave to remove.

I hoped Rye would have chosen young Mr Wetmore to succeed his father, whom the people generally like, but there is such a faction against him, influenced by the person above mentioned (tho' without any good reason) that I doubt it will not do. I wish instead of Amboy Mr Palmer had been appointed there, who would doubtless have been accepted and inducted: and this I wish may yet be done: because Amboy had so much set their hearts on Mr McKean, that they are utterly averse, I hear, to having Mr Palmer,<sup>2</sup> who is equally averse to going thither, and will be very unhappy if he does. I expect every day an earnest petition both from him and his people at Litchfield to the Society, that he may be continued where he is. And indeed it is highly expedient he should; as there is vastly more duty to do in that County than Mr Davis can do with advantage, and indeed full enough for them both.—But if the Society cannot afford to continue him where he is, I beg he may be appointed at Rye.—

I wish, when there is a new Bishop of London, that Commissaries may soon be appointed who, among other things should direct the Clergy to take turns to preach and administer in such vacant places.—And I beg leave, my Lord, to observe, that it is a great pity, when patents are granted, as they often are, for large Tracts of Land, no provision is made for Religion or Schools. I wish therefore Instructions were given to our Governours never to grant patents for Townships or villages, or large Manours, without obliging the Patentees to sequester a Competent portion for the support of Religion and Education.—

I am ashamed to trouble your Grace with such long letters and have endeavoured to be as brief as possible on every subject, yet, I am got to a tedious length, for which I humbly ask your pardon, and will only beg leave to observe one thing further. perhaps it may be only meer conjecture; but some worthy persons in these parts are not without apprehensions concerning a certain gentleman gone to England from America this winter whose ambition is remarkable, that (excepting there would have been a peace,) one of his designs was, to have endeavoured to be made the first Bishop of America: which, if it could be supposed to take place, would be very disgusting to the generality of the Church in these parts, nor can it be imagined that any one from hence would be acceptable.

<sup>1</sup> JOHN THOMAS of Rye was eldest son of the Rev. John Thomas of Hempstead, and first Judge of Westchester county, of which he was one of the representatives at this time in the Assembly. He became, subsequently, an active Whig and supporter of the Revolution, whereby he made himself obnoxious to the King's forces, a party of which seized him in his bed on the 23d of March, 1777, and lodged him in the custody of the Provost at New-York. Here he lingered until the 2d of May following, when death released him from his sufferings. He was interred in Trinity Church yard. *Bolton's History of Westchester County*, I., 255. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> See note, VI., 910.



I conclude with my humblest thanks for your Grace's prayers and Blessing, and begging the continuance of them; and with repeating my most earnest prayers for Your Health and long Life, being truly, with the most affectionate veneration, my dear Lord, Your Grace's,

Most obliged and

most dutiful Son and

most obedient

humble Servant

(signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON.

P. S. Since my last, the Gov<sup>rs</sup> of our Coll. are much revived; and as one Dr Jay,<sup>1</sup> an ingenious young physician, is going home on some affairs of his own, we are thinking to employ him to solicit a collection for our College; but it is some discouragement, that Dr Smith is beforehand with us in going to beg for his.—I have lately received a Discourse of one Mr Stiles,<sup>2</sup> which is pretty curious, especially his numbers toward the end. I believe he has endeavoured to be exact, but doubtless there are more Episcopalians. This man was once upon the point of conforming to the Chh, but was dissuaded by his friends, and became much of Latitudinarian. He was formerly a Tutor of Newhaven College for whom I had a good regard.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 67. ]

New York May 11<sup>th</sup> 1762

My Lords

I have the honour of your Lordships letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of January, & I am under great obligations to your Lordships for the trouble you have taken to inform me so particularly, in relation to the allowance to be made to the Lieutenant Governor, in the absence of the Governor.

<sup>1</sup> Sir JAMES JAY, Knight, fourth son of Peter Jay and Mary Van Cortland, and brother of the Hon. John Jay, was born in 1732, and bred a physician. On his visit to England, as agent of the New-York College, he received the honor of Knighthood. He remained several years in England, where he became involved in a suit in Chancery, arising out of the collection for the college, but returned to this country previous to the Revolution, and died 20th October, 1815. There are two letters in print from him, connected with his visit to England. One entitled "A Letter to the Governors of the College of New-York, respecting the collection that was made in 1762 and 1763 for the colleges of Philadelphia and New-York. To which are added, Explanatory Notes, and an Appendix, containing the Letters which passed between Mr. Alderman Trecothick and the Author. London: Kearsley. 1771." 8vo pp. vi., 42. The other, "A Letter to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, &c., in respect to the collection that was made for the colleges of New-York and Philadelphia. By Sir James Jay, Knt., M. D., being a Vindication of the Author, occasioned by the groundless Insinuations, and very illiberal Behaviour of Mr. Alderman Trecothick, with Authentic Evidence. London: Kearsley. 1774." 8vo. pp. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. EZRA STILES, D. D., afterwards President of Yale College. He was born in 1727, and died in 1795. A life of him by Dr. Abiel Holmes, was published in 1798, of which an abstract will be found in Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*. The Discourse alluded to in the text, is entitled, "Discourse at Bristol, April 23, 1760, on the Christian Union, before the Reverend Convention of the Congregational Clergy of the Colony of Rhode Island. With a list of New England Churches." 8vo. Boston, 1761.—Ed.

I thought I could not have made a mistake in Governor Hunter's Instructions because the President of the Council in the Governor's absence refused to pay any part of the perquisites, & my memory fails me extremely if Mr Burnet did not tell me of the Interpolation which I mentioned. Mr Cosby when he came over demanded half the Sallary & half the perquisites from the date of his commission to the time of his arival & commenced a suit upon it but did not recover. This gave the first rise to the violent publick dissensions which happened during his administration, & which did not end 'till his death. This was the reason that the Assembly gave the Sallary afterwards to the Commander in Chief at the time, without continuance to his successor. I shall give your Lordships no further trouble on this head, as, in all probability, it can be of no consequence to me.

I shall, my Lords, continue to do my duty, to the best of my ability, tho' my adherence to His Majesty's Instructions in opposition to the humours of the Assembly has been, & will be prejudicial to my private interest. I have not the usual allowance for contingent services but defray the expence of them out of my private pocket. When Mr Mouckton returns, tho' I retain the character of Lieutenant Governor & preside in Council, it will not be of one farthing advantage to me, but increase my private expences. This is a case peculiar to this Government for in all the others the Lieutenant Governor has provision made for him. Your Lordships may judge whether this can be of advantage in a Government immediately under the Crown & by its situation more conspicuous and perhaps of more consequence than any other of the Colonies on the Continent.

We have lately discovered a most pernicious trade carried on from the Colonies to the French Settlements on Hispaniola. I am now collecting all the proofs I can obtain some of which came to my knowlege only yesterday, I shall communicate them to the Attorney General that he may take the proper steps to prosecute the offenders. As the Ennemy have several squadrons in the West Indies I have, at Sir Jeffery Amherst's request, put a stop to the exportation of provisions from this Port, least the ennemy should be supplied by our Traders who consider nothing but their private profit.

By my letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of last month, I informed your Lordships, that the Assembly had complied with His Majesty's Requisitions of the 12<sup>th</sup> of December, as to numbers; but in a manner, which I thought would not be effectual for the purpose. Last year & every year preceeding the bounty to incourage volunteers to enlist was fifteen pounds currency to every man, this year it is reduced to ten pounds, tho' I could not with the bounty of fifteen pound compleat the number last year. As the number of men inlisted, in the beginning of this month, came far short of the number required, I called the Assembly on the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month & by a Message, a Copy of which is in the inclosed printed paper, I earnestly pressed them, to give farther incouragement to volunteers, & to compell idle persons into the King's service, who have no visible way of living & are injurious to the community, of which great numbers are in this place, at this time, but without success, as appears by their resolutions, a copy of which is likewise in the inclosed printed paper. The Assembly persisted in the opinion that a sufficient number would inlist, on what grounds I know not, I therefor adjourned them for 12 days, in hopes that if they then discovered that they had gon on false presumptions, as I believe they have, they will then come into measures necessary to compleat the numbers expected of this Province. Nothing in my power has been wanting to have compleated the numbers before this time, of which I am confident Sir Jeffery Amherst is satisfied. He resides in this place & knows every thing that passes. I shall continue my utmost indeavours tho' I

am affrayed they will be absolutely ineffectual as to recruiting the regulars without a law to compel the idle vagrants into the King's service

I am with greatest submission

My Lords

Your most obedient

The Right honourable the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade & Plantations.

& faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Chief Justice Prat to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 71. ]

Milton May 24. 1762

My Lords

In October last, I had the honor to receive His Majesty's Mandamus, directing the Commander in Chief of New York, to commission me as Chief Justice of that Colony; & soon after was informed that many prisoners had been long confined, at New York, without any trial, by reason of some scruples of the Puisne Judges, & that all those Judges had absolutely determined to resign unless their commissions were renewed *During Good Behavior*, which the Commander in Chief, in obedience to the Royal Instructions, peremptorily & finally refused to comply with.

The duty that I owe to His Majesty's Commands, & the Danger of the Annihilation of the Supreme Court, at New York, would not permit me to consult my own Interest, but obliged me abruptly to leave my Habitation, at Boston, abandon my business, the Profession of the Law, & proceed immediately to New York; where I undertook my office, and have already officiated two terms.

My Lords, I am here so unfortunate as to find, that I have no prospect of any support.

About 50 years ago, the Salary of the Chief Justice was £300 New York Currency p<sup>r</sup> an. By the Influence of a Gentleman, against whom the Chief Justice gave a Judgment, it was reduced once to £250, but never exceeded the nominal sum of £300.

When this sum was first granted, it would better support a Ch. Justice than £400 sterling would now; such has been the difference in the mode of living, & augmentation of the Expence of supporting a Family with Decency: And the Ability of the Colony is, I suppose, triple what it then was.

Yet, notwithstanding the notoriety of these Facts, & the pressing Recommendation of the Lieut. Governor, who then comanded in Chief, The Assembly inflexibly resolved to grant no salary to the Judges, unless their commission were granted during good Behavior, & even then, to grant the Chief Justice no more than £300 New York Currency; this is 85 or 90 p<sup>r</sup> cent. worse than sterling.

All the other Grants in the Colony are made, while mine has been denied by three successive Sessions of the Assembly.

I have nothing to hope from this or any future Assembly, & have no fortune of my own to support me while I serve for nothing.



My Lords, I flatter myself that my Zeal for His Majesty's service is equal to any of his best Subjects; I have quitted & lost as considerable Practice in the Law, as any in North America; yet I never should regret my loss, if I might have a Salary sufficient for a Decent support for my Family; and that Salary so secured as that I should, in no case, be in Danger of being deprived of it, for doing my Duty in my Office.

I have no Disputes with the Assembly, nor Animosity with one Individual in the Colony: I only suffer in His Majesty's cause, & by a Disinclination in the Assembly to give an adequate support, to an Officer, while His Majesty takes upon him to appoint that Officer; & to give any support to such Officer, untill His Majesty renounces his right of removing him, & to render him dependent upon them alone.

The Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor has already pointed out to your Lordships an expedient to prevent His Majesty's power of appointing a Chief Justice useless, & mentioned a Fund for this support. The Quit Rents.

The Quit Rents My Lords are a Sufficient Fund for a Salary of £4 or £500 Sterling p<sup>r</sup> an. without breaking in upon any prior Appropriations; And if duly attended will soon yield a surplus for other purposes.

Such a Salary, independent of the People, & competent for the support of a Chief Justice, could not fail to render the Office of great service to his Majesty, in securing the Dependence of the Colony on the Crown, & its commerce to Great Britain.

Permit me My Lords to hint some reasons for this Opinion.

1 All the Colonies are vested with Legislative Powers, by which the Systems of their Laws are gradually varying from the Common Law, & so diminishing, in that Respect, their connection with the Mother Country: And if the Judgments of the Supreme Executive Courts, are only vague and desultory Decisions of Ignorant Judges; it must augment the mischief; & this cannot be guarded against, without some such establishment for the King's Judge, as to render the Office worth a Lawyer's Acceptance.

2. All kinds of violations of the Laws for regulating the Plantation Trade, & securing the Commerce thereof to Great Britain, are either determinable in the Supreme Court, or in Courts under its Controul; if therefore the Chief Justice is either ignorant of Law, or has such connections with & Dependence upon leading men in the Colony, as to deter him from doing his duty; the Law will so far be rendered inefficacious; And this Danger will always subsist, while the post is so provided for, that none but men of fortune, family & connections in the Colony will accept it.

3 His Majesty's lands can never be so safe from Intrusions & Ineroachments, especially when the Intruders are men of Influence in the Colony, if the Chief Justice depends on the annual & precarious Grants of an Assembly.

4 A Governor must derive great assistance, in His Majesty's service, from a Chief Justice, who holds both his office & salary from the Crown, & is not necessitated to attach himself to a popular party.

And if any Governors should be, in any instance, either forgetful or negligent of their Masters Interest. The Crown may still have some remaining security in a Ch. Justice, especially if Governors were not allowed to remove or suspend such Officer, without His Majesty's special order; or some other controul was provided to prevent a perversion of their Power, to answer any private end foreign, or repugnant to His Majesty's Interest; as it is generally believed, at New York, was once the case *there*, & is one reason the People of this Colony are so inflamed

against commissions during His Majesty's pleasure, or, as they considered it, *During the Governor's Pleasure.*

5 Law & the Peoples Rights & Properties with the Prosperity of the Colony, as far as it depends on the security of these, will be in Danger, where a Judge, without peril of his subsistence cannot, sometimes, do his duty between Partys, as may be the case in a Colony where there is such an unequal Distribution of Property, & consequently of Power & Influence in the Assembly, as in fact exists at New York.

I thought it my duty thus to lay the State of my Office, & my unfortunate situation, before your Lordships; & shall presume no further, but humbly submit the whole to your consideration.

I am my Lords

yourships most dutifull & obedient  
humble servant

To the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

B. PRAT<sup>1</sup>

*Report of the Lords of Trade on the Memorial of the Albany Merchants.*

[New-York Papers, Q. No. 191.]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

May it please your Majesty.

The principal merchants residing in the City of Albany in your Majesty's Province of New York have lately transmitted to us a petition setting forth that since the conquest of Niagara His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst has granted ten thousand acres of land at the Niagara carrying Place to Captain Rutherford, Lieutenant Duncan and others, who have already settled thereon, that such settlement will not only reduce thousands of Your Majesty's subjects to want, by monopolizing the Indian trade, but will also be of the greatest prejudice to your Majesty's interests and the welfare of your colonies, by giving offence to the confederated Nations of Indians, the lands so granted being part of those reserved to the said Indians for their hunting grounds, by the solemn treaty of 1726. We therefore beg leave humbly to lay before your Majesty the annexed copy of the said petition,<sup>2</sup> and to represent to Your Majesty thereupon

That we have not received from any Officer of your Majesty in America or other person whatever any information respecting such grant or settlement as the petitioners allege to have been made; and we the rather incline to hope that the Petitioners have proceeded upon misinformation & mistake, as we do not know of any authority being given to S<sup>r</sup> Jeffery Amherst to grant lands in those parts. If however it shall appear upon enquiry that such grant

<sup>1</sup> BENJAMIN PRAT, the second last of the Chief Justices of the Province of New-York, was a native of Boston, where he was born in the year 1709, of poor parents. He was bred a mechanic, but having lost a limb, he turned his attention to other pursuits. He graduated at Harvard with distinction in 1737; acquired considerable reputation afterwards at the bar; and represented Boston in the General Court from 1757 to 1759. He was highly esteemed by Governor Pownall, through whose influence, on his return to England, Mr. Prat was appointed Chief Justice of New-York, which station, however, he retained only a short time. He died January 5, 1763, aged 53 years. His wife was a daughter of Judge Auchmuty. *Allen*.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 488.

and settlement have actually been made, we cannot but agree with the Petitioners that it will be productive of many mischievous and dangerous consequences, and therefore we think it our duty humbly to offer our opinion that for the several reasons set forth in our humble representation to Your Majesty of the 11<sup>th</sup> November last, your royal orders should be immediately dispatched, requiring the said settlers forthwith to quit and remove from the said Lands.

All which is most humbly submitted

SANDYS  
SOAME JENYNS  
ED. BACON  
EDMOND THOMAS  
GEO. RICE  
JOHN ROBERTS.

Whitehall  
June 3<sup>d</sup> 1762.

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 194. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor of New York.

Sir.

Since our letter to you of the 11<sup>th</sup> of December and that of the 20<sup>th</sup> of January last, a duplicate of which we inclose, we have received yours of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of January and 11<sup>th</sup> of February, together with the Papers referred to in them.

It was with the greatest concern that we found the Lower House of Assembly still persisting in so undutifull and indecent an opposition to His Majesty's just rights and authority, in the case of the tenure of the Judges Commissions; that they had taken such unjustifiable measures to compell Government to acquiesce in their unreasonable pretensions and that the Puisné Judges had, by their conduct and declarations, in some degree countenanced and supported this measure. Under these circumstances it became our duty humbly to lay before His Majesty the whole of the proceedings upon this business, and we doubt not but that, in consequence therof, proper measures will be taken to support His Majesty's authority, and to preserve the dignity & independence of the Courts of Justice; and as the character of Mr Pratt, of which we have received the most favourable impression, and his discreet and steady behaviour upon this occasion, has certainly entitled him to His Majesty's favour, we have stated his case fully to his Majesty, and have recommended his having a temporary allowance out of the Quit Rents, as proposed in your letter to us.

Your conduct in steadily adhering to your instructions, by repeatedly refusing your Assent to the Bill sent up from the Lower House, for making the Judges commissions during good behaviour, is very much to be commended; but at the same time we cannot but be of opinion that you ought also, at all events, to have refused your assent to the Bill for the payment of the Officers salaries from September 1761. to Sept<sup>r</sup> 1762: for altho we are sensible that great inconveniency must have followed from it, to yourself and the rest of the Officers, yet no



conditions, of that kind at least, ought to have induced you to acquiesce in such an unprecedented and unjust attack upon the authority of the Crown, and as it appears to us in this light, we have thought it our duty humbly to propose that this Act may be repealed.

We have fully consider'd the Act for the better collecting His Majesty's Quit Rents & for partition of Lands; and we think from what appears upon the face of it, and from an examination of what has passed upon former Laws of the like kind, that it is not proper to be confirmed; but we have declined making any report upon it, untill it shall have undergone the examination of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury within whose department it more particularly lies, to determine upon propositions that so materially affect His Majesty's property & revenue.

When their Lordships, to whom we have referred the Act, shall have favoured us with their sentiments upon it, we shall lay it before His Majesty; in the mean time we are sorry to be under the necessity of expressing our disapprobation of your conduct in assenting to a law to take place immediately, the execution of which, by the principles of the constitution as well as by the tenor of His Majesty's Instructions, does in so many particulars require to be suspended untill His Majesty's pleasure could have been known: and your conduct herein is the more exceptionable, as so many laws of this kind have been repealed and some of them upon representations of your own while acting in another Station.

We acquainted you in our letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of December last that we had, in consequence of the doubts which had arisen upon the case of the Sampson Privateer, in respect to the want of a Jurisdiction in the Plantations for the tryal and punishment of murder committed within the Admirals Jurisdiction, laid a state of the case, with some questions upon it, before the Advocate, Attorney, and Solicitor General.

The inclosed Copy of that case and questions with their answers thereto, will shew you what their opinion has been; in consequence of which we thought it our duty to propose to His Majesty that a Bill should be prepared to be laid before Parliament for the more effectual trial and punishment in the Colonys of persons guilty of murder within the Admiral's Jurisdiction; and having received His Majesty's commands to prepare such a Bill, with the advice and assistance of His Majesty's Advocate Attorney & Solicitor General, we have now that matter under our consideration

We are, Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servants

SANDYS<sup>1</sup>

ED: BACON

EDM<sup>d</sup> THOMAS

GEORGE RICE

JOHN ROBERTS.

Whitehall

June 11, 1762.

<sup>1</sup> SAMUEL SANDYS was the son of Sir Samuel of Ombersley, and was returned to Parliament in 1717, as representative for Worcestershire. He was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1741; made a peer by the title of Baron Sandys in 1743; Cofferer of the household in 1747; Chief Justice in Eyre, 1759; was first Lord of Trade 1761—1763, and Speaker of the House of Lords. He died 21 April, 1770. — ED.

*Representation of the Lords of Trade respecting the Assembly of New-York.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 200. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty.

Since our humble Representation to your Majesty of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of November last upon the measures which had been in agitation in Your Majesty's Province of New York for granting lands upon the Mohawk River and for making the Judges Commissions during good behaviour; We have received two other letters from the Lieutenant Governor of that Province dated the 11<sup>th</sup> of January and 11<sup>th</sup> of February last containing a further account of the proceedings of the General Assembly with respect to the latter point. In these letters M<sup>r</sup> Colden informs us that Benjamin Pratt Esq. having arrived in October with your Majesty's royall warrant to be Chief Justice during Your Majesty's pleasure and his residence, his commission had accordingly been pass'd under the Seal of the Province; that the Assembly notwithstanding the knew the tenor of M<sup>r</sup> Pratt's commission and of Your Majesty's instruction, that Commissions to the Judges be granted during Your Majesty's pleasure only, absolutely refused to grant any salary to the Chief Justice or to any of the Judges, unless their commissions were made during good behaviour, & resolved, even in that case, to grant such salary for one year only: and in conformity to these Resolutions it appears that in December an Act was passed *for the Payment of the Salaries and Services of the Several Officers of the Government to the first day of September 1762*, in which a certain salary is granted for the year to the Chief Justice and to each of the three inferior Judges, on the express condition that they hold their Commissions during good behaviour.

The Assembly at the same time sent up to the Council the same Bill to which the Lieutenant Governor had twice refused his assent, for making the Judges Commissions during good behaviour. But the Council after a conference in which they endeavoured (but without effect) to persuade the Assembly to add a clause to make the Judges Salaries of the same continuance with their commissions, refused their concurrence to the Bill.

With respect to the conduct of the Judges themselves during these transactions it appears by the minutes of Council that the three Judges of the Supreme Court presented a memorial to the Lieutenant Governor reciting the commissions formerly granted to them by the late Governor during good behaviour and praying, for the reasons therein set forth, that new commissions of the like tenor might be granted to them; that the memorial being consider'd in Council two of the Memorialists at first declared they would not accept of new commissions different in their tenor from those they then held, but afterwards upon M<sup>r</sup> Colden's promise that if, by any future instruction he should be authorized to grant those offices during good behaviour, he would accept their resignations and reappoint accordingly, They did on those terms accept commissions during pleasure, in consideration only that their refusal so to do might impede the public justice. It appears however by M<sup>r</sup> Colden's letters that when the above mentioned Act was passed, with a proviso which deprived them of salary they declined acting as Judges, and had it not been for the disinterested zeal of M<sup>r</sup> Pratt, the administration of Justice had totally ceased in the Province.

In our above mentioned Representation of the 11<sup>th</sup> of November last, we have so fully stated to your Majesty our humble opinion upon the impropriety of appointing the Judges in the Colonies during good behaviour, and the conduct of the Assembly in persisting to contest this point and at the same time to refuse making any other than an annual provision for the Judges; that we have only at present to lay before Your Majesty the annexed Copies and extracts of Mr Colden's letters, of the Act, and of the Minutes of Council above mentioned; humbly submitting to your Majesty's consideration what measures it may be proper to take, in a matter of so great importance to the maintenance of your Majesty's just authority, to the rights and property of the subject, and consequently to the Peace and Prosperity of the Province.

But besides the importance of this question consider'd in its general light, we humbly conceive it to merit attention with respect to the particular hardship which it lays on Mr Pratt, who, as Mr Colden observes was at the top of his profession at Boston, where he left a beneficial practice, and came to New York with the best character as well with regard to his integrity as to his skill in the law and now acts alone in the service of the publick at the expence of his private fortune, as we entirely agree in opinion with the Lieutenant Governor that if this gentleman be neglected under so singular a hardship, the consequences will greatly affect your Majesty's authority in every part of Administration, we cannot but adopt and humbly recommend Mr Colden's proposition that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant to Mr Pratt as Chief Justice of New York a salary out of your Quit Rents in that Province. But lest such appointment be construed by the Assembly to release them from all further obligation of providing for a Chief Justice, in futuro, we would humbly propose that the grant of such salary be made not generally to the office of Chief Justice, but confin'd personally to Mr Pratt and to continue only untill the Assembly shall return to a sense of their duty and make proper provision for the Chief Justice's support.

We further beg leave humbly to observe to your Majesty that however commendable Mr Colden's conduct has been in persisting to refuse his Assent to the Bill for making the Judges commissions during good behaviour, he appears to us to be blameable in having pass'd the Act, *for Payment of Salaries and Services &c* whereby the salaries of the Judges are made dependent on a condition expressly contrary to Your Majesty's instruction in that behalf. To justify his conduct in this particular Mr Colden alleges that the proviso was inserted in hopes that for that reason he should reject the Bill, and that he thought it more eligible to suffer the Judges only to be without salaries than that they and all the other officers of government should be without any support. But however desirable it may be that Your Majesty's officers be duly and regularly provided for, it appears to us so very expedient that your Majesty's disapprobation of the conduct of the legislature in passing that Act should be expressed, that we think it our duty humbly to lay the said Act before your Majesty for your royal disallowance.

All which is most humbly submitted

Whitehall  
June 11, 1762

SANDYS  
ED: BACON  
EDMOND THOMAS  
GEO: RICE.



*Archbishop Secker to the Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[ "American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123. III., No. 275. ]

Lambeth Oct. 6 1762.

Good D<sup>r</sup> Johnson

I am fallen again into my old fault of not answering your letters regularly. But indeed I have more business here than my declining health will permit me to go through as I ought. On the first of June the Gout seized my right hand and disabled me. I think for more than two months, from subscribing my name with it: nor is it well yet. When it grew better, my left hand was attacked: and as that mended, the same distemper laid hold on one Foot and Knee, of which it is now in possession, not without threatening the other. But God's will be done. I hope Mr Cooper is or soon will be with you, and will answer Expectation. I gave him such advice as I could: the best part of it was that he should consult you, and follow your direction in every thing. I promised him to send some books after him: and they were carried for that purpose three days ago to D<sup>r</sup> Jay's lodgings. You will be pleased to tell him this, and to add, that they are only what I told him they would, such Duplicates from amongst my books, good or bad, as I could spare: for I have lent the rest of my duplicates to my Chaplains. D<sup>r</sup> Jay hath undoubtedly acquainted you with what hath been done for the two Colleges. I approved the proposal of a joint Collection, as the best way for both. Lord President opposed your College very strongly; and engaged Lord Egremont, Secretary of State, to take the same side: but at last we got the better. D<sup>r</sup> Smith hath acted very honorably and disinterestedly in this whole affair: and was well contented with my procuring twice as much from the King for New York College, as for Philadelphia, because the former is a Royal Foundation, and hath no other Patron. A Pamphlet, hath been sent me from America, entitled, "The real advantages which Ministers and People may enjoy by conforming to the Church of England faithfully considered and impartially represented." It is written in a ludicrous manner, yet with strange virulence, and seems likely enough to do great mischief. Yet surely the Dissenters, who have any seriousness, cannot approve such a method of writing against us: at least, they might be brought to disapprove it, by the prudent use of very mild and friendly Remonstrances, setting forth the uncharitableness of such treatment, and the injustice of such Representations. With the author himself stronger Expostulations, yet grave and gentle ones, might be used: begging him, with fit expressions of concern for him, on some of the more flagrant enormities of his pen, to consider what spirit he is of. Some good persons, who are not of our Church, one should hope, might thus be brought over to take part with us. And other ways of answering, I apprehend, would do us little good, but perhaps much harm. The American facts, alleged or alluded to, are so many, that no one who hath not been a good while in our Colonies, can make a full answer, unless more than ordinary pains were taken to furnish him with materials. And an intemperate answer would be, and a defective one might be, worse than none. I had not an opportunity of knowing the contents of this Pamphlet, till D<sup>r</sup> Smith was gone out of town to the North. A letter hath been brought me, within these two days, from Mr Caner, dated Aug. 9. with an Act of the Assembly at Boston, passed in May, to incorporate a Society for propagating Christian knowledge amongst the Indians of North America. I know none of them by their names, unless the Author of the just mentioned Pamphlet be one: but I observe, that no persons are members by virtue of their Stations: if any of them be Churchmen, I

should be glad to know it. They are accountable only to themselves: and therefore may abuse their trust as much as they please; and I should fear they would abuse it to the disadvantage of our Society, and the strengthening of the Dissenting interest. If the matter appears in the same light to our American friends, I wonder we had not earlier notice of it. The Act lies before the Board of Trade here, and might possibly have received the Royal Assent some time ago. Were our Society to oppose it, we should be charged with doing little or nothing ourselves and hindering others. The danger of its hurting our Society will, I doubt, affect but few of our great men: and that of its benefitting the Dissenters, not very many. Invectives against it by our Missionaries will be of no use on several accounts: particularly because its Fate will be decided here; where possibly we may be able to stop it for the present, though I am not sure of that: and much less, what can be done, if it comes back another year amended. I should have said one thing more about the Pamphlet, which is more material than all the rest, that whereinsoever we are justly accused, Clergy or People, we should own it and mend, which is the only good answer in such cases. The Society hath not met since May. I have been ill; and the Bishops, the Secretary, and the Treasurer out of Town. In the mean time I have paid the Bill of 500<sup>l</sup> from your College out of my own pocket. And I think I have secured from the Crown 170<sup>l</sup> for the damages done by the soldiers to Mr Charltons Glebe in Staten Island. I hope there will not fail to be a Meeting next week. Whether I shall be able to go to it is very doubtful. But at least I promise myself, that I shall talk over matters with such as can go. And then I purpose, God willing, to write you another Letter. For there are several particulars in yours of last April relative to Society Affairs, yet unanswered by me. But I must go no further at present. Only I assure you, that no one hath hitherto intimated to me the least desire of the office of a Bishop in America: and that I am entirely of your opinion, that the Crown should not begin with Clergymen already settled there. God bless you, good Dr Johnson. Pray for

Your loving Brother

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*Sir Jeffery Amherst to Mr. Sharpe.*

[New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 81.]

(Copy.)

New York 20<sup>th</sup> October 1762.

Sir

His Majesty's Order in Council bearing date the 19<sup>th</sup> June 1762, with the Papers thereunto annexed relative to the granting a Settlement to Captain Rutherford, Lieu<sup>t</sup> Duncan and others, on the carrying place at Niagara, did not come to my hands 'till within these four days; the Packet having been addressed to me or the Commander in Chief of the Colony of Virginia, for the time being, it went first to Williamsburgh, which is the reason of my not obeying His Majesty's gracious commands, contained in the said Order before now

Before I enter upon the subject of Complaint from the Merchants of Albany, I must beg leave to express the high sense I have of the tenderness shewn by His Majesty and the most honourable Board, upon a supposition, that if I had acted wrong, it might be through want of information, in affairs of that kind; And I humbly hope, it will fully appear, from a perusal



of the enclosed papers that it never was my intention to assume an Authority of granting lands, and that what I have done, was intended solely for the good of the Publick in general.

In the Month of April 1761 I received a Memorial from Captain Rutherford, Lieu<sup>t</sup> Duncan and others; requesting me to make application that they might have a Grant of land, on the carrying place at Niagara, and setting forth, that great advantages must accrue to the Trade in general by settling these lands: in the mean time, they begged to have leave to send up some families, cattle &c<sup>a</sup>. I was so thoroughly convinced of the utility of such a proposal, that I readily granted them a Permit, until the King's pleasure was known, but without the least clause, that could entitle them to an exclusive right of trade; as the Trade to the Detroit and throughout every part of His Majesty's Dominions on this Continent, has been entirely free, ever since the reduction of Canada.

I was so far from thinking that I had a right to grant these lands, that I immediately reported what I had done to His Majesty's Secretary of State: an Extract of my letter on that Subject is enclosed (N<sup>o</sup> 1) and Copies of the Memorial and permit therein referred to (N<sup>o</sup> 2 & 3) but as I received no Answer, the Memorialists have only made a small temporary settlement, as I constantly assured them, that I could give no further title, until the King's pleasure was signified concerning their Rights; I have now in obedience to His Majesty's commands, sent orders to the Commandant at Niagara, to put a stop to any settlements on the carrying place, and I enclose a copy of these Orders (N<sup>o</sup> 4) which I humbly trust will meet with His Majesty's Approbation.

If I may take the liberty, I can't but say, I am still of the same opinion, respecting the utility and advantage, that will arise to the Country by settling the lands in Question, and I beg leave, with the utmost deference and submission to the most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board to represent that, nothing can be more conducive to the security of the distant posts, the advantage of the traders in general (while every one that adheres to the rules prescribed are free to trade with the Indians) and of those whose affairs require them to pass and repass, than the peopling of the Tracts of Land, situated near our Forts and particularly such a spot as that of the carrying place at Niagara.

That the August Board may be thoroughly informed of every step that has been taken by me in regard to lands in this country since I had the honour to command, I herewith transmit copies of the Applications that have been made to me with my answers thereto & likewise Extracts of my letters to His Majesty's Secretary of State, informing him of these applications and what I had done thereon: This necessarily makes my answer more prolix than I could wish, but I hope the most honourable Board will excuse this fault, as it is occasioned by a desire of acquainting them with the whole of my proceedings, with respect to my giving permission to settle any lands in this Country.

It appearing to me absolutely necessary to fix certain boundaries at each of the principal Forts, for the reasons urged in my letter to the Secretary of State (N<sup>o</sup> 5) I accordingly gave orders to the respective Commandants, mentioning the particular limits to each Fort, a Copy of those to the Commandant at Niagara of which similar Orders were given to all the rest, is enclosed (N<sup>o</sup> 6) As the fixing these Boundaries were purely intended for the King's service, without the least view of Advantage to any private person whatever, I flatter myself they were approved of by His Majesty, as I never had any answer to the contrary.

The permit to Jeffery Cooper (N<sup>o</sup> 7) to occupy the small Post at half way Brook between Fort Edward & Lake George, was only intended for the preservation of the Barracks &c. that



had been erected there, & for the conveniency of Passengers, as I judged it unnecessary after the reduction of Canada; to leave a Garrison at that Post.

The Permit (N<sup>o</sup> 8) to John Macomb is meant wholly for the conveniency of Passengers, and it has proved to be of great use.

N<sup>o</sup> 9. is an Extract of my letter to the Secretary of State inclosing Memorials from the Provincial Colonels for a Tract of land between Crown Point and Number 4; & from Major of Brigade Skene for a Patent of the Lands between South-Bay, East Bay and the Garrison land of Fort Edward; N<sup>o</sup> 10 & 11. are copies of these Memorials & N<sup>o</sup> 12. my answer to the Provincial Colonels; whereby it will I humbly conceive, appear that I carefully avoided any thing, that could be deemed the granting, or giving any title to lands, until His Majesty was pleased to confirm the same. Nothing has been done by the Provincial Colonels towards the settlement of these lands, although they have several times renewed their application to me, and I have as often reiterated, that they must wait until the King's pleasure was known: The same answer I have given to Major of Brigade Skene concerning the Lands he petitioned for, and altho he has cleared a small part of the Country at South Bay, yet nothing like a fixed Settlement has been made, as I have never granted him permission for that purpose.

I have now related the whole that has passed, in regard to my giving any permission for settling Lands in the Country, 'tho' I have had a multiplicity of applications, which I imagine, may appear less strange from the very vast extent of Country that has been subdued by His Majesty's Arms, and the inclination of people here for settling on new grounds, who for want of being rightly informed have applied to me, & have been constantly told, I could not give grants, and *where* I judged they should make their applications.

I beg leave to add, that since I have had the honour to command in this Country, I have endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to keep up an open and free Trade with the Indians, by giving passes to every one who applied for the same, and who observed the regulations fixed for carrying on the Trade; no Fees, or Rewards of any kind have been permitted to be taken for licences, or passports; I hope I need not say that no Advantage whatever has resulted to myself, but *that* which is indeed the highest of all, a Consciousness, that what I have done is for the Wellfare of His Majesty's Subjects, and the good of the Country in General, in which light, I most humbly I hope, my conduct will appear to the King and the most h<sup>on</sup>ble Board.

I am with great regard

Sir

Your most humble &  
most obedient

William Sharpe Esq<sup>r</sup>

(signed) JEFFERY AMHERST

*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

[ New-York, S. P. O., XCVIII., No. 3. ]

(Copy)

Johnson Hall 18 Decemb. 1762.

Sir

I have the honor to transmit Your Excellency minutes of the proceedings of Lieut. Johnson with the Indians at Onondaga from when he arrived here on the 13<sup>th</sup> instant.

As the Senecas did not attend, he, agreeable to my orders delivered what he was to say to the Chiefs of three of the Six Nations, who not only expressed much concern at the murder, but promised that in case the Senecas did not deliver up the murderers they would go in quest of them themselves; as will appear by the minutes; and from the warmth with which the rest of the Nations express themselves, as well in public as in private conversation, they appear determined to do us justice.

On the return of the Mohawk Deputy, whom I now daily expect from the Senecas Country, I shall be able to acquaint Your Excellency what farther is done therein; and I am confident from the behaviour of the rest of the Nations that they will do every thing in their power for the apprehending the criminals, tho' they expect, and I am likewise of opinion they may meet with some opposition therein, from many of the Senecas, who still retain the advice and councils of the French Emissaries resideing amongst them, and do not yet appear heartily disposed towards us.

Some time ago I received a letter from L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Fauquier<sup>1</sup> of Virginia, with an answer to a message of the Six Nations, desiring a passage thro' that country against the Southern Indians; in which answer he acquaints them of the Peace made between the English and Cherokees, & therefore advised them to pass thro' the back parts of that Government by Shamokin, and so by the Western foot of the Allegany mountains; with all which the Indians were made acquainted at Onondaga.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost esteem

Sir

Your Excellency's &c

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

(Indorsed)

"Copy. Letter from Sir W. Johnson to Sir Jeffery Amherst, Dated Johnson  
 "Hall 18. Dec. 1762. Enclosing a Copy of what passed at a Conference with  
 "the Indians at Onondaga, relative to a murder committed by two Kanestio  
 "Indians on two of His Majesty's subjects near one of the Seneca's Castles"  
 In Sir J. Amherst's of Jan 27, 1763.



*Proceedings of Lieutenant Guy Johnson with the Indians at Onondaga.*

[No. 4.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Guy Johnson Dep<sup>y</sup> Agent for Indian Affairs with the Indians at Onondaga December 1762, in consequence of a murder committed by two Indians of Kanestio on two of His Majesty's subjects who were passing thro' the Seneca's country.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Johnson set out from the German Flatts accompanied by Deputys from the two Mohawk Castles, and an Interpreter.

<sup>1</sup> FRANCIS FAUQUIER became Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia on the 7th June, 1758, and administered the affairs of that Colony until his death, which occurred late in 1767, or in the beginning of 1768. He was well educated, had fine talents; sustained an excellent character, and proved himself a friend of religion, science and liberty. His administration was very popular. — ED.

30<sup>th</sup> Arrived at the Upper Oneida Castle and pursuant to his instructions assembled all the Indians who were at home, and after acquainting them with the cause of his journey, told them, that he expected they would concur with him in insisting on the immediate delivery up of the murderers, at the Onondaga meeting, which they promised to do, expressing great concern at the murder, with the particulars of which they had not been before acquainted. Explained to them His Majesty's instructions to the Governor of New York concerning their lands, and returned them the Belt which they had formerly delivered Sir William Johnson relative thereto, which gave them great satisfaction.

December 1<sup>st</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Johnson arrived at Canowaroghere<sup>1</sup> a new village of the Oneida's, and having acquainted them in like manner as at Oneida, he received a very satisfactory answer.

December 2<sup>d</sup> Arrived at Ganaghsaragey<sup>2</sup> a Tuscarora village where he likewise repeated to Sequaresere the Chief Sachem, what he had said at the other villages; on which Sequaresere acquainted him that he would prepare to attend the Onondaga meeting.

4<sup>th</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Johnson arrived at Onondaga, and was received and wellcomed by the Bunt Chief Sachem of that Nation, who having assembled all the principal Sachems &c who were at home, the Speaker then addressed Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Johnson, and the Mohock's, returning thanks to the Great Being for their safe arrival at so bad a season of the year. Then went thro' the usual ceremonies of plucking the thorns out of their feet and clearing their sight by wiping away the tears which must have been shed on the late melancholy occasion; which he declared gave their nation the utmost concern, and that they saw with regret that notwithstanding they had been continually endeavoring to preserve peace, and adhere to their treaties, there were still some people bad enough to break thro' their solemn engagements and defeat their good intentions.

#### Gave Three Strings

Then Canadagaya, Sachem of the Mohocks, returned the ceremony by clearing their sight, which he said must be overcast likewise on such an occasion; observing with the utmost concern, of what little importance the several engagements were considered by some, since they were so repeatedly infringed as to create many fruitless journeys for the Old People.

#### Three Strings.

Then the Speaker acquainted them that the Cayugas had sent word they were in readiness to attend the meeting on the arrival of the Senecas whom they would accompany to Onondaga.

5<sup>th</sup> Sequaresere, and several other Sachems of Tuscarora arrived; Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Johnson gave the Onondagas notice that as the arrival of the Senecas appeared to be uncertain, he should, agreeable to his instructions, deliver them what he had to say, tomorrow.

At a Meeting held at Onondaga Dec<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> with the Indians there assembled.

PRESENT — Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Guy Johnson Dep<sup>y</sup> Agent for Indian Affairs.  
Mynd<sup>t</sup> Wemp residing as a Smith at Onondaga.  
W<sup>m</sup> Printup, Interpreter.  
The Bunt, & several other Sachems of Onondaga  
Canadagaya and other Sachems of the Mohocks  
Sequaresere & other Sachems of the Tuscaroras.

Teyawarunte Speaker of Onondaga returned Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Johnson the two Strings of Wampum sent thither by Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, saying that on receipt of them they immediately returned from Hunting to hold the Meeting.

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Canaseraga, in the town of Sullivan, Oneida County, N. Y. — Ed.



Then Lieut. Johnson addressed them.

Bretheren of the Nations here assembled.

In pursuance of Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's instructions to me as Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, I came to attend the meeting, which he received advice was to have been immediately held here, in consequence of the late murder committed by two Indians of Kanestio, on two of his Majesty's subjects, with the particulars of which you are now all acquainted. As the barbarous act of hostility has been perpetrated upwards of a month I expected on my arrival to have found the Senecas assembled, especially as they received notice of my journey some time ago; but I am sorry to find that notwithstanding their residence is so much nearer to your Council fire than mine, I have now been here three days without hearing any thing of their approach. I shall therefore deliver you what I have to say on this occasion, which I desire you will lay before the other Nations, as neither my instructions nor the season of the year will admit of my tarrying any longer.

Bretheren. I am hopefull that all you present and all those who are desirous to preserve peace and keep on good terms with the English, must be greatly concerned at the late publick breach thereof, and will take every possible measure for procuring us the just satisfaction which we require. I therefore, agreeable to my orders insist on the two murderers being immediately brought down the country & delivered up to justice, that the law may take its course against them, and thereby deterr others from being guilty of such crimes as claim our highest resentment; which have been often committed without our obtaining any satisfaction, & which we can no longer pass over, or look upon with indifference. If any of the greatest powers in Europe had offered us such treatment, and did not, on our application for redress, immediately deliver up the criminals, we should without further delay take satisfaction ourselves; nor could we be considered as infringers of the peace for revenging an injury when we could not obtain the just redress.

I know that on the arrival of the rest of the Nations they will probably talk of the Old Agreement and that such affairs should be made up without further bloodshed; but imagine to yourselves how very trifling that must appear, and how idle it is to suppose that any sett of people whatsoever should have it in their power to murder their friends at discretion, without meeting with the punishment due to such crimes. In vain are all treaties, in vain all the promises you have so repeatedly made, of preserving peace, whilst every villain is left at liberty to infringe the same every day with impunity. Yourselves would too soon feel the fatal effects of such a toleration, as too many of our people might be thereby induced to return such treatment on the Indians, when they found there was no punishment for the heinous crime of murder, so destructive to peace and civil society.

I know likewise that the other nations may be apt to say that the murderers are fled, or that they cannot find them; but dont suffer yourselves to be deceived by such flagrant excuses, for the English will not be amused or put off with such storys, & they know that these murderers can be immediately apprehended if the Six Nations are disposed to seek for them and give them up.

You have now therefore a very good opportunity to shew your inclination for peace and your resolution to adhere to the treaties so repeatedly ratified and confirmed, and particularly last winter before S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson. I therefore desire you will not omit acquainting the rest of the Nations with what I have said upon this occasion, and remember that 'tis expected and insisted

on, that all those who are willing to preserve peace and the friendship of the English will exert themselves to the utmost, in procuring the murderers to be immediately delivered up, as the only means to prevent us from being reduced to the necessity of taking satisfaction ourselves.

Gave a Belt of 8 Rows.

Bretheren In consequence of the message which you sent last summer from Lancaster to the Governor of Virginia concerning a passage thro' his country against the Southern Indians, he has transmitted an answer in writing, together with a Belt of Wampum, which I now lay before you [Here explained L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Fauquier's answer] and Gave a Belt.

Bretheren. \*The Kings of France and Spain having suffered so severely by the war from the great successes with which the Almighty has crowned the just cause and superiour valour of the English, are at length reduced to solicit for a peace which it is imagined His Britannick Majesty from his natural clemency will be induced to grant them; in which the security and advantage of His Majesty's dominions in North America and the safety welfare and protection of all his faithfull Indian allies will be strictly attended to; and you may rest assured that all those Nations of Indians who shall by their conduct manifest their regard for peace and their esteem for His Majesty's subjects, may rely with the utmost confidence on his favor and protection in all their just rights and possessions agreeable to his Royall Declaration.

Teyawarunte answered

Brother.

We have all paid great attention to what you have now said, with which we are very well pleased and heartily agree to do every thing on our parts at the arrival of the rest of the Indians, towards obtaining your desire; but as the same is a weighty affair and will, together with that concerning the Governor of Virginia, require some deliberation, we therefore request you will remain here tomorrow, untill we have prepared a proper answer to your speech.

To which Lieut. Johnson answered.

Brethren.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season and the great difficulty there will be in travelling with horses thro' the deep snow, I shall nevertheless at your request tarry one day longer, when I hope to receive a full and satisfactory answer to what I have said. Then the Meeting broke up for that Day.

7<sup>th</sup> P. M. The Indians assembled

PRESENT— as before

Teyawarunte addressed Lieu<sup>t</sup> Johnson as follows:—

Brother.

We have all heard and carefully attended to your speech, and must confess the case is very hard, both on your parts and ours, as it cannot but give us the greatest uneasiness to think that a village like Kanestio<sup>1</sup> composed of stragglers from several nations should have presumed to act a part so contrary to the sentiments and inclinations of the confederacy. For our parts

\* This was said to them in consequence of a Report which prevailed that a peace was near at hand, by which Canada would be restored to the French.

<sup>1</sup> In the present county of Steuben, N. Y., where a creek still retains the name. — Ed.

we assure you that we are determined to do every thing in our power for procuring you that satisfaction so justly required, but we are very desirous first to see the Upper Nations to acquaint them with your speech, and be informed what they have done in the affair, and we hope that their present delay is owing to their being in quest of the murderers. Therefore we beg you will rest satisfied untill the arrivall of the Upper Nations, and in case the Senecas do not immediately comply with your demand, you may rest assured we shall without farther delay go in search of the Murderers, being unanimously resolved to pursue them to the utmost distant parts, rather than fail of convincing you how much we disapprove of their barbarity.

Brother. We are strangers to the message which you mention to have been sent to the L<sup>t</sup> Governor of Virginia, and conjecture it must have been done by a few of our warriors who attended the treaty at Lancaster and are at present hunting; so that we cannot know the particulars of what they sent. However we return the L<sup>t</sup> Governor of Virginia many thanks for his kind and friendly answer, and beg leave to assure him of our regard for him and the people of this Province.

Brother. It gives us much satisfaction to hear that an end is likely to be put to war, & that our Brethren the English are likely to make so good a peace, and we return our sincere thanks to the Great King for the regard which he shews for our welfare and the security of our possessions; and we shall at all times be glad to convince him that we have nothing more at heart than the preservation of peace and friendship with all his people in America.

Lieut. Johnson answered them.

Brethren.

I am glad to find you express so much concern on account of the late murder. As it will be your interest to adhere to your present resolutions, which only can convince the English of your desire to preserve their friendship, I must insist you will without further delay take such measures for procuring the murderers as may manifest your strict attention to your repeated engagements, and your inclination to bring any Indians to justice, who shall presume to violate the peace and alliance subsisting between the English and you; for I must assure you that nothing less than the immediate performance of your promise will atone for so barbarous an insult.

Then Lieut. John[son] took his leave of them.

8<sup>th</sup> Early in the morning a Seneca Indian who had been at Onondaga was dispatched with a large Belt of Wampum to his Nation, requiring them, without farther delay, to apprehend and deliver up the Murderers, as nothing else would satisfy the other Nations. The Seneca Indian was accompanied by David a Conajoharee Indian, who was sent in the name of the Mohocks to know the Senecas final resolution.

Shortly after, Lieut. Johnson left Onondaga in order to return back, and arrived at Johnson Hall on the 13<sup>th</sup>

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*Sir Jeffery Amherst to Sir William Johnson.*

[New-York, S. P. O., XCVIII, No. 5.]

Sir.

I am to own your letter of the 1S<sup>th</sup> Instant, inclosing the minutes of Lieut. Johnson's proceedings with the Indians at Onondaga, which I have perused and entirely approve of



every thing he has said on that occasion. The promises of the Indians that were present are fair, and I hope they are sincere, altho' I must confess there appears to be some chicanery in their speaking of Kanestio as a village composed of stragglers from several nations, that thereby they may throw the blame off of any particular tribe. However, I flatter myself that what Lieut. Johnson has said, and the message you have sent to the Senecas will have due weight with them, and that they will for once make good their promises, by delivering up the murderers, which alone can convince us of their sincerity and of their inclination to preserve the friendship which we have so strictly observed on our side, but which they have so repeatedly broken through. I am with great regard, Sir &c

JEFF: AMHERST.

26 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1762.

Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup>

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*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ " American Colonies MS." Lambeth Palace, No. 1128, III., No. 289. ]

King's Coll. N. York Jan 6, 1763.

May it please Your Grace,

I humbly thank you for yours of Oct. 6. and do solicitously sympathize with your Grace, under the repeated attacks of the severe pains with which you are exercised, and earnestly pray to God for your relief and restoration to perfect health. I informed you in my last of M<sup>r</sup> Cooper's arrival and kind reception. He continues to give us good hopes of his being a blessing to our College. I have informed him of what your Grace mentions, of the books you designed him, for which he is very thankful. A joint Collection was doubtless best, as both Colleges were soliciting at the same time, and I hope it may be attended with happy success, I am sorry some of our people should have conducted so, as to fall under the displeasure of Lord President and Lord Egremont, but it is hard a whole province should suffer for a few bad members. We are unspeakably thankful for Your Grace's Activity and Influence in preventing the ill effects of it and procuring of the King twice so much for our College as for that at Philadelphia.—

I never heard of the virulent pamphlet Your Grace mentions, till a little time before I received your kind letter. It seems it has been handed about a good while very privately in New England, where it is now frequent, but I have not heard of its being here. I hoped the apparent malice and extreme unfairness and injuriousness of it would in a great measure defeat the wicked intention of it. I should however have had some thoughts of writing a Reply to it myself, but that writing is grown very tedious to me, by reason of a bad tremor in my hand. Upon receiving Your Grace's most wise and kind remarks on it, I immediately transcribed and sent them to M<sup>r</sup> Beach and desired him to answer it, and I this day have a letter from him by which it appears he is doing it, and I hope he will do it in some measure to Your Grace's approbation. It should seem by an expression in your letter, that you know the name of the writer: for us, we cannot find who he is, and should be glad to know. Those who have been suspected, utterly deny it; and many of the dissenters are ashamed of it, at least pretend so, and one who is of Dana's party, talks of answering it

Nor did I ever before, hear of the Boston Act of Assembly which Your Grace mentions. Upon which I wrote to Mr Caner, who tells me there is *one*, (I suppose a Lukewarm) Churchman among the persons incorporated, the rest being zealous dissenters. Mr Winslow was told that the Governors at first declined passing the Act, but was at length persuaded, after which a present was made him of a large tract of Land: whether on that account or not, was not said.—One Dr Gardiner, a good Chhman, of considerable weight there, I am told, did early send a Copy of the Act to a friend of his, and urged him to make what interest he could against it. What your Grace mentions of their being accountable to none but themselves, would methinks be alone sufficient to prevent its passing the Royal Assent.

The Gentleman I meant, being a Countryman of the Chief Minister, made some Gentlemen of the neighbouring Government very apprehensive of a probability of his endeavours to be made a Bp., and the possibility of their success, if there had been a peace, which occasioned my mentioning that affair. We are told here that Mr Chandler has a Dr's Degree at Oxford; which seems strange, as we know of no application having been made for it, and Mr Cooper thinks he must have known of it if it had been. However, if it has not, I wish it may be done; for we have no man likeminded with him in caring for the Interest of Religion and Learning, or hath made so good proficiency in the study of them, or is likely to be so great an ornament to them.

In my last I mentioned to Your Grace the strong inclination I have to retire into the Country, and to be replaced in the Society's Service at Stratford, if Mr Winslow should be removed to Hartford: What progress they have made there, in preparing to address the Society for Mr Winslow, I have not since heard; but whenever they do, I shall wish they may succeed, because I am very desirous to be useful to the world while I continue in it, and especially among my former people. With my earnest prayers for Your Grace's health and long life, I beg the continuance of your prayers and blessing, being with the most affectionate veneration, My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful  
most obliged &

most obedient

humble Servant

(signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON

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*Archbishop Secker to the Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[ "American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, III, No. 300. ]

Good Dr Johnson

I thank you for the kind Condolence, which you express in your letter of the sixth of January. I was then in a fresh fit of the Gout, and have another upon me now. These attacks unfit me greatly for business; else I should have written to you sooner. As Mr Beach hath undertaken to answer the late virulent Pamphlet, I hope he will do it in such manner, as to win over the more moderate of the Dissenters from some of their prejudices against us, and shame even the more vehement by a good Example into some Degree of Mildness and Fairness. My

meaning was not to intimate, that I knew the name of the writer, but only to signify a doubt, whether it might not be Dr Mayhew, which I found some persons had suspected. I knew not whether Mr Beach, who in a letter some time ago mentioned himself as declining, would be willing to undertake such a work : and therefore had intended to propose it to Mr Apthorpe, of whose abilities and temper the Bishop of Norwich gives me the highest character. But I am glad your Information came time enough to prevent me : for one may suffice.

The Board of Trade would have made a Report to the Privy Council against the Act for the New Society, if Lord Sandys had continued one day longer at the head of it, And as their reasons were political ones, I believe they will continue in the same way of thinking.

Probably our ministry will be concerting schemes this Summer against the next Session of Parliament for the settlement of His Majesty's American Dominions. And then we must try our utmost for Bishops. Hitherto little hath been said to them, and less by them on the subject. Our Dissenters however give out the Contrary, and endeavour to raise an alarm. God prosper us, if it be his will.

I have not heard, that any application hath been made for a Dr's Degree for Mr Chandler : but shall be ready at any time to forward one ; I understand from you, that he deserves it so well.

Dr Burton will write to you concerning the several Missions. As the Society had on your Recommendation, appointed Mr Palmer for Rye, and sent him notice of it, before Mr Punderson was named on the occasion ; we cannot change the appointment without Mr Palmer's consent. I shall be glad, if he consents voluntarily : but we must not press him against his Inclination. The people at Rye may refuse him, if they will ; and take the maintenance of Mr Punderson wholly on themselves ; and we shall be very well pleased.

We have heard nothing directly from Hartford yet. Whenever a fit opportunity offers, we shall be very desirous of doing whatever may be agreeable to you. And I assure you I will do nothing to retard your retirement, beyond expressing my wishes that you would be so kind to your College and to Mr Cooper, as to give him a competent time for becoming and shewing himself in some degree proper to succeed you.

It grieves me to concur in postponing any of the new Missions, which you would have us establish. But indeed some of those which we have established already in New England and New York have so few members of our Church in them ; and there are so great numbers in other parts, destitute of all Instruction, whom we may hope to secure to our Church by sending Missionaries to them, before other teachers get among them, I mean the new and frontier Settlements ; that I think we cannot avoid preferring the latter. Would God we could effectually assist both. But we must not bring ourselves under a necessity of making another collection for the Society soon. Indeed it must be put off some years the longer, on account of that which is now making for the two Colleges : for they will be considered as akin one to the other.

I told you, that I thought I had secured 170*£* for Mr Charltons Damages on his Glebe. And I have still reason to believe that the King did sign a Warrant for that sum to be paid here to the Society's Treasurer. But remonstrances were made against it by some officer through whose hands the business was to pass. And now the Secretary at War hath written to Sir Jeffery Amherst about it, whose answer is in these words. "The Case of Mr Charlton is this, that he really suffered by the encampment of the Troops : and I was in hopes that the Assembly of the Province would have considered his losses. If that doth not take place, I



shall pay him out of the Contingencies in the manner you are pleased to direct." This therefore I hope will be done. I hope also, that Mr Charlton will lay out what he receives upon his Glebe faithfully, and prudently. If you can contribute to his doing so, I hope you will. For I know not how to contrive that the money may be paid into the hands of any one, that should act as Trustee upon the occasion.

I must not omit to tell you, that Mr Cooper, in the only letter which I have had from him, dated Dec. 2. 1762, expresses, in the strongest manner his sense of the numberless Civilities and Acts of kindness, which he saith he hath received from you. Continual good advice will be the greatest kindness that you can shew him.

It would be inconvenient and disagreeable to Mr Beach, and not desirable in itself to have a formal controversy raised upon this wretched pamphlet. And in order to avoid it, his answer may be anonymous, as the pamphlet is. Or however, he may signifie that he doth not intend to take notice of any Reply, or enter further into a Discussion of particulars: his principal view being to convince persons, and if it may be, as he hopes it may, the writer himself, that since we are all to give an account of every idle word, and no Denomination of Christians is faultless, and mutual Charity is the great precept of our Saviour, we should treat all religious matters with seriousness, and one another with mildness and candour.

I am told, that our younger Missionaries are apt to give us too sanguine accounts of the flourishing state of their Missions and to say things, which mislead us. It will be very kind in you and all our friends in America to prevent this as far as you can, by admonishing those who are inaccurate and indirect, and by giving the Society notice, when you see matters exaggerated by them. We shall carefully keep such notices secret. And indeed it will be best, that the whole affairs of our Society should be transacted with as little talk about them abroad, as may be.

I am, with much Regard,

Your loving brother

(Signed) THO. CANT.

Lambeth, March 30, 1763.

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*Lord Egremont to the Lords of Trade.*

[Plantations General Papers, XVII., (Q.) No. 31.]

Whitehall, May 5<sup>th</sup> 1763

My Lords,

His Majesty having brought the Negotiation with France and Spain to a happy conclusion & having given the necessary orders for carrying into execution the several stipulations of the late Treaty is now pleased to fix his Royal Attention upon the next important object of securing to his Subjects, & extending, the Enjoyment of the advantages which Peace has procured.

His Majesty therefore upon the same principle of Sollicitude for the Interests of his Colonies, which engaged him in a just and necessary war in Support of their Rights & obliged him to insist on such terms of Peace as he thought peculiarly calculated for the future security of that

important object, directs me to transmit to Your Lordships, herewith the Definitive Treaty of Peace, and I am commanded to signify to Your Lordships his Majesty's pleasure that you do without loss of time take into Your most serious consideration those articles which relate to the Cessions made by their most Christian and Catholick Majesties and that you report Your opinion By what Regulations the most extensive commercial Advantages may be derived from those Cessions, and how those Advantages may be rendered most permanent & secure to his Majesty's Trading Subjects.

The manner of arriving at these desirable Ends will perhaps be most distinctly pointed out by considering separately the several cessions stipulated by the Articles of Peace and examining the different circumstances by which each Cession becomes more or less susceptible of the great advantages of Commerce & Security above mentioned.

North America naturally offers itself as the principal object of Your Lordships' consideration upon this occasion, with regard to which I shall first obey his Majesty's Commands, in proposing to your Lordships some general questions before I proceed to desire You will furnish that Information which his Majesty expects from Your Lordships, with regard to the Northern or Southern parts of this Continent considered separately.

The questions which relate to North America in general are,

1<sup>st</sup> What new Governments should be establish'd there? What Form should be adopted for such a Government? and where the Capitol or residence of each Governor should be fixed?

2<sup>ndly</sup> What Military Establishment will be sufficient? What new Forts should be erected? and which, if any, may it be expedient to demolish?

3<sup>dly</sup> In what mode, least Burthensome & most palatable to the Colonies can they contribute towards the support of the additional expence, which must attend their civil and Military Establishments, upon the arrangement which Your Lordships shall propose?

Under the first of those heads, viz<sup>t</sup> What new Government shall be established? It will be proper to examine what Priviledges are reserved to his Majesty's new subjects by the terms of their Capitulations; I therefore send Your Lordships herewith the Capitulations of Quebec & Montreal.

It may also be a proper object of consideration how far it is expedient to retain or depart from the Forms of Government, which his most Christian Majesty had established in those Colonies; and in order to furnish Your Lordships with those lights which may enable you to form a just opinion on this head, I send herewith Copies of the several Reports of Gov<sup>rs</sup> Murray, Burton and Gage.

The second question which relates to the security of North America, seems to include two objects to be provided for; The first is the security of the whole against any European Power; The next is the preservation of the internal peace & tranquility of the Country against any Indian disturbances. Of these two objects the latter appears to call more immediately for such Regulations and Precautions as your Lordships shall think proper to suggest &c<sup>a</sup>

Thò in order to succeed effectually in this point it may become necessary to erect some Forts in the Indian Country with their consent, yet his Majesty's Justice and Moderation inclines him to adopt the more eligible Method of conciliating the minds of the Indians by the mildness of His Government, by protecting their persons and property, & securing to them all the possessions rights and Privileges they have hitherto enjoyed & are entitled to most

cautiously guarded against any Invasion or Occupation of their hunting Lands, the possession of which is to be acquired by fair purchase only, and it has been thought so highly expedient to give the earliest and most convincing proofs of his Majesty's gracious and friendly Intentions on this head, that I have already received and transmitted the King's commands to this purpose to the Governors of Virginia, the two Carolinas & Georgia, & to the Agent for Indian Affairs in the Southern Department, as your Lordships will see fully in the inclosed copy of my circular letter to them on this subject.

Having thus executed the King's commands with regard to such questions as relate to North America in general, I am to signify to your Lordships his Majesty's further pleasure that you do take into consideration the following Queries which concern some Parts of that continent in particular.

Canada and New-  
foundland.

The first and most important object is the Fishery with regard to which Your Lordships will furnish all the Lights you possibly can in order to shew,

Whether the French had made any Incroachments with regard to the Fishery contrary to what is stipulated on this head by the Treaty of Utrecht?

How these Incroachments may be most easily prevented by such timely precautions as may most effectually obviate all Disputes between the subjects of both Crowns in those Parts, and preserve peace & tranquillity there for the future?

What Inconvenience or Disadvantage may arise to his Majesty's Northern Colonies, or to the Fishery in those parts, from the Vicinity of St. Pierre of Michelon, ceded to France under certain restrictions by the 6<sup>th</sup> Article of the Definitive Treaty? And by what Precautions may that Inconvenience be most effectually guarded against, either with respect to our Fishery, or a contraband Trade with our Colonies?

Florida.

Can Your Lordships furnish any Lights with regard to the climate or soil of the Inland Parts of Florida, which tho' hitherto neglected and useless, are said to be extremely fertile?

Is there any reason to believe that the mouth of the Catahoche River is, or might be easily made, commodious for shipping? or that a harbour may be found in the Southern parts of the Peninsula of Florida? What particular advantages might arise from such a Harbour, or from that of Pensacola, or Mobile, or from any other on that part of the Coast of North America lately ceded to his Majesty, which bounds the Gulph of Mexico to the North.

Louisiana and Mis-  
sissippi.

The general queries with regard to North America having taken in all the points of Information wanted relative to the Louisiana & the Illinois, I shall only add that his Majesty desires to have Your Lordships opinion whether any immediate advantages may be derived from the free Navigation of the Mississippi, & how they are to be improved and extended?

Having thus gone thro' the several points relative to North America upon which his Majesty desires to have the opinion of Your Lordships, the obvious application of most of the same queries to the other cessions made to his Majesty by the peace, makes it unnecessary to repeat them: It will [be] sufficient therefore to desire that Your Lordships will report for his Majesty's Information Your opinion with regard to the most effectual means of improving and securing the Commercial Advantages which may be derived from the conquered Islands, and from Senegal; with regard to the latter I am to inform Your Lordships that his Majesty has thought proper to accept the proposal of the African Committee made in the Petition of which I send you the Copy inclosed; and orders are already given to the Governor of Senegal



to leave a Detachment under a proper officer to take Possession of that place till the African Committee shall be prepared to take Possession thereof; Your Lordships will report Your Opinion of this Arrangement and suggest whatever may occur to you for the advantage of this Part of the African Trade. In order to supply Your Lordships with all the Materials in my office which can in any shape assist you in making Your Report as ample and as satisfactory as possible, I inclose herewith Copies of Accounts transmitted by the King's command from Colonels Scott & Worge,<sup>1</sup> as also the Capitulation of Martinico, Grenade having surrendered under the same Terms which had been granted to that Island.

As it must require some time to examine and deliberate upon the several points which are referred to Your Lordships in this letter, it is the King's pleasure that without waiting to make a full answer to the whole, You do, as soon as possible, report Your Opinion upon such points as shall appear to you most pressing, that proper Directions may be given without loss of Time, with regard to the arrangements immediately necessary for the new acquisitions.

I am, My Lords,

Your Lordships most obedient  
humble Servant.

The Lords of Trade.

EGREMONT.

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*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, 6<sup>th</sup> June, 1763.

Sir,

I have been honored with Your Excellency's letter of 18<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, a few days before the receipt of which, Four Deputies from the Six Nations arrived here, charged with a Message and several belts of Wampum to the Governor of Connecticut, to desire he would cause his People to desist from the settlement on the *Susquehanna* River. They desired that some Mohawks should accompany them, as also that I should send a Deputy with them, to take care of them on the Road, and prevent imposition. I accordingly sent Lieu<sup>t</sup> Johnson together with an Interpreter, in compliance with their request; They likewise informed me that a very considerable number of the Six Nations were on their way hither in order to have a Meeting with me.

The 21<sup>st</sup>—139 of the Sachims and principal Warriors of the several Nations arrived here; and the following day they opened the Conference with me, and after going through all their usual ceremonies, and delivering several belts, I returned their Compliments in the usual Manner, and they parted for that day.

They assembled again on the 26<sup>th</sup> when forty five Chiefs and Warriors of the Chenusios arrived. The Onondaga Speaker, in the name and on behalf of the whole Confederacy, then addressed me, repeating our first Agreements with the Indians, and the promises then made by both; all which, in the name of the whole, he renewed and strengthened; then requested I

<sup>1</sup> RICHARD WORGE, governor of Senegal was in 1754 Lieutenant-Colonel of the 9th Regiment of Foot; he commanded the land forces sent against that place in 1758 and was appointed Colonel of the 86th in 1759. This regiment was disbanded in 1763, and Governor Worge became Major-General in 1770. His name is dropped in the Army List of 1775.—Ed.

would join them in entreating the General to preserve the same inviolable, as they intended to do on their parts, otherwise the chain might break. They next gave a Belt, to desire we might consider well the state of the Chain of Friendship, and not let it slip, least a Judgment should be inflicted on us, and after declaring that they were as much concerned as we could be at the late murder, and had taken every method since, for procuring us satisfaction, they said that they found it impossible to persuade the Nations to deviate from a Custom which was their law; neither had the English ever pushed them so much on that head formerly: That several of their people had been from time to time killed by us, though they never sought for revenge after the English had condoled with them thereon in the usual manner; that therefore they could not help attributing our present urging to some other cause, namely, that of obtaining their lands, which the great Spirit assigned for their habitations, and which they would hardly imagine the King, after his several declarations, had any design upon; they therefore requested we would observe and follow our old Argument with them. They likewise repeated our promises made at the commencement of the War, of removing the French, and returning them their lands, that our hands should always be open to them, if they would take up the hatchet, and that as we were a wealthy and trading people, we should be able to supply them with goods at a very reasonable rate; all which they expected would have been performed, but they find themselves greatly mistaken, for instead of restoring lands we were erecting more Forts in many parts of the Country notwithstanding the French were *dead*, (as they called it,) and goods were still sold so dear that their warriors and women were very uneasy, and apt to believe every bad report concerning the intentions of the English, and as they had declared theirs of keeping up the Friendship subsisting between us, they were induced to expect we would fulfil the promises we had made, as a means of convincing them of our honest Intentions.

They next repeated that at Oswego, which was formerly the place of Trade for both far and near, the Indians formerly found better treatment than they do any where at present; that the distant Indians often came to them to enquire into the cause of it and the dearth of goods, and the great scarcity of Powder, and that they the Six Nations apprehend these foolish rash People might do something that was bad to the people who go so far into their Country, to prevent which they advised that no Trade should be carried on with them except at *Oswego*, *Niagara*, and *Detroit*, and that, on the most reasonable terms.

Then mentioned all the trouble they had, in endeavouring to procure us justice, and that they had at length persuaded the Senecas to come down, who now with a proper belt opened and cleared the road from *Chenussio*, hither, saying they would have their eyes fixed thereon for the future, and should be ready to attend whenever called upon. After this the Chief of the Senecas told me that he was, on behalf of his Nation to inform me that they were under such concern for the murder (which they considered as done to themselves,) that they would not rest 'till they had procured us a plaister for the wound, and therefore hoped we would rest satisfied with the assurance given in presence of all the Nations.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> I answered their Speech in every particular as far as I was able; argued upon the unreasonableness of their custom in not delivering up the offenders, by which only, they could give us satisfaction; at the same time telling them that I should acquaint your Excellency with the purport of the Meeting, and submit the several matters therein to your Consideration. This gave them much satisfaction, and they repeated their declarations of preserving peace and good order for the future. I am also of opinion that the manner in which we have insisted on their giving up the Murderers has sufficiently alarmed them to

prevent their repeating such behavior, and I hope the Senecas will still fall on a method of making us proper satisfaction.

As to the Intelligence communicated in Your Excellency's letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, I cannot better account for the same than by acquainting you that an Indian just now arrived here from Canajoharie, despatched by the Sachems on the news having arrived by express from Oneida of the design of the French from Mississippi, who, 'tis said have ascended that river and invested some of our Posts to the Westward, and that they had sent a large belt of Wampum, with some English scalps, through the Southern Indians to the Six Nations to desire their Assistance, which has been refused by some of the Nations. Although the Indians here are positive that this intelligence is true. I am of opinion the French are neither able nor desirous as yet, to attempt a thing of that kind, but that the belt said to be sent from them must have been some time ago, and may have lain in the hands of some of the Nations through which it passed, for their consulting thereon, which often happens; and that some of the Nations desirous to associate with the French, may have sent the Belt to the Miamis, which was said to have come from the Senecas. However, I shall immediately send to Onondaga, and through the Nations, to cause strict enquiry to be made into the affair, as well as to speak to the Indians in such a manner as may check their designs (if they have any such,) in the Beginning, and hope to be enabled to give Your Excellency some further accounts thereof, within a short time—although I cannot avoid thinking from what I hear from all quarters, that many of the Nations will never be perfectly at rest, without we continue to dispense some favours amongst them, which they beleive the French, if once introduced again into the Country, would bountifully bestow on them as they formerly have done.

I have the honor, &c

His Excellency, Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

(sd) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

Albany, 19 June, 1763.

Sir,

Captain Dalyell will inform your Excellency that an Express is just now arrived, which brings an account of the arrival of a Schooner from Detroit with the news of its having been invested 36 days by 500 Indians, tho' my account says 1600; that the same has been bravely defended, with small loss, with other particulars. I have only time to assure you that all effectual measures shall be undertaken and promoted by me for the protection of the Frontiers, for which purpose I have proposed and strongly recommended to young M<sup>r</sup> Rensselaer, Lord of the Manor, to exert himself in raising some men, and heading them, to give assistance to the Troops your Excellency has sent up.

I expect a return of my messengers from the Six Nations in a couple of days, when I shall be acquainted with their sentiments, who, I beleive in general, will be pretty easy, provided they are Satisfied we have no designs against them and that we make them some offers which may bind them more firmly to our interest.



Mr Croghan assures me from the best authority, that the Indians already engaged are the *Ottawaes*, *Chippewaes*, and some tribes of the *Delawares*: Should it, by their success, become more General, I can think, at present, of nothing more effectual than that of turning their inveterate enemies the *Cherokees*, *Catawbas* &c, against them, as well as many others who by our bounty and good treatment may be induced to engage in the Cause. I have given all necessary orders to the Militia, as well for their holding themselves in readiness, as for the obtaining some Volunteers to go to the Frontiers, and am hopeful the measures I have taken may prove of some service to the Public.

My stay at present, here which is much against my inclination, is on account of a Law-suit on behalf of the Mohawk's lands, which has given great uneasiness to them and all the Six Nations, and therefore should not at present be neglected.

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

I have the honor, &c

(sd) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New York Bundle, Oo., p. 101. ]

Fort Johnson July 1<sup>st</sup> 1763

My Lords

Altho' in my Letter to your Lordships of August last which was accompanied with several transactions &c. I promised myself the honour of laying before you within a short time some necessary alterations and additions relative to the department of Indian affairs, yet, as several matters have since intervened which hitherto prevented me, and as acts of hostility have actually been commenced by the Ottawa Indians inhabiting the environs of Lake Erie with which you will doubtless be acquainted before the receipt hereof, I thought myself under the necessity of writing your Lordships, on the present subject of public concern

Your Lordships may please to observe by my letter before mentioned that I therein, represented the jealousy which the Indians in general entertained of the increasing power of the English, thro' the insinuations of French Missionaries & others who had persuaded them that we proposed their entire Extirpation, to which they in a great measure give credit from our occupying some old posts & erecting new ones thro' out their Country, the necessity of which they could not discover since the reduction of Canada, unless they were to promote the design which they suspected was in agitation.

In 1761, I had in a great measure removed these prejudices at the Conference which I then held with the Ottawa Confederacy at the *Détroit* and delivered them a handsome present (which is the surest method of proving the reality of Words to Indians) but as these Nations are Warlike, numerous and accustomed to receive considerable gifts & good treatment from the French for permitting them to occupy the several posts, to the Northward, & Westward of the *Détroit*, which custom I was in no wise enabled to continue to them, they began to look on our friendship as not very interesting, & indeed in general they have but an imperfect idea of friendship, unless they reap some considerable advantages from it,—The too general opinion

which has lately prevailed, that they were an Enemy of very little power, or consequence & not worth our attention occasioned their being treated throughout the Country with a neglect, which never fails being resented by them.

Of this their discontent I have been advertised from their own mouths as well as from the accounts transmitted me by my Deputys and others. To prevent the evil consequences of which I took every possible measure to remove their inquietude by representing that their suspicions of us were without the least grounds, but notwithstanding all my endeavors, the *Misisaga's and Chipeweghs* (who I am well informed have been greatly encouraged thereto by some Officers sent amongst them from the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New Orleans) have lately endeavored to surprize the Detroit, and now closely blockade the same, they have likewise totally defeated a Detachment of 100 men who were on their way from *Niagara* for that place with a large quantity of provisions which has fallen into their hands. The Fort at *Sandousky* on Lake Erie has likewise been taken & destroyed and 'tis apprehended all the other outposts together with their garrisons have shared the same fate, Whilst in the mean time some Delawares on the *Ohio* have infested the communication to *Fort Pitt* &c. destroyed several settlements, murdered many Traders and others, spreading an universal pannic throughout the Frontiers.

On receipt of these alarming advices, Sir Jeffery Amherst ordered towards Lake Ontario what Troops could be assembled at New York, to which they had returned from the *Havana*, but as their number is very inconsiderable (the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment not marching above 100 Effectives they can only serve to reinforce the Garrisons on that Communication sustained by some Militia whom I have (tho' with difficulty) procured to engage for a time on pay as Provincials.

From the situation of this Country no number of Troops at present to be procured will be able to preserve the Communication, or prevent the loss of Convoys & much less will any number protect the Inhabitants and frontier Settlements which must be entirely cut off to the great detriment of the several Provinces in case of a defection of the *Six Nations* who, as yet remain attached to us, and have sent to acquaint me that they rejected the invitation made them by the Western Indians. But, as the *Senecas* who are very numerous, and the most distant of all the rest were seated in the midst of assiduous Missionaries, and zealous Partizans, which, (together with their vicinity to Niagara where they were continually receiving presents, provisions &c.) contributed to establish their regard for the French and give them an aversion to us, which we have not been at much pains to conquer. I am therefore greatly apprehensive it will require no small trouble to preserve their friendship neither can the same be effected without some expense; however to satisfy their doubts, and endeavor to preserve at least a strict neutrality I have called the Six Nations to a meeting at the German Flatts within Fifteen days, from the result of which I am hopefull I shall not only be able to effect that necessary step, but also prevail on several of them to assist us against the Western Indians should hostilities continue, And as nothing can more effectually answer our purpose than the exciting one Nation to a War on another, I shall take all possible steps for promoting it against those in Arms. And least the present hostilities should not be brought speedily to a period, which I apprehend very difficult to effect, I cannot help requesting the honour of your Lordships sentiments and instructions relative thereto, and at the same time must beg leave to represent that as I am of opinion all these evils have arisen from our considering the Indians as incapable of doing us much damage which was the cause of our treating them with indifference and neglect, so, to remove the prejudices they have entertained and secure their Confidence and esteem, no method will prove effectual, unless that of rewarding those who

shall remain our friends with some marks of Favor by occasionally supplying their wants as they shall appear to deserve it, this will excite an emulation in those who are still wavering, and satisfy the doubts of those who suspect the reality of our inclination towards them, without which, meer words have in general not much weight with a People who judge by our actions and not our language to them, And I make no doubt but a prudent Management and due discharge of the dutys of the several officers in my department seconded by the assistance and concurrence of the General may enable me to preserve the friendship of those Nations who remain in our Interest, and render the same usefull to the public.

The steps which the Mohocks have taken to preserve the peace are much to their credit (notwithstanding the treatment they have lately met with concerning their lands at *Conajoharce* which I formerly mentioned to your Lordships) for altho' they are at present but few in number, they are notwithstanding always considered by the rest as the head of the Six Nations. The Onondagas likewise discover a great attachment to us, and I am certain that by taking pains and expending some well timed favours on them I may be able to secure the rest as well as many of their Allies, and that at a much smaller expence than what would attend a small body of Troops whose measures in such a country as this, might not prove effectual in some campaigns, & without the nations in our neighbourhood continue our friends, the Inhabitants will all abandon their settlements, from which step they are at present only restrained by my residence and that of my tenants, whom I encourage to remain at any risque, rather than the Province should suffer by the number of persons who would fly on my discovering any uneasiness from their reliance on my intelligence.

Whenever any thing material occurs I shall communicate it to your Lordships, and as I shall have a particular happiness in executing your Orders, I must again request the honour of receiving any Instructions which may be thought necessary for the better regulation of my conduct in the manner most agreeable to your Lordships.

I have the Honour to be

with the most profound respect

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

and most humble servant,

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Lords of Trade.

WM. JOHNSON



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Bundle, Oo, p. 99.]

New York July 8<sup>th</sup> 1763.

My Lords

General Monckton left this place the 25<sup>th</sup> of last month, on his return to England. Thereby the Administration of Government is again fallen into my hands, as Lieutenant Governor, I flatter myself, that your Lordships were convinced of my endeavours to perform the trust reposed in me, while I had the Administration formerly. Allow me to assure you, that I have nothing more at heart than to preserve any favourable opinion which was formerly intertained



of me; & that it shall be my constant endeavour to do my duty to the best of my ability. While I do so, I shall remain confident of your Lordships supporting me.

Without doubt General Monckton has informed your Lordships of the death of Chief Justice Prat in January last. By his death the People of this Province as well as His Majesty's Service has suffered a great loss. He was of abilities sufficient to restrain the licentiousness of the Lawyers, tho of a very weak constitution of body. The Governor has appointed David Horsmanden<sup>1</sup> Chief Justice & Messrs David Jones William Smith & Robert Livingstone puisne Judges. The appointment of Judges has appeared to me, at all times, of such consequence to the liberty & property of the People, & to His Majesty's Authority in the Administration of

<sup>1</sup> DANIEL HORSMANDEN, of Gouldhurst, in the county of Kent, England, the last of the Chief Justices of the Province of New-York, was born about the year 1693, and is said to have come to New-York about the year 1730, (*Allen's Biog. Dict.*), though it is more probable that he accompanied Gov. Cosby to this country. He was called to His Majesty's Council on the 23d May, 1733, (*Council Minutes*, XVI, 255), and took his seat in that body on the 29th September following. Here he was an active supporter of Cosby's administration, and one of Chief Justice DeLancey's party, with whom he coöperated in the prosecution of Zenger, the anti-government printer. He afterwards adhered to Lieut. Governor Clarke against Van Dam, and was accordingly rewarded with the office of Recorder of the city of New-York, to which he was appointed in September, 1736, (*Smith's History of New-York*, II., 28,) and of 3d Judge of the Supreme Court, in January, 1737, (*Commissions*, III., 390,) with a salary of fifty pounds. Owing to his friend, Mr. De Lancey's influence, the Assembly voted Mr. Horsmanden the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, for a digest of the Laws of the Province; but Mr. H. took no advantage of the grant, hoping greater gain by compiling the history of the Negro plot, in the legal investigation of which he was one of the judges; and left the digest to be executed by other hands *Smith*, II., 66,67. His connection with Chief Justice De Lancey had, however, the bad effect of carrying him into opposition against Governor Clinton, whose administration was defended by Cadwallader Colden, against the attacks of Mr. Horsmanden on the popular side, who was in consequence made to feel the wrath of the Executive; he was suspended from the Council, and removed from the Bench and Recorder's place in September, 1747, "and cast upon the private bounty of the party by whom he was employed, applauded and ruined." Mr. Horsmanden was now an object of pity; toasted, indeed, as a man who dared to be honest in the worst of times, but at a loss for his meals; and, by the impotency of his creditors, hourly exposed to the horrors of a jail. Such was his condition, until his advantageous marriage with Mrs. Vesey, relict of the rector of Trinity Church, and until he broke with Mr. DeLancey and became reconciled to Governor Clinton. *Smith*. He was restored to his place on the Bench, on 28th July, 1750, and his name being subsequently inserted in the Instructions to Sir Charles Hardy, he resumed his seat at the Council Board on 4th September, 1755. *Council Minutes*, XXV. On the resignation of Mr. Justice Chambers, in 1672, Mr. Horsmanden was appointed 2d Judge of the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice in March, 1763, as above stated. *Ibid*, 477. In 1772 he was employed as one of the Commissioners to discover the persons who burnt the King's Schooner Gaspee, at Rhode Island, and on the breaking out of the Revolution, he adhered to the Royal cause. He was one of the nine hundred and forty-six loyalists who presented an Address to Lord Howe in October, 1776, and on the same day addressed Gov. Tryon in behalf of the same persons. *Sabine*. He became now very infirm, and having lost his wife, gradually sunk. He died in September, 1778, "a truly honest and faithful servant to the Crown," and was buried in the grave yard of Trinity Church, of which he was vestryman from 1734 to 1765; warden from 1765 to 1769, and vestryman again from 1769 to 1772. To his continuance on the bench until his death, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities, may be ascribed the introduction of that article in the Constitution of the State of New-York, formed in 1777, which limited the duration of the office of Judge. *Yates cont. to Smith. Albany*. 439. Chief Justice Horsmanden was the author, (according to Smith) of "A Letter from some of the Representatives of the late General Assembly of the Colony of New-York, to His Excellency Governor Clinton. Principally in answer to his Message of the 13th October, (1747,) and his Dissolution Speech;" which is printed in the Journal of the House. He published in 1744, "A Journal of the proceedings in the detection of the conspiracy formed by some white people, in conjunction with Negro and other Slaves, for burning the city of New-York, in America, and murdering the Inhabitants, in 1741-2." *New-York* 4to. It was reprinted in 8vo. in London, in 1748, and in New-York in 1810. Mr. Horsmanden labors hard in this work to prove the existence and extent of the conspiracy. But it is evident (says Mr. Yates) that hostility to Catholicism, which the British Government so industriously inculcated, tinged his mind, and gave it a bias unfriendly to the fair development of truth, or to the full and impartial examination of facts and circumstances. The conspiracy, adds Smith, extended no farther than to create alarms, for committing thefts with more ease. Chief Justice Horsmanden's will is recorded in Lib. XXXII., 57, of Wills, in the Surrogate's office, New York. The following are some of his bequests for public objects in that city: £1,000 to rebuild the Rectory of Trinity Church; £200 to rebuilding the Charity School House; £100 towards buying a bell for St. Paul's Chapel; £200 towards building a pulpit and desk in Trinity Church, when the same shall be rebuilt; £500 to King's College.—Ed.

Government, that I gave my sentiments without reserve on that subject in my letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> of January, 11<sup>th</sup> of February, & 7<sup>th</sup> of April last year I must beg leave to refer to them: for I can add nothing more, unless it be, that in case His Majesty think proper to appoint a Chief Justice, it will become at the same time necessary to allow the same salary which, I am informed, was allowed Mr Prat out of His Majesty's Quit Rents of this Province, otherwise the Chief Justice may be laid under difficulties, which by all means ought to be avoided.

Mr Kennedy Receiver General of His Majesty's Revenue & Collector of the Customs in the Port of New York dyed the 14<sup>th</sup> of last month. The Governor has appointed Oliver De Lancey to be Receiver General; and the Surveyor General of the Customs has appointed his brother Robert Temple to be Collector of the Customs in this Port. Nothing else new has happened since the Governor went.

It shall be my constant endeavour, in the Discharge of my Duty, to obtain the honour of being,

My Lords

Your most obedient

& faithfull servant

Right honourable Lords Commissioners

for Trade & Plantations,

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Sir Jeffrey Amherst to the Earl of Egremont.*

(Extract.)

New York, 23 July, 1763.

"The present disturbed state of the back settlements, by the depredations committed by the Indians does not admit of putting the orders for the disbanding and reducing the troops, into immediate execution; and I have thought proper not to make the least alteration of the Troops in Canada, but to leave every thing there in its present state, till the Regiments arrive from the Havanna,

My last letter to your Lordship was of 27 June, by Major General Moncton, when I gave you an account of the Mischiefs committing by the Savages, who have continued to extend their ravages on the Frontiers, and have treacherously massacred an officer (Lieut. Gordon,) with a small Garrison at the Port of Venango, where they were received as friends. The blockhouse at Presqu' Ile, has also fallen into their hands, by their having persuaded the officer (Ensign Christie) with a garrison of 24 men to Capitulate with them, and they murdered him and the greatest part of his garrison. Ensign Price who commanded at Le Boeuff with 13 men, was obliged to abandon his Post, and retreated to Fort Pitt, where he brought in 7 of his party and left six in the woods.

Although the accounts from Venango and Presqu' Ile, are not from Absolute Authority, yet there is too much reason to believe they are true; and it is equally amazing that one officer should permit such a number of Indians to come in upon him as friends, and put himself in their power; and that another should be so infatuated to capitulate with them, or have the least Confidence in their promises or Mercy. These three small Posts are between Fort Pitt and Lake Erie, The Savages have absurdly made a show of attacking Fort Pitt, and



some of the Posts below, but have not made any impression on the smallest post on that communication.

Your Lordship will see by the papers I do myself the honor to enclose to you, all that has passed regarding the Indian affairs, and that it appears the Six Nations (Senecas excepted) will remain quiet.

The Province of Pennsylvania has, on this Occasion, Empowered the Governor to raise Seven Hundred Men, but it is only with a view of getting in their Harvest, which entirely frustrates the Public good that might be expected from such a number actually raised; whereas, these in effect are only Farmers and reapers, which the Assembly mean by their vote to arm to defend their own fields. \* \* \*

I have the honour, &c—

(signed) JEFFREY AMHERST.



*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1763.

Sir,

Since I had last the honour of writing to your Excellency I arrived here, after which I had a meeting with the Mohawks, who, I find, during my absence at Albany, had, (together with My Message,) sent one on behalf of themselves throughout all the Six Nations, to prevent their being alarmed at the March of the Troops; and as I judged it highly necessary at this juncture, to meet the Six Nations, which will be a means of diverting any who may be ill-disposed, from joining the Ottawas, as well as confirming the friendship of the rest, the Mohawks have by My directions sent to call them to a conference with me at the German Flatts, within Fifteen days; and I hope this meeting will prove a good consequence, as I am confident we must owe the safety of the Communication to *Oswego* as well as the tranquility of these Frontiers, to the present pacific disposition of the Six Nations, to confirm which, I am of opinion it will be necessary to repeat our assurances of Friendship, and that as we shall always consider those who remain steadfast to us, so, on the contrary, we shall punish all those who act a different part.

For this conference, I shall be under the necessity of requiring a speedy supply of Provisions, something more than the last, which is entirely consumed; and indeed whilst the present disturbances subsist, the intercourse between the Indians and me will require my having always something at hand for them, without which they will consider themselves as neglected, which never fails being resented by them. I therefore hope to be favoured with Your Excellency's orders with regard to Provisions; the time being so short until I am to meet them.

To prevent any misunderstandings arising thro' the Ignorance under which the Garrisons labor of the Indian Customs, as well as from the Soldiery being at present too apt to consider every Indian they see as an Enemy, which I know would make our best friends so, I have ordered an Interpreter to remain at *Ontario* during the Summer, who, I make no doubt will be very serviceable, at this juncture. I have likewise sent orders to Captain Claus to assemble the Indians of *Canada* and talk with them on the present rupture.



Since my arrival here, I find that in consequence of my application to the Captains of Militia, about 50 Volunteers from these parts, exclusive of those raised in *Schenectady*, have marched towards the Oneida Lake; and I flatter myself the steps I have already taken, and shall constantly pursue, may produce a strict neutrality as well on the part of the Six Nations, as other Indians, who though perhaps wavering in their sentiments, may by good management, be prevented from Associating with those Indians now in arms against us, as well as some prevailed upon to act offensively in our favour should hostilities be continued.

I at present labour under a violent Fever, but I hope to be sufficiently recovered to attend the Conference, as I flatter myself many good consequences will result therefrom.

I have the honor, &c

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

(S<sup>d</sup>) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, July 8. 1763.

Sir,

I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> together with the several enclosures therewith transmitted, and I shall use every means within my power, at the meeting which I mentioned in my last was to take place shortly at the German-Flatts, to engage some Indians to assist His Majesty's Troops, or to act by themselves against the Enemy, as at that place I shall have an opportunity not only of sounding their sentiments in general, but also of proposing it to the several nations, and flatter myself my endeavors may not prove ineffectual, although it is a request of such a nature as cannot be agreeable to them in general.

Yesterday I received an account from the Mohawks who were all at my house, that the Oneidas had sent to acquaint them at Canajoharie, that the Garrison at *Venango* has been cut off, and that some French partizans sent from the Governor of New Orleans have been very busy amongst the Western Indians for some time past, but that many of those Indians and also some of the Delawares and their neighbors were apprehensive of the Six Nations joining against them, and therefore did not express much Alacrity to assist the rest. These Frenchmen have been very lately amongst them, and I am certain, however extraordinary it may appear, that the French have been principally instrumental in creating the present disturbances; I expect hourly the arrival of the *Oneidas* here, when I shall be more particularly informed on that head.

As the Indians will at the intended meeting, expect your Excellencies answer with regard to the several points concerning the posts, of Trade, &c, mentioned in my letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, I must request to be favored therewith, that I may be enabled to satisfy them therein. I should likewise be glad to have it in my power at the same time to deliver them something of your Sentiments and Resolutions on the present disturbances, as well as what you would in general, desire from them, together with the Encouragement you think proper to offer. The treating them with the appearance of Confidence will be considered as a great Compliment, and prove a means not only of removing many groundless Suspicions, but of disposing them the better to relish the proposals which I purpose to make them.

I have wrote to Captain Claus to use all his endeavors amongst the Indians in Canada to engage some in our assistance, and hope to be able after my return from the German Flatts, to inform your Excellency of the success of that Meeting.

I cannot conclude without representing to your Excellency the great panic and uneasiness into which the inhabitants of these parts are cast, which I have endeavored to remove by every method in my power, to prevent their Abandoning their Settlements, from their apprehensions of the Indians. As they in general Confide much in my residence, they are hitherto prevented from taking that hasty measure; but should I be obliged to retire (which I hope will not be the case,) not only my own tenants, *who are upwards of 120 families*, but all the rest would immediately follow the Example, which I am determined against doing 'till the last Extremity, as I know it would prove of general bad consequence.

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

I have the honor, &c—

(signed) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, July 11. 1763.

Sir,

Since my last, a number of the Oneidas arrived here, and acquainted me with the manner in which *Venango* had been surprised, which was effected by the Indians entering the Fort as friends, after which they put the garrison to the sword.

This Morning *Thomas*, a *Canajoharie* Chief, who was one of the Messengers I sent with the Messages, and to invite the Six Nations to meet me at the German Flatts, arrived express, and after informing me that all the Chiefs of each Nation, (except the *Senecas* who refused to attend,) were on their way to the place appointed, he told me that 2 Onondagas who were sent about 20 days ago by their Sachems, towards the Ohio, to enquire into the cause of the present troubles, had returned and confirmed the account of the taking of *Venango*, which was done by a party of *Chenussios* residing in the neighborhood thereof, and that after putting the Garrison to the Sword, they made the Officer write the reasons which induced them to act as they had done; which were—First, the scarcity and dearth of Powder for these two years past, being obliged to pay 2 *Deerskins* for a gill of powder, and so in proportion, for other articles, and that when they complained they were ill treated and never redressed. Secondly that the many posts which the English kept possession of induced them to believe they intended to possess all their Country, for all which they were determined to destroy them. After writing this, *they put the Officer to death*, and sent the paper with a party of Warriors then going towards Fort Pitt, in order to do mischief on the Communication, where they proposed to drop it, that it might be found by the English.

The Mohawk Express further informed me that the *Onondagas* had, in the presence of all the nations assembled, declared their Resolutions of living and dying by the English, let the Consequence be what it would, and had absolutely rejected every proposal made to them by the *Senecas*, &c. That they had received the Account that the *Twightwees*, *Ottawas* *Hurons*, *Delawares*, &c, had destroyed Six forts, of which he mentioned the following *Viz* *Detroit*,

*Michilimackinac*, *Miamis Sandusky*, and *Venango*: He added that at the meeting at which he was present at Onondaga, the Senecas spoke with three Belts of Wampum to the rest of the Confederacy, acquainting them that they had given a loose to their Warriors against the English, and desired they would do the same, but that their request was totally rejected by the Onondagas and all the Rest, on receiving my Message first; and that Nation in particular had sent a very large belt to the Senecas, desiring them immediately to desist, although it is my opinion it will have but little effect on them.

Just now I am favored with your Excellency's letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, by Lieu<sup>t</sup> Montessor,<sup>1</sup> with the several enclosures, and am really surprised at the loss of *Presqu Ile*, as I look on it to be a work very Capable of making a defence against any attack with small arms, and with a small loss; I therefore presume the scarcity of ammunition or provisions must have occasioned its capitulating.

I am hopeful that the Detroit is still safe, Notwithstanding the report to the Contrary. I however expect to hear something further at the Conference at the German Flatts, for which place I shall set out to morrow morning, and on my return shall make your Excellency acquainted with the Success which I may meet with, as I shall use every Endeavour within my power to render those people who are still our friends, of some use to His Majesty's Service.

I have the honor, &c,

(signed) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

P. S.

The Mohawk has also informed me that the *Chenussios* six days ago sent parties to *Irondequat* & *Sodons* to way lay any boats going to or from Niagara, of which I have given Notice to Major Duncan.<sup>2</sup>

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*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, July 30, 1763.

Sir,

Since I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the 24<sup>th</sup> I have received letters from the Detroit and Niagara, by one Van Eps, a Schenectady trader, who was taken on Lake Erie at the Commencement of Hostilities, and together with Lieu<sup>t</sup> McDougall made his escape from the Ottawaes into Detroit, during the investment of that place. He is an intelligent person, and gave me many particulars, but as he informs me that Major Gladwin has wrote your Excellency fully on every subject, I therefore presume you are acquainted therewith. From his knowledge of the Ottawa language, he had an opportunity during his confinement at a Frenchman's house near Detroit, (where the Indians and French in their interest used to hold their conferences,) to hear the various arguments made use of by the latter to encourage

<sup>1</sup> JOHN MONTRESOR was an Ensign in the 48th Regiment in the Braddock Expedition, when he was wounded, and was appointed to a lieutenantcy in the same corps, on the 4th July, 1755. He obtained a grant of land in Willsboro', Essex Co., N. Y., in 1764, and in 1766 quitted the army, either by death or resignation.

<sup>2</sup> ALEXANDER DUNCAN, of the 55th Regiment, obtained his company on 28th October, 1755, and was promoted to the rank of Major in February, 1760, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1764, which commission he held until February, 1773. *Army Lists*. — Ed.



the rest, by assuring them that a French fleet and Army were then at Quebec, and an army marching to their assistance from the Mississippi and Illinois. Several of these Frenchmen have since gone to that place, perhaps to avoid punishment, on finding their attempts on the Detroit ineffectual, and the Indians, some of whom begin now to see their Errors, would, I believe for the most part, stop their designs, which appears the more probable from their delivering up several of the English, whom they made Prisoners.

The alarm of which I informed your Excellency in my last, is in a great measure blown over for the present; however I have several Indian scouts out towards the frontiers, but from the repeated cautions and advice I have received, that many of the distant nations are determined to cut me off, I have begun to surround my house at this place with a good stockade, well flanked, for the defence of which I could wish I had a small party of men. As I have already represented to your Excellency that, my removal would infallibly occasion that of all the Inhabitants in this quarter, I should choose to be enabled to stand and keep my ground. If therefore your Excellency judges it necessary, (as regular troops are at present not conveniently to be had,) I would raise a few men for that purpose, provided I knew what pay would be allowed them.

The Mohawks, (like true friends) came a few days ago in a body to my house on this occasion, and declared that should matters go to extremities, they would to a man join me against any Nation which might attempt to put their threats into execution. I am in great want of some Ammunition to supply scouting parties &c, with, and wish your Excellency would please to order me a couple of barrels of powder &c, for that purpose. It is so scarce an article in the Country, that even the Militia cannot procure the quantity they are ordered to have.

I have the honour to be, &c—

(signed) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

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*Sir William Johnson to Jeffery Amherst.*

[New-York, S. P. O., XCVIII, No. 13.]

Johnson Hall August 4<sup>th</sup> 1763.

Sir

I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> and am very happy in finding that the steps I have taken have merited your approbation.

The Stockbridge Indians (from their implacable hatred to the rest, particularly to some of the Nations) I imagined might have been made serviceable, when with good officers and along with other corps; however as Your Excellency does not think proper to employ them I shall return them thanks for their offers and acquaint them that it is not apprehended there will be any necessity at present for their assistance. But from what I know of Indians in general, I am only apprehensive that the Canadian Indians and many others will always be desirous to engage either on the one side or the other, and cannot easily be persuaded to remain quiet when the rest are concerned.

I most heartily wish Your Excellency may receive good accounts from above, and success in your endeavours to procure a reinforcement in the manner you have mentioned, as the same will be very necessary at this juncture, more especially so as the inhabitants are universally alarmed at the repeated reports of the enemys designs.

If your Excellency's leisure will permit, I shall be glad to be honored with your answer concerning the several articles mentioned in mine of the 24<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>. and I beg leave to assure you, that every effort which my power and situation can enable me to make, shall be made use of for the protection of the country and the good of His Majesty's service. But as this is time of harvest in these parts I am much afraid that any attempts of the enemy will be but too successfull, unless supported with troops disengaged from any such care.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir

Your Excellency's &c

His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

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*Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 215. ]

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> Agent for Indian Affairs in the Northern District of America.

Sir.

His Majesty having been pleased upon our report to him of the arrangements necessary to be taken in consequence of the Cessions made to His Majesty in America by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, to direct that the Agents for Indian Affairs should correspond with Us in all matters regarding their departments, and should transmit all such informations as we should require from them, we take this opportunity of acquainting you with His Majesty's commands, not doubting of a regular & exact continuance on your part of that correspondence with this Board which has already produced so much usefull information and intelligence of the true state of Indian Affairs.

A regular and constant correspondence upon these points, at all times usefull and important, is now become essentially necessary from the great number of hitherto unknown tribes and nations, which are now under His Majesty's immediate protection, and the necessity there is of speedily falling upon some method of regulating the Indian commerce & policy, upon some more general and better established system than has hitherto taken place.

It is with a view to this object that we have proposed to His Majesty that a proclamation should be issued declaratory of His Majesty's final determination to permit no grants of lands nor any settlement to be made within certain fixed bounds under pretence of purchase or any pretext whatever, leaving all the territory within these bounds free for the hunting grounds of the Indian Nations, and for the free trade of all his subjects.

In what manner this free trade is to be regulated, and by what general plan the interests and politics of the Indians are to be form'd and directed, will in a great measure depend upon such opinions and proposals as we shall receive from you and His Majesty's Agent for the Southern district, upon this subject: and therefore we desire you will apply your utmost

thought and attention to this important object, and that you will as soon as possible transmit to us a very full and particular report of the present actual state of Indian Affairs within your department, describing with as much accuracy as possible the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, their different interests claims & dispositions, and stating the true causes of their present apparent discontents, with your opinion by what means those causes may be removed and the public tranquillity restored, and what will, in your judgment, be a proper plan for the future management and direction of these important interests, to the satisfaction of the Indians, the benefit of free trade, and the security and interests of His Majesty's dominions. We are &c

Whitehall  
Aug. 5. 1763.

ORWELL<sup>1</sup>  
BAMBER GASCOYNE

SHELburnE  
ED. ELIOT<sup>2</sup>  
GEO: RICE<sup>3</sup>

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*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ "American Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, III., No. 816. ]

Stratford Aug<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1763.

May it please Your Grace,

I humbly thank you for your kind letter of March 30th. I am greatly concerned that you are still troubled with the Gout; but thankful that you are not (as Dr Burton informs me) wholly disabled from attention to Business. I earnestly pray for your ease and relief.

Mr Beache's Book came to me in the weight of my trouble, otherwise (having his Leave) I should have expunged and altered several things. I hope it may answer some good ends.— He seems to have now fewer complaints than he has had these 20 years. The Author of that ugly piece is not yet known, tho' he is doubtless in this Country. Indeed all deny it and seem ashamed of it, but I believe most of them had some hand in it. It could not be Mayhew for he is censured in it. But he has done a worse thing: my Answer to which, if your Grace should think fit to order it to be published, or an[y]thing else relating to it, perhaps it might be well Dr Barclay's defence against Smith should be published with it. I question whether any Reply will be made to Mr Beach. Mr Apthorp, (to whom I sent a Copy of Mr Beache's answer, to transmit to your Grace) is indeed a very worthy and accomplished young Gentleman, and I hope will be a good writer in the Cause of Religion, but he does not seem yet enough used

<sup>1</sup> FRANCIS VERNON, nephew of Admiral Vernon, was created Baron Orwell, of the kingdom of Ireland, in 1762. He was Commissioner of the Board of Trade, from December, 1762 to July, 1765; also president of the British Fishery, and represented the borough of Ipswich, at this time, in the House of Commons. He was created Viscount Orwell in 1776, and in the following year, Earl of Shipbrooke, of Newry, in the county of Down, Ireland. He died in 1783, when his title became extinct. The town of Orwell, Vermont, is supposed to have been named out of respect for his Lordship.

<sup>2</sup> EDWARD ELIOT represented the borough of St. Germans, in Cornwall, for which Duchy he was also Receiver-General. He was elected in 1762.

<sup>3</sup> GEORGE RICE, of Newton Castle, Wales, married in 1756 Cecil, only daughter of William 1st Earl of Talbot, afterwards Baroness of Dinevor. He represented Carmarthenshire in the House of Commons, for which county he was also Custos Rotulonem. In consequence of the influence of his father-in-law at Court, where he filled the office of Lord High Steward of the Household, Mr. Rice was appointed one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. He died on the 3d of August, 1779. — ED.



to writing, and is so averse to controversy, that it may be doubted whether he is very suitable to engage with such Antagonists as these. He utterly declines any Reply to Mayhew, but would be glad to have mine printed. I have just heard M<sup>r</sup> Brown<sup>1</sup> of Portsmouth has published a Reply, whom with Aplin, I see in a Newspaper, he treats with the most haughty contempt. Most Dissenters, I believe, do by no means approve of him.

Your Grace will see by my Letter to the Secretary, that the better sort of Dissenters at Boston, are so zealous to propagate the Gospel among the Heathen, that they are ready to employ M<sup>r</sup> Bennet, or at least to contribute to his undertaking, though he entirely conforms to the Church. So that I would hope that Society has no designs against the Church, however there may be good political reasons against that act.—I conclude schemes are now concerting for the settlement of America, and I strongly hope the Interests of Religion will not be forgotten. Now must be the time if ever, to be in earnest for Bishops, and I trust all that is possible will be done to gain that point. The Dissenters also, and our Newspapers, are full of the talk: and indeed they know the thing is so reasonable, that we should and ought to be compleat in our kind, as well as they in theirs, that many seem to expect nothing else: and I believe if it was once done, they would generally, soon be easy enough. And I earnestly wish your Grace pray God to bless your endeavours.—They have one story here among them which may possibly have some truth in it. It is said D<sup>r</sup> Chandler was asked by somebody from the Ministry, Whether, if a Bishop were established at Quebec, without any jurisdiction that should relate to the Dissenters, they would have any objection to it? and that he answered, none at all.—And indeed I cannot conceive why they should.—Now we should be very glad of such an one rather than none who might visit us once in 4 or 5 years. And I suppose there is already provision made for one there, now come into our hands; and if he had some good Missionaries with him from the Government, he might do much good in converting both papists and Indians.

The money is paid to M<sup>r</sup> Charlton, but it will be faithfully laid out, as he has M<sup>r</sup> Chandler with him in that case.—My friendship for the latter makes me desirous of your Grace's influence that he may have a Doctor's degree, if he has not had one.—Your Grace will see what I write to the Secretary about Missions.—M<sup>r</sup> Palmer was glad to be at N. Haven rather than Rye; and Rye being for aught I can hear, very happy in M<sup>r</sup> Punderson, would now be extremely unwilling to receive him, but partly through the poverty of most, and partly through the indifferency of others towards Religion, they can by no means do without the Society's Assistance.—I am sensible of your difficulty of making New Missions, and for the reasons your Grace gives, which I have often used to repress the forwardness of people to expect. And this among other things has abated the forwardness of Hartford, who have of late gone on but heavily. They are however building and I hope will in time be a flourishing church.—But at present there is no hope of good M<sup>r</sup> Winslow's being any where better provided for than he is here, unless he would go to Virginia or Maryland, which he cannot reconcile himself to the thoughts of.

As to myself, I am very happy here as I am, only as I have never, for almost 50 years been without some public charge or other, it seems somewhat strange now to be without one. However I hope I may live here to some good purpose, by directing Candidates and others to

<sup>1</sup> Rev. ARTHUR BROWNE was a native of Drogheda, Ireland, and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1729. After having received Holy Orders, he emigrated to Providence, Rhode Island, where he remained until 1736, when he removed to Portsmouth, N. H. He died at Cambridge, June 10, 1773, aged 73 years. He published, among other things, "Remarks on Mayhew's Reflections on the Church of England, 1763," (*Allen*), which may be what is referred to above.—Ed.

their studies, and preaching frequently for M<sup>r</sup> Winslow, and so enable him often to preach at destitute places.—I hope also, though at this distance to be of some use to the College.—I am much obliged to M<sup>r</sup> Cooper for the kind Report he made of me to Your Grace, so long as providence permitted us to be together, (5 or 6 months) he was with me as a son with a father, and has since, in a vacation, spent a week with me here, besides many letters passing between us: on all which occasions, I have suggested everything I could think of that might be of use, which he has readily received with the best good will: and I have the great pleasure to inform Your Grace from D<sup>r</sup> Barclay and M<sup>r</sup> Auchmuty, that his conduct since I left them has been prudent faithful and diligent, and very acceptable both to the Governors people and Scholars: and they have now at last established a good Grammar School, for want of which the College has much suffered; and the Governours are more in earnest than they have ever been since M<sup>r</sup> Nicoll's Death.—So that I hope the College will not suffer by my leaving it, but rather flourish better than ever it has done, and that he will be a great blessing to it.—I own I much doubted, being so young, how his patience would hold out, in the Service of Gentlemen, most of whom care for little else but their Gain and pleasures, and are utter strangers to learning and Colleges: but I hope he will never meet with such severe trials of patience as I have had.

Since I have been here, I have found every thing the reverse of what that wicked pamphlet describes, both in Ministers and people. At the request of the clergy, I attended and preached to them, and a large Concourse of people, at their Convention in June. Every thing was truly amiable and pleasing, and I must report them a worthy set of faithful and conscientious Clergymen, (and several worthy Lay-Gentlemen from various distant parts were among us.) tho' much Learning cannot be expected in their low and laborious circumstances.—I discoursed with them freely on many points, and among others on the very subject Your Grace mentions in the close of your Letter, the necessity of using exactness and much Care and Caution in writing their Letters, which I shall further inculcate.—On this occasion, My Lord, give me leave to observe to you, that neither have the abstracts, heretofore, been always made with sufficient care and caution: things of no use have been inserted, and even figures have sometimes been mistaken or misprinted. But I will not enlarge, only, that, humbly begging Your Grace's prayers and blessing, I remain, with the greatest regard,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged

most dutiful and

most obedient humble Servant.

(Signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON.



*Earl of Egremont to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

[Governors and Commanders in America, (S. P. O.) No. 77.]

Whitehall, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1763

Sir.

Having been obliged to postpone till this mail, the transmitting to you His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s permission to return home, I will not keep you a moment in suspense but shall begin with acquainting



you, that the King is pleased to grant your request to leave North America, and repair to England, at such time, and in such manner, as shall be most convenient and agreeable to yourself; and his Maj<sup>ty</sup> has commanded me, on this occasion, to renew to you in the strongest terms, the repeated assurances you have constantly received of his just sense of the many eminent and meritorious services you have performed during the course of your long Command in North America; and the King orders me to add, that he shall have a particular pleasure in confirming to you, on your return into his presence, the uninterrupted satisfaction your whole conduct has given him.

With regard to your Command in N<sup>o</sup> America, I am to inform you, that his Maj<sup>ty</sup> does not judge proper to determine your commissions at present, but chuses that the powers, with which they invest you, should be exercised by Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, on whom, as being the next Officer to you, they, of course devolve, in your absence, and particularly those contained in your Commission under the great seal, by a Clause inserted, for this very purpose in case you should by death, or in any other manner, be disabled from exercising the said command; You will therefore leave your command in the hands of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, to whom you will give such orders and instructions, as from the situation of things at the time you embark, you shall judge most expedient for the good of the King's service; and you will also furnish Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, with every light, and deliver to him every paper, which shall be necessary for his thorough information & direction in the conduct of the very extensive & important command that will devolve upon him; and you will observe, by the inclosed letter to him, which I leave under flying seal for your perusal, that he is entirely referred to the orders you shall leave with him; and you will appoint a proper Officer to Command at Montreal in General Gage's absence. The King has determined on this disposition, for the present, in order not to prolong your stay in North America till His Maj<sup>ty</sup> could finally resolve on the Officer he should think proper to appoint to the command of his forces there, which cannot but require the more deliberation, from the difficulty, there must be, to find a worthy successor to a person, who has executed the various and intricate branches of the different services, entrusted to him, in such a manner, as not only to gain the entire approbation of his Sovereign, but also to conciliate the universal esteem and confidence, of all those over whom he has had any command, or with whom he has had any intercourse; and His Maj<sup>ty</sup> thinks further, that it may be of use to receive from you such lights and informations, as you will be able to give relative to the situation of things in North America, before he absolutely fixes upon any person to replace you there.

I acquainted you in my letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> June, that a plan for the future regulation of the new acquisitions in America, had been referred to the Board of Trade, who had made a report thereupon, which was then under consideration; I cannot explain to you their Lord<sup>pp</sup>'s ideas, and His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s opinion thereupon, so well, as by transmitting to you (which the King has permitted me to do in confidence, for the information of yourself, and of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage only, as the plan may still be liable to some alterations) a copy of the Report from the Board of Trade, dated the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, with the Chart thereunto annexed, and of my answer of the 14<sup>th</sup> past; You will there see the new Govern<sup>ts</sup> it has been thought proper to erect, and the persons, whom His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has been pleased to appoint to be Governors; You will also see the general idea of the Board of Trade, with regard to the stationing the Forces in North America, and tho' their Lord<sup>pp</sup>'s do not think they have yet sufficient informations to point out any certain number of Troops to be kept in each Govern<sup>t</sup>, yet, you will, as far as will be consistent with the service in general, attend to what is suggested of keeping a large military force in the new



Govern<sup>or</sup>, and the placing such garrisons as you shall, in your direction think proper in the Forts already erected and proposed to be kept up, for the security of the Indian Trade; and you will during your own stay in America, as General Gage will after your return, transmit from time to time, every possible information and light relative to the new acquisitions, and most particularly as to the Forts, and Posts, it may be expedient to keep up, or to erect; and the number and disposition of the Troops, to be placed in the respective Gov<sup>ts</sup> in North America, in order that the same may be communicated to the Board of Trade.

You will see by the inclosed extract and copy of the letters I write, by this Mail, to Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray, that the King has received intelligence, which gives some reason to suspect, that the French may be disposed to avail themselves of the liberty of the Catholick Religion, granted to the inhabitants of Canada, in order to keep up their connection with France, and by means of the Priests, to preserve such an influence over the Canadians, as may induce them to join, whenever opportunity should offer, in any attempts to recover that Country? It is therefore of the highest consequence to be extremely watchful over the conduct of the Priests, and to discover, and remove as soon as possible, any of them, who may busy themselves with such views, and to prevent the return of that dangerous Missionary de L'outré whose influence over those people, is too well known in America; you will observe the cautions the King has directed me to give Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray on this head, and you will add any further ones that you shall think may be of use, on this most essential matter.

The King has seen with great concern the accounts you give in your dispatches of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of June of the savage and unprovoked behaviour of the Indians by which several of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects have already suffered, and it is to be feared that many more may have been victims to their horrid Barbarities before you can be able to put a stop thereto; the King has the firmest reliance on your prudence and activity, in applying the most effectual remedies to this evil, and His Maj<sup>ty</sup> trusts, that you will have soon found means to reduce these Indians to reason and re-establish that security which is so necessary for the improvement and cultivation of the Country newly acquired to the Crown of Great Britain; this perfidy and cruelty of the Indians certainly deserve the severest punishment, and are sufficient to justify the most rigorous proceedings against them, in case it should be found practicable to come at the guilty, but the means they have in their power, from the immense extent of the Country, to make incursions into, and ravage the borders of the parts inhabited, and then retire into those not yet explored, may, it is feared, enable them, to avoid the detachments you shall employ against them, and at last reduce you to the necessity of recurring to the old and ineffectual method of healing the breach by temporary Treaties and by presents. The King will expect, with impatience, further accounts from you of this very unlucky incident, and should these rash attempts of the Indians, contrary to all expectations, gather to such a head as to become an object of more serious attention, His Maj<sup>ty</sup> is in that case persuaded from your well known zeal, that, notwithstanding the leave now given you to return home, you will not make use thereof while these disturbances with the Indians shall make your presence in America essential for the King's service, and your remaining there some little time longer necessary to keep the people quiet, from the just confidence they place in your experience and activity.

As this may probably be the last dispatch you will receive from me in America, I cannot conclude it without offering you my warmest wishes for your safe voyage; and I shall rejoice in being able to assure you in person of the sincere regard and perfect truth, with which

I am etc.

EGREMONT.<sup>1</sup>

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*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

[ New-York, ( S. P. O. ) XCVIII., No. 20. ]

Johnson Hall August 20<sup>th</sup> 1763

Sir

Captain Gardiner has delivered me your Excellency's favor of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, and I have in consequence thereof given him all the advice & intelligence in my power with regard to his better conducting himself on the service upon which he is sent.

As the Nations who have committed hostilities deserve the greatest and most immediate punishment which we can bestow, I think nothing can be more necessary than an attempt on them whilst the season will admit of an expedition; but as I look upon the first blow which may be struck, to be of the highest importance and what will give the Indians an idea of our abilities in that way, as well as strike an awe amongst the several nations, I must humbly beg leave to represent that unless the same be attended with success and a good retreat, it may draw in many other unthinking Indians to engage in the quarrel; the Senecas are pretty numerous & consist of many villages at some little distance from each other: the moment therefore that a body of troops appear before any of them (if not before discovered) some of them will undoubtedly be able to escape to another village and thereby spread an alarm, the consequence of which will be, that a body of these naked men, used to the woods, and able runners, will immediately set out to cut off their retreat. And altho' British soldiers have infinitely more bravery than any Indians, the loss may be very considerable in a woody country should they come up with them; and if this should be the case, it will elate those foolish people & strengthen their alliance. I am therefore humbly of opinion that as the first blow will in a great measure determine the success of what is to follow, the number of those who go on that service, should be pretty considerable, as also that to amuse the enemy and prevent their bending their force one way, two or three attempts of the like nature should be at the same time undertaken. This will not only make it the more secure, but should one fail, another may prove successfull. Your Excellency's intention of immediate chastisement, induces me to offer these my sentiments in the most humble manner that the success may be effectual.

This moment a Mohawk Indian is arrived express from the Meeting with the several Chiefs in the Senecas country, which in a former letter I mentioned was to have taken place at the

<sup>1</sup>CHARLES, Earl of Egremont, was eldest son of Sir William Wyndham, by Katharine, second daughter of the Duke of Somerset. He was born on the 19th August, 1710, and succeeded by special remainder to the Earldom on the death of his uncle, 7 February, 1750. There was something like prophecy in the last paragraph of the above despatch, for his Lordship died of Apoplexy 8 days after its date, viz: on 21st of August, 1763. He filled the office of Secretary of State from October, 1761.—Ed.

Indian's desire, in order to bring them to reason. The Messenger informs me that the chiefs of all the Nations are to be at the German Flatts on the 26<sup>th</sup> instant where they desire to have a conference with me, when they will lay before me the result of their proceedings with the Senecas &c and their sentiments thereon. The Congress in the Senecas Country not having been over at the departure of the Messenger, he is not able to give me any particulars, except that all the Deputy's from the other Nations behaved with the greatest zeal and warmth in favor of the English, altho' the Senecas, from what he observed, seemed averse to any thing they proposed. As the meeting at the German Flatts will not only enable me to know every particular, but also prove of service with regard to the peaceable Nations, I purpose to attend the same, on which account I shall take a present with me for the Sachems &c the better to secure them to our interest and reward them for the trouble they have lately taken in the affair as well as for their attachment to us; to which I hope Your Excellency will have no objection, being convinced it will be of service; and on my return I shall do myself the honor to acquaint you with the proceedings thereat, and the intelligence I shall receive.

I have the honor to be with the greatest truth and respect,

Sir

Your Excellency's &c

His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.



*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, Aug<sup>st</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1763.

Sir,

Yesterday I was honored with Your Excellency's letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, together with Captain Baugh's information concerning the hostilities committed on the Frontiers of Virginia. Ever since the reduction of Canada, the Six Nations, as well as the Western Indians have particularly busied themselves in Carrying on the war against the *Cherokees* &ca, and for that purpose have constantly sent parties, and some of them very considerable, through the back parts of each province, And although these acts, said to be committed by some *Six Nation* Indians, were unknown to me until the receipt of your Excellency's letter, yet, it is very possible that the Senecas have done it, or a party of some other nations destined against the Southern Indians, may have been, by the power and influence of that nation, induced to commit some acts of Violence, and turn their arms against the English; and that the six Indians who overtook the rest at *Dunlap's Creek*, were sent to them perhaps for that purpose, from *Chenussio*. As this is all but uncertain, I shall make a strict enquiry into the affair for the full discovery thereof.

In consequence of my Instructions to Captain Claus, at the first account received of hostilities being commenced by the Indians, he has held a Congress with all the nations in Canada at *Cohnawagey* on the 27<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> who unanimously agreed to send Messengers to the Enemy Indians, to desire them to lay down the hatchet, with which, if they did not Comply, the Canada Indians would declare against them. A copy of their Message I herewith transmit to your Excellency.



The behaviour of the *Ottawaes* near *Michilimackinac* in taking the English from the rest and restoring them with some of their effects and that of the *Sakis* and others about *Lake Michigan*, with which I have been lately informed, is very commendable and deserves notice; Indeed without reward Indians always did, and always will consider themselves as neglected, as these *Sakis* and others to the Westward have a great dislike to the *Chippewas*, they might I imagine, be induced to act offensively against the rest, which would be of great service to the regular troops, in so Wooden and distant a Country.

I heartily wish Major Gladwin success and hope the Reinforcements sent to him by Your Excellency may enable him to strike a blow which may strike terror amongst the Savages. The Indians of *Ohio*, the *Senecas*, *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, as they are by all the best accounts the principal authors of the Hostilities deserve the most immediate punishment, and most of them lie more convenient for an Expedition at this advanced season than the rest of our Enemies. Besides that, the security of these frontiers will depend on their immediate punishment, as the people most capable of distressing our settlements.

A relapse of my former disorder, under which I now labour, prevents me from being able to meet the Indians at the *German Flatts*, as mentioned in my last. I have therefore sent to call them to this place, and I expect their arrival about the 29<sup>th</sup>. As the present number of men at Fort Stanwix are but few, and I should be very unwilling to distress the Garrison, I shall not therefore make any application to L<sup>t</sup> Colonel Campbell, unless in case of apparent danger, but wait until your Excellency pleases to send me a Sergeant and 12 Men, which with my servants, &c<sup>a</sup> may, I beleive, be sufficient.

I shall take particular care, as I always have done, in any distribution of the Barrel of Powder, which will go but a very little way amongst the various wants I think it but prudent at present to supply, and I am certain that what little they have had in that manner was never made a bad use of, as I well know that the Indians are remarkably the very worst managers of powder on every occasion, and whilst they have any ammunition are continually discharging their pieces at every little object, be their Necessities ever so great. Every hunter consumes about 8<sup>lbs</sup> of powder, and 20<sup>lbs</sup> of lead at his two hunting seasons in the year, and without that quantity a good hunter seldom chooses to go out. Therefore unless the traders, (whenever trade with them may again be carried on,) have sufficient to Enable the Indians to hunt as formerly, there can be no trade with them. And to prevent many abuses, as well as to render the Indians more dependent on us than at present, I apprehend if the trade was confined to *Oswego*, *Niagara*, *Pittsburg* and *Detroit*, provided the traders could transport their goods in vessels to the latter, these places would be sufficiently convenient for the Indians, and more safe for the traders and their effects. The *Christinaux* in the neighborhood of *Hudson's Bay* and the *Sioux* who are the most distant with whom we have any trade, often came to *Oswego*, when we had only that out post, and as they think but little of a long Journey they are but too apt to make small allowance for the expence the traders are at, in transporting their goods to *Michilimackinac*, *La Baye*, &c<sup>a</sup>, which no doubt makes them find fault with the prices there, however reasonable, but also the sight of goods in a traders boat passing over the distant lakes and rivers is a temptation which many of the nations cannot resist, and may induce some of them often hereafter, however successful we may be against them, to commit depredations for the sake of the plunder, which may engage us in fresh troubles, as these people cannot be subdued in many years.

Your Excellency may be assured that whenever my health permits, and that it's Judged Expedient, I should visit the upper Country, or any quarter within my department I shall with pleasure execute your commands for the good of His Majesty's Service.

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

I have the honor, &c

(signed) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Message of the Canada to the Western Indians.*

The following Messages, consisting in four belts of Wampum, were sent by the 8 Indian Nations in Canada, Viz' the *Caughnawageys*, *Caneghsadarundax*, *Skaghnans*, *Swegachies*, *S<sup>t</sup> Francis*, 3 *River Indians*, and *Hurons*, near Quebec, among the Western Nations, two different ways, by two birch Canoes, one through Lake Ontario to Detrouite, the other by the Ottawawa, or Grand River, to Missilimackinac.

Brethren of Towaganha or Western Indians.

"We by this belt of Wampum acquaint you that there is an universal peace concluded among all the Christian powers in Europe, and consequently among the white people in America, by which Peace, The King of France ceded to the King of England all his claim and right of all his dominions on this Continent, as far as the River Mississippi: Wherefore you are to consider the King of England as the only Sovereign over the said territories, who, we hear, intends to put the trade with you and us upon a very good footing."

"Brethren, You cannot have forgot the agreement jointly made between us and our Brethren the English, when this Country was taken, of maintaining a firm peace and friendship with one another. We hereby acquaint you that we are resolved strictly to abide by our agreements, and expect you'll do the same."

A large white belt with black spots, in Capt<sup>n</sup> Clau's behalf

Brethren Towaganha,

"We are vastly surprised to hear such bad accounts from you, and that you have forgot the Engagement, and foolishly and rashly taken up the hatchet against your brethren. You know that you requested us to take you into our Confederacy, and we have complied; but you have behaved as unworthy members, and slipt your hold of the Covenant Chain; We by this belt entreat and desire you to recollect yourselves, what you are about, in disturbing the peace of the Confederacy, and immediately lay down the hatchet."

A large white belt in behalf of the 8 Nations.

Brethren Towaganha,

"We desire you to let us know as soon as possible whether you will comply with our desire of laying down the hatchet, or not, that we may direct ourselves accordingly, and let you know further what we think of your inconsiderate behaviors.

A belt from the 8 Nations.

Brethren Towaganha,

"We would have you always look upon us as keeping a strong hold of the Chain of friendship with our bretheren the English; and are resolved to abide by our Engagements

“of peace for ever; and regard the King of England as our Common Father who is willing to  
 “live in peace and friendship with all his children the Indians, and intends to establish a fair  
 “and reasonable trade with all Indian nations in his American dominions. He does not  
 “mean to claim your lands as his property and desires no more privileges than the King of  
 “France had, which is to carry on the trade among you for your own good and welfare; but  
 “if you behave as you have now done, he certainly will deprive you of it; and has it in his  
 “power as you ca’n’t be supplied by any other nation, he having the entrance of the two rivers  
 “that lead from the sea to your Country, and Can prevent any other nation of white people  
 “to trade with you: Your present behavior, therefore, is enough to be our mutual Destruction.

A belt which Capt<sup>n</sup> Claus gave.

The deputies after delivering the above Messages, are to acquaint them that Peace was proclaimed in Canada, and the French in this Country were now become English Subjects; and of consequence they, the Western nations, must consider them and us as one people, who enjoyed the same privileges in trade and any thing else, and were obliged to submit to the same laws and Government, That if the English were prevented from trafficking with them, the French were likewise, &c

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*Sir Jeffery Amherst to Sir William Johnson.*

[ New-York, (S. P. O.,) XCVIII., No. 21. ]

(Copy)

New York 27 August 1763.

Sir

I am this moment favored with your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, and am to thank you for your opinion in regard to the most prudent manner of punishing the Senecas. Our not being able to take immediate revenge of that ungratefull tribe, shall not screen them from our just wrath, for I am firmly determined to make every Nation that has been engaged in the present insurrection, severely feel the punishment due to such treacherous and unprovoked barbarities as have been committed by them on the unfortunate persons who have fallen into their hands. I cannot but approve of your meeting the Six Nations at their intended Conference at the German Flatts. That meeting will be over before this can reach you, so that I need not give you any hints relative to your conduct on that occasion. I shall only say, that it behove the whole race of Indians to beware (for I fear the best of them have in some measure been privy to and concerned in the late mischief) of carrying matters much farther against the English, or daring to form conspiracys, as the consequence will most certainly occasion measures to be taken that in the end will put a most effectuall stop to their *very being*.

I have nothing new from the Detroit since Captain Dalyell left Presqu’ Isle; but yesterday I had the satisfaction to receive letters from Colonel Bouquet acquainting me of his arrival at Fort Pitt on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant; having on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> been attacked by a very large body of Indians near Bushy Run, engaged them from noon to night, the first day, our men keeping their ground and always driving off the Savages; but came back at night to cover the provisions and the wounded. The next day the Indians surrounded our little army and advanced to the



attack very furiously, but Colonel Bouquet had made such a disposition to receive them, and the behavior of the troops was so firm and resolute, that the Savages gave way, had not the courage to support their attempt, and were pursued for a considerable distance with great slaughter. Captain Basset who brought me Col: Bouquet's dispatches and was present in both actions assures me that there were at least 50 or 60 Indians slain and a great many wounded in the pursuit. He likewise says that the three principal persons who began the mischief on that side by murdering Capt. Clapham & viz' Kikyuscung and the Wolf were killed and Butler met with the same fate at Fort Pitt: which if true appears to be a very providential piece of justice.

This service has not been affected without loss on our side, altho' I must say Colonel Bouquet with his little army, considering the large convoy he had made his care, has done every thing I could have hoped for, on the Indians forming so large a body to oppose him. Capt. L. Graham and Lieut. McIntosh of the 42<sup>d</sup> with a Lieut. of the Rangers, killed; Captain Graham and Lieut. Duncan Campbell of the 42<sup>d</sup> Lieut. Dow of the 60<sup>th</sup> Lieut. Donald Campbell of the 79<sup>th</sup> and Volunteer Peebles wounded. Our loss, including officers is 50 men killed and 60 wounded.

Some random shots were fired on the army between Bushy Run and Fort Pitt; but this seasonable check I believe will put an effectual stop to any further mischief being done on that communication; particularly as Colonel Stephen with a body of 4 or 500 men of the Virginia Militia is advanced as far as Forts Cumberland and Bedford, with a view not only of covering the frontiers, but of acting offensively against the Savages. This public spirited Colony has also sent a body of the like number of men under the command of Colonel Lewis for the defence and protection of their South West frontiers. What a contrast this makes between the conduct of the Pennsylvanians and Virginians, highly to the honor of the latter, but places the former in the most despicable light imaginable.

I enclose you a Copy of what passed between Captain Ecuyer and the very villains who were afterwards engaged in the action against Colonel Bouquet's Detachment. I approve most fully of Captain Ecuyer's answer to them; but I should have been better pleased had he not treated with them when they came to the Fort soon after the first mischief happened, by giving them not only provisions but other tokens of friendship, which entitled them to come again to the Fort; altho' their conduct ever since and the whole tenor of their speech, plainly prove that their designs were bad: and I must own I should not have blamed him had he put every one of those who were in his power to death.

I am with great regard,

Sir &c

Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

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*Sir Jeffery Amherst to Sir William Johnson.*

New York, 9 September 1763.

Sir,

By the Packet Boat which arrived here the day before yesterday, I am honored with a letter from the Earl of Egremont, in which is the following Paragraph, which I think proper to transcribe, as the contents relate to your Department. His Lordships words are these.—

"I am likewise to acquaint you that it has been suggested here that some of the Indians of the Six Nations have lately shown marks of discontent, and have been suspicious of Neglect. Should you find such suggestions to be founded in truth, and should you imagine that any such disaffected disposition of the Northern Indians shall require a particular attention, the King, trusting to your known Economy and discretion, leaves it entirely to you to support Sir William Johnson in any expence that you may judge expedient for His Majesty's service upon this occasion, not exceeding, however, the sum of one Thousand Pounds: But it is needless to caution you not to incur any Expense of this nature, without you shall judge it absolutely necessary to conciliate the Indian tribes, and more particularly the Six Nations, to His Majesty's Government, who may possibly from the vast cessions made by the Peace to Great Britain, be disposed to give some degree of credit to those malicious notions of our designs to extirpate them, which the French have always endeavored to instil into them."

The steps taken by you at the late conferences, of which I have transmitted particular accounts to the Secretary of State, will have shown to His Majesty that a due Attention has been had to the affairs of the Indians, particularly the Six Nations. The expenses incurred at those conferences, I trust have been as sparing as the Circumstances would admit of, and I need not add anything on the subject of Economy, after what the Earl of Egremont mentions in the foregoing Extract.

You will have heard of the Unfortunate fate of poor Dalzell; The Affair in other respects is but trifling, for the Indians must have lost some men, which they will feel as much as we can, for the few that were killed of ours. I most sensibly lament the death of Captain Dalzell,<sup>1</sup> for he was a brave Officer and a worthy man. When the reinforcements get to the Detroit, I doubt not but Major Gladwin will have been able to act offensively against the Savages, and that every thing there will soon be put on a proper footing.

That Major Gladwin may prepare in time for the Arrangement of the Troops during the winter, I now despatch Major of Brigade Moncrieffe, with orders to Major Gladwin for that purpose, that he may put them in execution when he shall see occasion, and as circumstances may require. It is my intention that the whole of the 42<sup>d</sup> Regiment should be stationed at the Detroit and the Dependent Posts. Should it happen that the 42<sup>d</sup> cannot reach the Detroit this Fall, in that event, I have directed Major Gladwin to keep up the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which Otherwise is to be disbanded, and the men drafted in the 46<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which garrisons Niagara and Presque Ile.

As the present insurrection seems to be very general, and that I suspect the Indians will try every Method that treachery and baseness can suggest, to destroy those whom they fear, I would advise you to make use of the power I gave you in a late letter to demand a party from Fort Stanwix, as a guard to your house; and I have only to desire that if you should think

<sup>1</sup> JAMES DALYELL was appointed a Lieutenant in the 60th or Royal Americans, on 15th January, 1756, and obtained a company in the 2d battalion of the Royals or 1st regiment of Foot, on the 13th September, 1760. On the 31st July, 1763, he led a detachment against Pontiac, then encamped beyond the bridge on the creek called the Bloody Run, in the vicinity of Detroit. The British party was obliged to retreat. "At a little distance," says Parkman, "lay a serjeant of the 55th, helplessly wounded, raising himself on his hands and gazing with a look of despair after his retiring comrades. The sight caught the eye of Dalzell. That gallant soldier, in the true spirit of heroism, ran out, amid the firing to rescue the wounded man, when a shot struck him and he fell dead. Few observed his fate, and none durst turn back to recover his body," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 275), where the name, however, but why we know not, is printed Dalzell.—ED.

proper to demand them, the men may be constantly kept on duty, and not permitted on any account whatever to straggle about the place.

Sir William Johnson, Bart.

I am, with great regard, &c

(signed) JEFF. AMHERST.<sup>1</sup>

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Egremont.*

[New-York, ( State Paper Office, ) CLVIII.]

New York, Sept<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1763

My Lord,

I have the honour of Your Lordships commands of the 9<sup>th</sup> of July signifying His Majesty's pleasure for suppressing the pernicious illegall trade carried on in America. Nothing in my power shall be neglected in performing so necessary a duty.

I cannot imagine any method for suppressing the pernicious trade with Holland which can be more effectual than this now taken by His Majesty's ships of war.

If a sufficient number of men be put on board every suspected vessel on the coast, or which comes from any foreign port, to prevent her breaking bulk, till she comes to the proper Port

<sup>1</sup> JEFFERY, 1st Baron Amherst, was the son of Jefferey Amherst and Elizabeth Kerril, of Hadlow, in the county of Kent, and was born on the 29th January, 1717. Having evinced a strong inclination in early years for the military profession, he entered the army under the patronage of the Duke of Dorset, distinguished himself in the battles of Dettengen in 1743, Fontenoy in 1745, Lauffeldt in 1747, and that of Hastenbeck in 1757, after having risen to be Colonel of the 15th regiment of foot in 1756. On the recall of Lord Loudoun, he was appointed by Mr. Pitt to the command of the expedition against Louisburgh, and arrived at Halifax 28th May, 1758. On the 30th September following, he was named Colonel of the 60th or Royal Americans; became Major-General in June, 1759, in which year his signal services procured for him the thanks of the House of Commons, and the sinecure office of Governor of Virginia, worth £1500 a year. On the 8th September, 1760, he signed the capitulation of Montreal, and was invested with the office of Governor General of Canada; whereupon he divided that Province into three Military Governments and established Martial law, and then returned to New-York, having been appointed Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's forces in America. On 19th January, 1761, he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and in March following was created Knight of the Bath and a Member of the Privy Council. Having returned to England, he remained in favor until 1768, when, having been asked to give his opinion on the repeal of the American Stamp Act, he strenuously opposed it, and was in consequence dismissed from his sinecure place of the governorship of Virginia. Hereupon he wanted to be created an English peer, but was refused. *Grenville Papers*, IV., 329, 349. He became Colonel of the 3d Buffs in November, 1768, and in 1770 was appointed Governor of Guernsey; in 1772, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and on the 20th May, 1776, was raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Amherst. He became General in the Army on 19th March, 1778; on 21st April, 1779, was appointed Colonel of the 2d Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, and Commander-in-Chief of all the British forces, and on the 20th of March, 1782, Colonel of the 2d Troop of Horse Guards. His Lordship died on the 3d of August, 1797, in the 81st year of his age. Though General Amherst had long ceased to have any connection with America or its affairs, yet he did not cease endeavoring to increase his private fortune at the expense of that country. When he lost the sinecure governorship of Virginia in 1768, he made an effort to obtain a grant of a Coal mine, we presume, in Nova Scotia; but having failed in that, took advantage of the return of his friends to power in 1770, and applied for a grant of the Jesuits' Estates in Canada, the conceded portion of which afforded at the time a yearly revenue of about £1500, and the unneeded lands amounted to somewhere in the neighborhood of half a million of acres. This application was not disposed of during his Lordship's life time, and the difficulties in the way of the grant having been found insurmountable, the Crown, to its honor, abandoned the project, and compromised the matter in 1803, by granting an annuity to the second Lord Amherst, and the representatives of the family, in lieu of any claims they may have on the Royal bounty. The particulars of this transaction will be found in the *Report on Education, made to the Assembly of Lower Canada in 1824.* — ED.



for unloading & to attend the unlading, this alone, in my humble opinion would in a great measure, if not wholly, suppress this illegal Trade.

My Lord, As Your Lordship is pleased to direct me to impart to you such further hints as may occur to me as proper for this subject, of his Majesty's Right and Revenue, I presume to inform you of an other matter, which greatly affects His Majesty's Revenue of his Quit Rents in this Province. In His Majestys Instructions to His Governor it is set forth that his Majesty has been informed of exorbitant grants of vast tracts of Land in this Province, under trifling Quit Rents, particularly in the Counties of Orange and Ulster, without any obligations on the grantee to cultivate and improve, His Majesty directs and requires His Governor to put in practice all legal methods for breaking and annulling all such exorbitant, irregular & unconditional Grants, & to report whatever may be found further necessary, or conducive for effecting the same. No prosecution of this kind can be carried on without considerable expence & the Governor has no fund either from the King or from the Assembly for this or any other contingent service. This alone has disabled the Governor & Attorney General in attempting such Prosecutions. We have a set of lawyers in this Province as insolent & petulant, & at the same time as well skilled in all the chicanerie of the Law, as perhaps are to be found any where else. This requires Judges of ability & skill in the Law to restrain them who are not easily to be found in this place, & at the same time disinterested, for the distinguished families in so small a country as this are so united by inter-marriages and otherwise, that in few cases a cause of any consequence, especially where the King's Rights are concerned, can be brought before a Judge who is one of these families, in which he can be supposed intirely disinterested, or free from connections with those interested either in that case, or in other cases similar to it. A very remarkable case by which the King's interest is greatly affected in proof of this, has lately happened, which I intend to lay before the Lords of Trade and Plantations, as soon as I can procure the proper materials. It relates to the Lands particularly mentioned in the Instruction.

Your Lordship cannot possibly conceive how weak the hands of Government are in this Province, & how much the Governor is disabled in securing the King's Rights & in putting the Laws of trade in execution. This may deserve the attention of his Majesty's ministers. In my humble opinion no means in these cases can be effectual without a disinterested Chief Justice at least, of sufficient ability & resolution, & an able Attorney General, to advise the Governor and to carry on suits of law, both of them properly supported, together with a sufficient fund for the unavoidable expence of prosecuting effectually wherever the King's Right or Authority is invaded. His Majesty's Quit Rents in this Province are sufficient for these purposes.

I confide in Your Lordships' protection while I do my duty & am with the greatest submission,

My Lord, Your most obedient

& faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

The Right honourable  
Earl of Egremont.

*Sir William Johnson to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

Johnson Hall, 14 September 1763.

Sir,

I have had the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, together with a Copy of the proceedings between Captain Ecuyer and the Indians who engaged Colonel Bouquet, whose success and arrival at Fort Pitt gives me infinite Satisfaction.

I enclose your Excellency part of my proceedings with the Six Nations at this place where they have now been for several days, to the amount of 326, and I hourly expect above 200 more from the Susquehanna River, whose business I am not yet acquainted with.

Your Excellency will observe by my proceedings, that the rest of the Nations were accompanied by six Senecas, belonging to the Castles on this side of *Chenussio*, who, I cannot learn have as yet acted against us; the meeting lately held by the rest of the nations with that People whom they have brought to a sense of the ill behavior of the rest, and you will also observe that the *Seneca* Villages called *Kánádesség'y* and *Canadasaggo*, are said to be in our interest, for which reason the Indians appear very desirous that they might be continued amongst the number of our friends, as they have not committed hostilities, and that they had given assurances to the Indians of these Villages that they would endeavour to make their peace with the English, which prevented them from acting against us: On this I spoke to them very fully, but shall expect your Excellency's opinion and sentiments before I can give them a definite answer. The declarations and behavior of the rest is very agreeable to me, and I hope may prove so to your Excellency, but that of the *Coghnowageys* deserves being particularly noticed, and has had great weight at this meeting. From the private conferences I have had with that people, as also from the letters which they have brought me from Canada I plainly find they have a great inclination to engage against our Enemies and that many of them only wait our requisition to fall upon them or join our troops. I was therefore unwilling to check a proceeding, which from the power and warlike turn of these people might prove of infinite advantage to us, and have accordingly given them the war belt, as your Excellency will see in my proceedings as also, at the request of some Chiefs, sent warrants, (but not subject to pay,) for two Chief Warriors in Canada, as I had done during the time which I was used to send out Parties—all which, I hope, may prove agreeable to your Excellency.

The occasion of the arrival of the *Coghnowageys*, was principally to lay before me a complaint concerning a tract of land Six Miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, which the Jesuits claim, by virtue of a Patent as they say, from Lewis XIV. which tract now in question adjoins to that concerning which Governor Gage lately passed sentence in their favour, but there being some circumstances relative to this Patent which prevents the Governor from deciding the matter, the Indians request I may lay their demand before His Majesty; and I am of opinion the affair may be made very easy to them, now that the society is broke in France, and can consequently hold no lands as a body—their Grant becoming void. I told them I should immediately comply with their request, as I would willingly preserve them in the good disposition they are in, well knowing the unanimity of the several nations in Canada renders them a respectable people, and their behavior, together with that of the *Ottawaes* near *Michilimackinac*, and the *Sakis*, &c, if rewarded with some favours from us, will I beleive, bind them to us, and make them of great use against a people whose numbers and situation render



it extremely difficult for us alone to reduce them to that state which only can secure a lasting Peace, since I am convinced they will never want for assistance from the French to harrass and keep our Frontiers in continual alarms, be their situation ever so remote, or their prospect of advantage ever so inconsiderable; and I am apprehensive that our greatest care and precaution will scarcely be sufficient to prevent the French from supplying the Indians our Enemies with ammunition, by the way of the *Mississippi*, as I well know that distance is little regarded by Indians, especially where they have so many fine rivers and communications by which they can be supplied; and which will enable the French to engross a great part of the trade. Our friendly Indians will naturally expect a continuance of trade; but least others might partake thereof, and thereby be the better enabled to continue their hostilities, I beleive your Excellency will be of opinion that the same for the present should be carried on at a very few places, and those under our immediate inspection, where our Enemies will not venture on a trading footing, as at Fort Stanwix on this Communication, and not further.

The Trade from Canada up the *Ottawawa* River appears to me from all accounts to be of a dangerous nature, many villainies having been carried on through that channel; and our friendly Indians in and about Canada can be sufficiently supplied at Montreal. And as many of our Enemies live in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, I apprehend it will be advisable to discontinue the trade in that Quarter.

The loss of one of the Vessels on Lake Erie is very unlucky at this juncture, and I am very apprehensive of the fate of the other the ensuing winter; a small party having it in their power to burn her when the Frost sets in, without the Utmost precaution.

Since writing the foregoing, 246 Indians from *Susquahana* and its branches as low down as *Owegey* are arrived here. They are principally come to assure me of their Resolutions to remain our Friends and that they have taken the utmost pains to prevent their people from joining the Enemy, which has occasioned all the ill disposed to leave that quarter. They likewise express great satisfaction at hearing the good Resolutions of the 5. Nations.

I had not closed my letter till this day, being the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, when I have been honored with your Excellency's of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> instant, in the former of which you was pleased to transmit the paragraph of Lord Egremont's letter relative to my department, and pointing out a particular sum of Money not to be exceeded, to which I shall pay due regard, so far as is in any wise consistent with the service and the present state of Affairs—but I am of opinion that as matters have gone a much greater length than was perhaps expected in England when His Lordship wrote, His Majesty will not probably at present choose to limit the Expense, but rather leave it to your Excellency's discretion, and that of those whom he has appointed to that department, who, I flatter myself he will consider as proper judges thereof, as I can sufficiently make it appear that it is with the utmost reluctance I obey the dictates of necessity by incurring any considerable expenses on account of the Indians, and which my desire of lessening the public expenses, and my love of ease and quiet would induce me to avoid if possible, None but those who have experienced it, can be truly sensible of the troubles which must be undergone at this time, with the Indians; if they did they would readily beleive that these troubles would certainly be avoided; but that the urgency of affairs make it the duty of every servant of the Crown to do all that is necessary for His Majesty's service, that it may not be hereafter suggested we owe any future troubles to a mistaken Enemy. And I beleive your Excellency is of opinion that I shall never run into any expense but what the good of His Majesty's service, and the safety and welfare of the Public shall render indispensably necessary.



I am hopeful that in a short time we may hear of some success in the neighborhood of the Detroit, and I beleive your Excellency's judicious arrangement of the troops will secure that important post to us during the Winter, although I apprehend the 42<sup>d</sup> Regiment will hardly arrive there before that time.

Agreeable to your Excellencys favour of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, I shall apply to L<sup>t</sup> Col. Campbell for a Sergeant and 12 Men, who shall be kept strictly to their duty, and detained no longer than Occasion requires.

The Attempts against the *Shuwanese* is certainly very necessary, and I heartily wish Colonel Stephen Success in his Expedition: His chief danger will be in his retreat up the River; besides I am informed that the Shawanese have moved back from the Ohio this good while past, and that one Village is established about 90 Miles up the Scioto River, where numbers of the Delawares and others have lately joined them.

I flatter myself the conduct of the Canada Indians will leave no room to doubt of their Sincerity. There are many of them now ready to join our troops if required, and they have formerly been very steadfast to the part on which they were engaged, which they assure me they will evince in their Attachment to us.

I am at a loss to consider how those *Ottawaes* and friendly Indians in the neighborhood of *La Bay*, *Michilimackinac*, &c, can be conveniently supplied with trade during the continuation of the present hostilities, without which they will certainly be greatly disgusted, and can see no other method but by their Coming for goods to Montreal; The Indians likewise about the *Illinois*, who have not, as yet, intermeddled in the present troubles, will expect a trade whenever we shall be able to take possession of that Country, which is of great importance to us, as I could venture to affirm that the French in that quarter have been considerably instrumental in setting the present hostilities on foot, with the rest, and I much fear they will occasion us great difficulty in getting there by means of the Indians.

As the *Senecas* came hither under the protection of the rest, by whom I know the same was well meant, I was under a necessity of stifling my resentment, for the present; and I thought it best to treat them as a people who owed their protection entirely to the other Nations.

The Indians have only in general spoke of the out posts as in part the Cause of the defection of the *Senecas* &c, and I heartily wish they may be established in such a manner as shall prevent their falling into the Enemies hands, should they hereafter commence hostilities.

Mr Croghan, who will have the honor to deliver your Excellency my letter, arrived here a few days ago, in order to lay before me the necessity he is under of going to England, on his private affairs, for which he had before solicited my permission; and now repeated his desire of going as soon as possible. I have therefore referred him to your Excellency for an answer to his request.

His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst

I have the honor to be, &c  
(signed) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians.*

Extracts from the Minutes of proceedings between Sir William Johnson Bart<sup>t</sup> and the Six Nations, and Indians of Caughnawaga, in Canada, &c

Johnson Hall, Sept<sup>r</sup> 7. 1763.

[Enclosure in Sir Wm Johnson's letter to Sir Jeff. Amherst dated, 14 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1763]

Sir William Johnson had a private meeting with the Chiefs of the *Onondagas*, wherein they acquainted him with the steps they had taken with the *Senecas*.

P. M. The Indians of each Nation assembled.

PRESENT — Sir William Johnson Bart<sup>t</sup>

Sir William acquainted the Indians with his having heard that some of their People had committed hostilities on the frontiers of Virginia, and desired to be informed who were concerned therein, after which he gave them an account of Colonel Bouquet's successful engagement near Fort Pitt, and of the loss sustained by the Indians.

Then *Teyawarunte* Speaker of Onondaga addressed Sir William, as follows.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

In consequence of your Speech made to us lately at the German Flatts, we sent immediately to the *Senecas* to know the cause of their behavior, and on the arrival of our Deputies in that Country our Warriors addressed theirs desiring they would immediately lay down the hatchet and bethink themselves of the danger in which their bad proceedings must involve their families, and not proudly Continue the war, but consider their welfare.

Then our Sachems addressed theirs desiring they would think for the Public good, and not permit their young men to prosecute hostilities, but that they would remember the old agreement, whereby they were to keep peace and never begin any disturbances, whereby they might be assured they would never be hurted; That therefore they should talk wisely to their Warriors, and not suffer them to get drunk and behave as they had lately done, and desired they would mind their proper affairs, which was the Public business, and prevent any bad designs by observing the agreement by which they were bound to shake any Nation by head who behaved amiss; and that if they acted as we desired, our Children yet unborn, should reap the advantage thereof; And desired they would remember that this was the Third time we had spoken to them thereon, that we expected they would communicate what we had said to all their Bretheren to the Westward, as we should expect their immediate answer at Onondaga.

The next day we met again, when the *Senecas* acknowledged some of them had acted foolishly, and did not know what they did, but begged that we should return, and endeavour to make up affairs with our Bretheren the English.

After which they returned our belts, But Ours and the *Seneca* Warriors were of opinion that the *Seneca* Sachems did not act right, & that they only talked; therefore they agreed with us, that we should consider our safety, and preserve peace: The *Seneca* Warriors saying that we had wise men to guide us, but they had none, which was the cause of the present trouble; and assured us that they would join themselves, once more, to us, and act peaceably, and that these their words were from their hearts.

After this, a few of us were sent forward to *Chenussio*; where the Senecas have two Castles, but as those who went thither are not yet returned, we know not the success of their negotiations; And now Brother, we beg you may be assured we are unanimously determined to hold fast by the old agreement, and preserve Peace, a necessary step to which, we think will be your allowing us a large and reasonable trade at *Oswego*, and the *German Flatts*, as formerly; As for our parts, we shall say nothing further concerning the *Posts* which have caused so much disturbance, But We, The *Five Nations*, the *Coghawagas*, and many others in our alliance, will carefully preserve peace, and use our daily endeavors to bring about the same with the Rest; and we desire the General may be immediately acquainted with our Resolutions, and that we may have his Answer. Gave a large Belt with 13 Rows.

Brother. We now deliver you the Belt which we sent to Canada, whereby we bound ourselves altogether in a peaceable alliance, and we are glad the Governor of Montreal is so well disposed thereto. A Belt of 8 Rows.

Brother. By this String we are to acquaint you that the friendly Ottawaes near *Michilimackinac* have brought home your flesh and blood, who were Prisoners in that Country. Six Strings.

Brother, We are heartily sorry that any of our People have been suspected for striking the Inhabitants of Virginia: It is more probable the *Shawanese* have done so; or if not, we are sure we have no hand therein;—

Then the Meeting broke up.

Next day the *Caghawagas* acquainted Sir William that as they had unexpectedly found the Six Nations here, they judged it necessary to have a Meeting with them; which they would accordingly hold that morning.

Sir William afterwards assembled all the Indians.

PRESENT — as before.

Brethren of the Several Nations.

I have hearkened, with attention, to what you said yesterday, regarding your Proceedings with the Senecas, and I shall now give you my sentiments thereon.

Your design in going to the Senecas in order to bring them to their senses, was very well meant, but you know it was your mere notion, and not at my desire, as that nation had refused to attend the meeting held lately with me, at the German Flatts; we had nothing else to expect but their continuance of hostilities which they have really done ever since, and have now parties out engaged in the same, but the indifference with which they have received all my admonitions, and your endeavours, is a sufficient proof that they are badly disposed, and can only be brought to reason by a proper punishment.

It is highly unreasonable to suppose that any nation will sit still and accept of the Sorrow of another for the murders they have committed; This would be folly in us to the highest degree, and what I am sure not one Nation of the Confederacy would put up with, as you make war amongst yourselves on occasions not in the least comparable to the present.

If your hearts be good, and your old Agreements can be relied upon, you can't but consider that every Nation who are enemies to us, and Covenant breakers, are traitors to yourselves, and are depriving you of Trade and quietness, and as such ought to be punished with your joint assistance: But we have not asked that of you, and we only desire you who are friends, to sit still, and observe that we can punish those who have wanted war, as well as reward them that maintain Peace.



Can they pay us for the blood of some hundreds of their Innocent Brethren: Can they make retaliation for the places they have plundered, burned, and destroyed, or what security have we for their keeping the Covenant half a year, who have basely and treacherously held one hand to us in show of peace, and with the other struck an axe into our Heads?—

I know you can't expect such folly from us, and I sincerely hope, for your own sakes, you will remain quiet, and observe the event, which behavior will not only entitle you to reward, but prevent your destruction; the General having assured me that he is determined on noticing and rewarding every nation that preserves the Peace, and is equally resolved to bring all those who have taken up the Hatchet to an immediate and severe punishment, without which our children's children can never expect ease, but must spend their time in war and conferences, and lose the benefits of hunting and trade, And till this punishment be felt by our Mutual Enemies, you cannot expect the trade to be so extensive as formerly, for which you must blame your perfidious brethren, who have so treacherously struck us on the head, and thereby deterred our traders from bringing up any more goods, However, we shall endeavor all in our power to prevail on some to continue it as formerly in some places, provided you make no bad use of this Indulgence.

The demand for an extensive trade was made by the very nations who have lately struck us; and the largest promises given for the safety and protection not only of the Traders, but also of the several posts in their Country; yet the former have been robbed and murdered, and the latter surprised, pillaged, and destroyed.

Judge yourselves what encouragement there is for our People to go amongst you, what reliance we may repose on any promises, and you must then be of opinion that no punishment can be too great for a People who have broken their old agreements, inhumanly butchered their brethren, and deprived you of the happiness and advantages which Peace and plentiful trade could afford you.

I make no doubt you will consider matters as I have justly represented them, and I am heartily glad to hear your professions of peace and friendship, the observance whereof can never be sufficiently recommended to you, as the means of preserving your lives and Properties, and securing the inestimable advantages of liberty and commerce to your Posterity.

A Belt.

Brethren, I return you thanks for the Belt which you sent to the Indians in Canada, for the promoting of Peace and Unity, which I am of opinion that wise people will never attempt to violate.

A Belt.

Brethren, It is with pleasure I find that the *Ottawaes* near *Michilimackinac*, have had the prudence and friendship to deliver up several of our People who were Prisoners in that Country, and I expect that so laudable an example will be followed by many others.

Then Sir William concluded with acquainting them that he would lay their Speech before Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the event of which was uncertain, as measures were already taken for punishing those who had been in arms against us.

Eod<sup>m</sup> Die.

The Caughnawagas had a meeting with Sir William Johnson, and the Indians of the Several Nations, when they spoke as follows.—

Assaragoa Speaker,

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We thank the Great Spirit for enabling us to meet this day, which is in consequence of your Message recommending Peace and quietness to our Confederacy, and that we should keep our

Warriors in order, with which we have punctually complied, And you may assure yourself we shall always concur with your desires, and hold fast by our old agreement, And that we have noticed what you said to us, on the reduction of Canada, when You took the *war-axe* from us, and directed us to pursue our hunting, So that we must now be still, having no *axe*. And now Brother, we are afraid that through the means of some bad people you may let slip the Covenant chain which we are determined ever to hold fast by, and therefore entreat you to do the same.

A Belt.

Brethren of the 6. Nations,

I am now to speak to you, and to return thanks to the Great Spirit for this unexpected meeting with you at this place.

We listened with attention, yesterday, to what you said to our Brother *Warraghryagey*, and we then told you we should speak to you this day.

We are sorry to find that what you then said, does not appear to us to have proceeded from your Hearts, but from your lips only, Therefore we now desire you will pay due regard to the old agreements, and speak the real sentiments of your hearts; And we address you the Sachems and Warriors here present, to recollect yourselves, as you appear to us to be drunk, We therefore expect you will be all of one mind, and speak your true sentiments to your Brother. Bretheren of the Senecas,

What are you now about, or what do you think will be the consequence of your letting slip the Covenant Chain?

We desire you will recollect yourselves, and we now shake you by the heads, to bring you to reason.

You are too apt to listen to false news and idle stories, but as that is no excuse for your breaking the Covenant Chain, we desire you will bethink yourselves in time, and pay no regard to them, and that you will seriously consider what we have said to you, and for your Children's and families sakes, mind our words, otherwise you will lose your Country and Possessions.

Don't despair of the English forgiveness. You see an example of it in us, who were for a time their Enemies, and we doubt not if you will show a proper sorrow for your behavior, you may obtain the same; We therefore desire you will hold fast by your old Agreements, and mind your Brother *Warraghryagey*, and that you will take this our Belt to the Senecas Country, which is spoken on behalf of the Sachems and Warriors of Seven Nations who are all unanimous, and acquaint them that if they will not pay due regard thereto, our Nations must assuredly be obliged to quarrel.

A Belt.

The Caghuawagas then delivered Sir William a letter from Captain Claus, D. Agent in Canada, giving an account of a complaint made by the Indians concerning a tract of Land Six miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, claimed by the Jesuits by Patent from Lewis the 14<sup>th</sup>, and adjoining the land lately in dispute. They therefore begged that Sir William would procure them redress therein.

Next day the Indians all assembled.

PRESENT— as before.

Conoghquieson Speaker,

Brother Warraghryagey,

We assure you that on our going to the Senecas Country we persuaded all of that nation to peace, so far as *Canaderagey*, so that, that Castle and *Canadisega* are your friends; And we



are to inform you that we are Eleven nations of one mind, linked together in the Chain of friendship and determined to preserve peace; But as to the more distant Castles of the Senecas, we cannot at present answer for them, as our Messengers are not returned from thence; And as you may rely on our Resolutions, we earnestly request you will, on your parts, be as careful of observing the peace as we are.

A large Belt.

Brother, On the declarations you made us at the German-Flatts, of the General's favorable disposition towards all those who are peaceable, and that he had no designs against us who were friends, we Unanimously agreed to continue so, and to keep our Warriors at home, according to the old agreement; And we desire you will not believe we are a proud People, inclined to quarrel; but that we are all well disposed. We likewise beg, that in consequence of these our Resolutions, you will not break your Engagements with us Your friends, as we are determined never to strike first, but only to defend ourselves in case of being attacked.

Two belts together.

Brother, We request you will pay the most serious attention to what we shall now say in the name of us all.

We are very sensible of the Hostilities committed and the Indignities offered you which we know, must awake your resentment, and that therefore you will probably have occasion to use the road up the Country, which was formerly considered as a Road of Peace. Therefore knowing your foot to be large and broad, we earnestly desire you will take care and not touch us your Friends therewith in passing the same, as we shall give you no hindrance: And we have further to request that you will not hurt the party of ours which is now out against the Southern Indians, as we are certain they will do you no harm.

A Belt.

Then the Meeting broke up for this time.

Sir William had also this day, several other Meetings both public and private with the Indians, but delayed answering the Caghnawagas until he had finished with the rest.

The 10<sup>th</sup> Sir William had a meeting with all the Nations, when he assured them that should any nation whatsoever, from a dislike of their Fidelity to us, and their present Engagements, fall upon their Confederacy, they should find we would afford them both assistance and protection; And that as they had acted so friendly a part, as well as for a reward of their trouble in Endeavoring to prevent any further Hostilities, and an encouragement to them to act as became our Friends, He in His Majesty's name, had prepared a present for them, which should be delivered out the next day, Recommending it to them to act such a part for the future, as should make them appear worth our favour.

11<sup>th</sup> All the Nations assembled, when *Tijerhasere* addressed Sir William Johnson as follows, on behalf of the rest.

Brother Gorah Warraghiyagey,

I am now, on behalf of all the Confederacy, consisting of Eighteen nations, including seven in Canada, to return you their most hearty thanks for the wholesome admonitions you gave them, and I am in their name to assure you that they are determined to pay the greatest regard to them. Were they not so inclined, they would not have taken so much pains as they have done, to preserve peace in those parts; I am further to assure you they will never forget the friendly offers you have made them of assistance and Protection, as we know we can rely on your Promises; We shall take your Belt and what you have said thereon, to our Council fire at Onondaga, and after we have acquainted all our people therewith, shall send you a Belt in Exchange, with our further sentiments.



Then the Onondaga Speaker stood up, and taking a large Covenant Chain belt in his hand, delivered to them at Albany in 1754, by the Governor in the presence of Commissioners from the Several Governments, he repeated the Engagements made thereon, and then on behalf of the Eighteen Nations, brightened and renewed the same, which he desired Sir William Johnson should acquaint the General and Governor with, and let them know that so many nations were our friends and determined to remain so, whilst we treated them in a peaceable friendly manner.

Sir William Johnson answered them that he was pleased they had remembered their Engagements, the observance of which he strictly recommended to them, as we should, on our parts, strictly observe the same, whilst they adhered thereto; Adding that he would acquaint the General with their proceedings, and made no doubt but he would approve thereof, with which they should be made acquainted.

12<sup>th</sup> A. M. Delivered out a present to the Indians. Then assembled the Cagnawagas, when Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson addressed them as follows,

Brethren of Caghnawaga,

I have heard with satisfaction the speech you made to the Six Nations in general, and to the Senecas, in particular. The manner in which you expressed your disapprobation of their Conduct Convinces me of your sincerity and good sense, and in justice to you I shall lay it before the General, and also send it home, that the Great King may know your good disposition and honest intention.

A large String

Brethren, Your Concurring with my request lately made to your nations by Captain Claus, my deputy, and your present promises of a due observance of the Treaty of peace and Friendship into which you and several other Nations were received on the reduction of Canada, gives me much pleasure.

The Wisdom which your Sachems and Chiefs have manifested in adhering thereto, leaves me no doubt of your holding the violators thereof in the greatest detestation, and of concurring with us in bringing them to Punishment, which I strongly recommend to you.

A Belt.

On the reduction of Canada, we became one people; and Peace was established throughout the Country. Trade was beginning to flourish to our mutual advantage, when on a sudden these foolish treacherous nations whom we took into the Chain of friendship with you and the rest of our Brethren, without any notice or provocation, fell upon our Traders, butchering and Captivating them, taking the goods designed for their conveniency and that of others, surprising by the vilest stratagems, and destroying the King's Posts and Troops who were for the protection of trade posted in their several Countries, by which unwarrantable behavior they have sullied the Covenant Chain, which we brightened so lately, and thereby debarred the well disposed Indians of the benefit of trade and good offices, which the English intended and were inclined to do them.

At the Treaty with You on the Conquest of Canada, I considered the axe given you by the French as a dangerous weapon amongst friends, and therefore, on receiving you into our Alliance, I buried the same by pulling up a large pine tree under which ran a stream of water, into which I cast the Axe, so that it might no more be found; But as the Covenant Chain which was then brightened and renewed by us, is broken by those quarrelsome bad People whom we received amongst the number of our friends, I think it necessary that you as a

people who held the same, should be enabled to defend yourselves, and act agreeable to your engagements, in concert with your Brethren the English against all who have violated the said agreement.

I now therefore deliver you a good English Axe, made of the best stuff, which I desire you will give to the Warriors of all your Nations, with directions to use the same against these Covenant breakers, by cutting off the bad links which have sullied the chain of friendship, in which they will not fail being supported by their Brethren the English.

A large Black Belt.

Brethren, I am heartily sorry to find that a set of People who pretended solely the care of your salvation, should thirst after Worldly possessions. You find on your application concerning the former tract in dispute, that the Governor of Montreal gave you immediate redress, which you would have met with in this, but that the case is different, as these lands were given by the King of France to the Jesuits, Solely. But I shall, notwithstanding, lay the matter before the persons in power, who will certainly do you all the Justice which your case shall appear to deserve.

A Belt.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, R., 19, No. 16. ]

Johnson Hall Sept<sup>r</sup> 25. 1763.

My Lords,

Since I had the honour of writing to your Lord<sup>ps</sup> the first of July last, I met the Indians at the German Flatts, as I mentioned in my letter, I should then shortly do.

At that conference all the Nations attended except the *Senecas*, who together with some *Ottawas* and others took *Prisque-Ile la Beuf* and *Venango* about that time, the rest of the Indians renewed the Covenant, and expressed themselves in the most friendly manner, and as a proof of their inclination for peace, agreed to send the Chief Men of each Nation Deputys to bring the *Senecas* to reason, which was done accordingly, and about the beginning of this month, the Five Nations arrived here to the amount of 320 in order to acquaint me with the result of their negotiations, in which they informed me that they had had success, having brought to friendship and peace the two first Seneca Castles, as a proof of which they were accompanied by 6 Seneca Indians.—At the same time 270 Indians of several Tribes living along the Banks of the Susquahana and its Branches arrived here, to renew the Covenant Chain, and acquaint me, that all the Indians inhabiting that quarter, so far down as *Owego* were our Friends, & determined to remain so.

Deputys from *Coghnowagey* in *Canada* were also present at the meeting and expressed themselves in a most friendly manner towards the English in a spirited speech to the rest, and after intimating to me their desire of being concerned in punishing our Enemies, I gave them the War Hatchet according to custom, which they received with great pleasure, and I do assure your Lord<sup>ps</sup> that I have great reason to expect the Indians in *Canada* who consist of eight Confederate Nations will give us good proof of their inclination towards Us, ever since we received them into our alliance or the reduction of *Canada*—and from the private



conferences etc, which I have had with the rest, I flatter myself that not only the majority of the Five Nations, but many others will be readily induced to act offensively against our Enemies, provided they meet with proper encouragement, and a due Regard be had to their respective Services, which I am well convinced, will be far from being inconsiderable, if they engage heartily in the cause, of which I can have no doubt from the many particular offers which have been made me, which I shall accept of, so soon as I am properly authorized so to do, as a few Indians, will do more mischief and create more uneasiness amongst our Enemies than many hundred of our own people can ever do; but I greatly fear that Indians have been in General considered as too inconsiderable for some time past, and I most heartily wish we may have no occasion to attribute any future hostilities to such a way of thinking, which must produce neglect and disregard on our sides, and discontent and Revenge on theirs, the consequence of which will be, a recommencement of hostilities.—I have always offered my sentiments with a freedom and candour becoming a faithful servant of the Crown, and as such I flatter myself they will always meet with your Lord<sup>PPS</sup> indulgence.—At the expence of my health, Ease and neglect of my private fortune I have during 25 years experience acquired some knowledge of the power and abilities of the Indians, and the principles on which they Act; and I have the satisfaction of finding that my sentiments have generally met with a favourable reception from your Lord<sup>PPS</sup>.

This great encouragement emboldens me to offer some further remarks, without which I could not acquit myself in my own opinion as a faithful servant to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> and a very obliged friend to your Lord<sup>PPS</sup>, whose office entitles you to my sentiments, and whose experience enables you to make such an use thereof as your wisdom shall suggest.

If we had no occasion for frontier posts, back settlements and an Indian trade, we might rest tolerably secure in our present possessions, without being at any expence in cultivating the Friendship and affection of the Indians; but as these things are essential to the prosperity of the Provinces, and the increase of his Majesty's Revenue, we must, I humbly apprehend, endeavour to possess them [by] such means, as shall be most conducive to the welfare of the one, and the extention of the other. Now as the Indians, who possess these Countries, are by numbers, considerable, by inclination Warlike, and by disposition Covetuous, (which last has been encreased from the Customs in which the French have bred them) I find on all hands, that they will never be content, without possessing the frontiers, unless we settle limits with them, and make it worth their while, and without which, should they make peace to morrow, they would break the same the first opportunity. Your Lord<sup>PPS</sup> well know that the several out-posts, must consist of but few Men and that they are environed with numbers of Savages at too great a distance to receive succours from Us. as also the great expence, and difficultys attending their being supplied with provisions Ammunition and other necessaries, and which can not even be effected if the Indians are our Enemies, but by keeping a very large Regular Force at a monstrous expence to the Nation, and that without being necessitated to have recourse to their ancient weapons, the Indians will never fail of supplys from the French, who will thereby, be enabled to engross a great part of the furr trade, as there are so many fine communications to the Missisipi, the distance of which will never be regarded by Indians.—These Indians conscious of their own strength and scituation, will, unless kept in the best temper by us, be easily persuaded to commit depredations on the Traders, whose goods are a temptation to the Savages; thus once embarked, they will not stop till they have spread havock, over all our frontiers, an instance of which is now before your Lord<sup>PPS</sup> in their having taken



and destroyed no less than eight Forts, murdered great part of the Garrisons, killed great numbers of Her Majesty's subjects on the Frontiers, and destroyed their settlements, and that in about the compass of a month.—Many people in America, have been too apt to despise the Indian strength, till fatal necessity has convinced them of their abilities, thus by entertaining a contempt for them merely, because they are not civilized, and that they have never experienced what a few Indians (engaged in what they look upon, their own cause) are able to accomplish; they neglect the necessary precautions to be taken against the most contemptable people.

The Indians, I do assure your Lordships are no wise inferior to us in sagacity and stratagem, qualities most essentially necessary in this Country; their ideas of courage are different from ours, and they are only deficient in that courage which the nature and situation of their country renders less necessary amongst them, as they attack by surprise, and on failure of success (of which they never neglect taking advantage) are able to repeat their attacks, at the next advantageous place they meet with, killing many of our people in each encounter, with a very small loss on their side, this, the most partial accounts, which are generally made of our actions with them will sufficiently evince.—During the times in which the French possessed garrisons in their several countrys, many of their Traders were plundered & killed, but the expence which the French were at to conciliate the affections of the Savages, alone prevented any overt Act.—I know, that many mistakes arise here from erroneous accounts formerly made of Indians; they have been represented as calling themselves subjects, altho, the very word would have startled them, had it been ever pronounced by any Interpreter; they desire to be considered as Allies and Friends, and such we may make them at a reasonable expence, and thereby occupy our outposts, and carry on a Trade in safety, until in a few years we shall become so formidable throughout the country, as to be able to protect ourselves, and abate of that charge; but until such measures be adopted, I am well convinced, there can be no reliance on a peace with them, and that as interest is the grand tie which will bind them to us, so their desire of plunder, will induce them to commit hostilities whenever we neglect them.

My Lords, I consider it as a duty indispensable on me to make you this faithful representation of Indian Affairs, which I could represent still clearer, but that in so doing, I should much exceed the bounds of a letter; what I have humbly offered at this time, as well as in my former letters, will, I hope, be considered by Your Lordships as the faithful report of a servant of the Crown, who has the honour of his Majesty, and the welfare of America strongly at heart, and that as from the nature of my department, I have no right to conceal my sentiments on this subject; Your Lordships will therefore pardon the plainness and freedom with which they are offered.

There are still some Nations who are averse to hostilities, and, the behaviours of the *Sakis* and of the *Ottowaes* of *Abre Croche* near Michilimacinae, who, tho' in the midst of our Enemies, not only rescued and protected several of our officers, with their garrisons, but brought them down under a large escort, together with a considerable quantity of Traders goods to montreal, will, undoubtedly appear praiseworthy to your Lordships, and entitle them to our thanks and a public reward, these people, with others are to come down the Country in the spring and I am of opinion, a good use may be made of them against our Enemies, in order to bring them to punishment if properly encouraged.—Notwithstanding the present pacific disposition of the Five Nations, the Indians in Canada, and many others, yet they are much discontented, particularly the former on account of Land disputes and encroachments, wherein I am sorry to say, the Mohawks have chiefly suffered by the unconscionable grant called *Kayadarosseras* alias

Queensborough of above half a million of acres, which I several times laid before your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s the Claim of the Corporation of Albany on their dwelling place at Fort Hunter, and also, that of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Livingston and others on their planting grounds at Canajohare or the upper Mohawk Castle, in none of which cases the common Law can give them redress; these and many other affairs, have occasioned the Five Nations to express themselves desirous of sending Deputys to lay their complaints before His Majesty. I shall in my next give your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s a more full account of the particulars, of their respective complaints, and in the mean time I must beg leave to request the honour of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s sentiments and Instructions on any occurring subjects, for my better Govern<sup>t</sup>, that my measures may be entirely correspondent with your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s intentions, which has always been the sole aim of my proceedings.

I am with the most profound respect

My Lords,

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s most obedient  
and most humble servant.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

P. S. This moment I have received an express, informing me that an Officer and 24 Men, who were escorting several waggons and Ox Teams over the carrying place at Niagra, had been attacked and entirely defeated, together with two Companys of Coll: Willmot's Reg<sup>t</sup> who marched to sustain them. Our loss on this occasion consists of Lieut<sup>o</sup> Campbell, Frazier and Rosco of the Regulars, Capt<sup>s</sup> Johnson and Lieut<sup>t</sup> Deayton of the Provincials, and 60 privates killed, with about 8 or nine wounded; the Enemy who are supposed to be Senecas of *Chenussio*, scalped all the dead, took all their cloaths, arms and amunition, and threw several of their bodies down a precipice. I am greatly apprehensive of the fate of the Detroit, they being in much want I fear of that Garrison, and as all our Cattle etc which were at Niagra are either killed or taken, it will be impossible to get any necessaries transported over the carrying place for the remainder of this season. I shall immediately send Belts to all the friendly nations, and use every effectual measure for preventing the destruction of our settlements from the Enemy Indians, who are but too much encouraged from their repeated successes.—

W. J.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 104.]

New York. Sept<sup>r</sup> 26. 1763

My Lords

Since General Monckton left this Government, I have seen the Copy of a representation made to him by five Gentlemen of the Council relating to the Boundaries of this His Majesty's Province, which in my humble opinion, were it to take effect, would be injurious to His Majesty's rights & revenue; and therefor as the affairs of the Colonies may probably at this time come under the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers, & this representation may be



laid before them I think it my duty, to make remarks on it, to shew the mistakes these Gentlemen have fallen into.

Had I been apprised of it before it was made, I presume I should have been able to have prevented the mistakes. I have been 40 years at the Council Board, & in that time have been more conversant in publick affairs than any man now living in this Province. These Gentlemen, all of them except Mr Horsmanden have had seats only a few years at the Council Board, & it is impossible they can be fully informed without the assistance of others. They have neglected likewise to consult the Minutes of Council, when the same matter had been formerly under the consideration of the Council, who, after long and mature deliberation, & after consulting the principal officers of Government, & every other person who they thought could inform them, came to Resolutions very different from the Sentiments of these Gentlemen, as will appear in the Minutes of Council of the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1751, & more fully & clearly in the Minutes of the 2<sup>d</sup> of March 1753. I had likewise the honour to write to your Lordships prædecessors in office on the same subject the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1761.

The motives to the Representation are certainly just, viz. The preventing tumults & disorders on the Borders: & I join heartily in opinion with them, that it is greatly for His Majesty's Interest & for the benefite of this & the neighbouring Colonies, that an end be put assoon as possible to these Disputes; but at the same time I hope to shew, by what follows, that this may be don without giving up His Majesty's Rights or incourageing Intrusions, which have been made, or hereafter may be made on the King's lands, & without in the least distressing His Majesty's subjects who have settled on these lands & cultivated them.

That I may not too much trespass on your Lordships' patience, I shall pass over several mistakes in this Representation, that I may come to the principal error on which the whole is founded with respect to the Massachusetts Bay. It is this

The Gentlemen, as they say, "have been informed that in the year 1664 Commissioners "were appointed by King Charles the Second, to settle the Boundaries between this & the "adjacent Colonies, who determined that a line parallel to Hudson's River & at twenty miles "distance from it on the East side thereof should divide the two Provinces of New York & "Massachusetts Bay from each other, to which the Legislature of the latter agreed, as appears "by the Record of this Transaction at the Plantation Office, But this settlement was never "carried into effect, has been rejected or not insisted on by the Massachusetts Bay, is not "mentioned in any of the Publick Records or Papers here, nor was introduced in the Debates "on this subject at the Congress or Meeting of Commissioners from both Provinces, at Albany "in the year 1754, & till very lately hath been utterly unknown to us."

In consequence of this new discovery they conclude, that a line at 20 miles distance from Hudson's River would be an equitable Boundary, not only between New York & Massachusetts Bay, but likewise between New York & New Hampshire.

There is great reason to doubt of some mistake in this Information—That the whole of that settlement of Boundary related to Connecticut only, & not to the Massachuset Bay: for as to Connecticut it appears on the Records of New York, but in no shape as to Massachusetts Bay. It is unaccountably odd, if this Information be true, that in so long a time, the People of Massachusetts Bay should at no time avail themselves of it: unless it be supposed, that they are convinced of its being now of no force.

If the Equity be considered, by which the settlement of Boundary was made with Connecticut, it will appear, that the Equity did in no manner extend to Massachusetts Bay.



Before the Duke of York received his Grant, & while the Dutch were in possession of New York, the People of Connecticut had their principal Towns & settlements on the West side of Connecticut River (which is the Eastern Boundary of the Province of New York) & had even extended their settlements on the Sea coast within ten miles of Hudson's River; but the Massachusetts Bay (as I have been informed & believe) had made no settlements so far West as Connecticut River. It was in consideration of these settlements made by Connecticut that the Boundary between New York & Connecticut was fixed at 20 miles from Hudson's River, reserving however to Connecticut, the settlements actually made, tho within less than ten miles from Hudson's River: for which they were to allow an Equivalent in the inland parts, where they had no settlements. By this Equivalent the distance between Hudsons River & the Colony of Connecticut in the upper parts is above 22 miles. The not considering the want of Equity in the Massachusetts Bay, which Connecticut evidently has produced an essential error in the Judgement which the Gentlemen formed of this matter.

About the year 1675 (if I mistake not the year) the charter of the Massachusetts Bay was, by Decree in Chancery declared null & void; This Decree was never reversed & remains in force at this day. Thereby the Dukes title to the lands on the West side of Connecticut river & to the Northward of the Colony of Connecticut became indisputable: and this Decree put an end to all settlements of Boundary with Massachusetts Bay, if any there were. While the Duke was thus seized of his Province of New York, as far as Connecticut River, he succeeded to the Crown of England, & thereby the Province of New York became part of the Crown lands & have ever since passed with the Crown.

After the Revolution the Colony of Massachusetts obtained a new Charter from King William, by which that Colony is to extend *as far Westward as Connecticut*. As it no where appears, that the King had any intention to grant any part of His Province of New York to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the word Connecticut must mean the *River Connecticut*: and if the people of Massachusetts Bay had made no settlement at that time on the West side of Connecticut river, as I am confident they had not, their charter can receive no other construction either in Law or Equity than that the Colony of Massachusetts Bay extends *as far westward as Connecticut river* & no farther. By inspecting any General Map of the Northern Colonies, it appears, that the Colony of Massachusetts Bay cannot be bounded to the Westward by the Colony of Connecticut.

In my humble opinion no reason of any weight can be given, why the King should not affirm His right to the lands on the West side of Connecticut River, & to the Northward of the Colony of Connecticut, unless it be, that many families who have unadvisedly settled on the West side of Connecticut river, would thereby be ruined. But if the King shall think fit to confirm their possessions to them, on their paying the Quit rent established in His Province of New York, they cannot in any shape be distressed, or have any just reason of complaint.

As the Province of New Hampshire is bounded to the Westward, by the Eastern boundary of His Majesty's other Governments, the Governor of New Hampshire can have no pretence for extending his claim on the West side of Connecticut river, which is the boundary Eastward there of the Province of New York: especially after repeated remonstrances had been made to him, by the Government of New York on this head. Notwithstanding of this the Governor of New Hampshire continues to grant lands far to the Westward of Connecticut river, to numbers of people who make a Job of them, by selling shares in the neighbouring Colonies, & have even attempted it in the City of New York, & perhaps with success. The Quit

rents in New Hampshire, as I am informed, are much lower than in New York, & this is made use of, as an inducement to purchase under New Hampshire, rather than settle under New York grants.

The most surprising part of the Representation of these Gentlemen is, that they should propose a saving only of the Grants in New York which extend above 20 miles from Hudson's river & were made before the second charter to Massachusetts Bay, when it is clear that the second charter cannot extend beyond Connecticut river, & it is not so that the first did not.

In the last place, I cannot conceive on what principles of Justice, Policy or Publick Utility these Gentlemen advise the settling the boundary between his Majesty's Province of New York & the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay & New Hampshire, at 20 miles east from Hudson's River.

If all the lands in the Province of New York, from 20 miles of Hudson's river to Connecticut river were given up, the Crown would be deprived of a Quit rent, amounting yearly to a large sum, in my opinion, greater than the amount of all the Quitrents of the whole that would remain & is now received.

The New England Governments are formed on republican principles & these principles are zealously inculcated on their youth, in opposition to the principles of the Constitution of Great Britain. The Government of New York, on the contrary, is established, as nearly as may be, after the model of the English Constitution. Can it then be good Policy to diminish the extent of Jurisdiction in His Majesty's Province of New York, to extend the power & influence of the others.

The Commerce of the Inhabitants on the East side of the Hudson's river, to a great extent Eastward, probably as far as Connecticut river, is with the Towns on Hudson's river, it must then be extremely inconvenient to them, to be under different laws, different jurisdictions & different currencies of money.

I have no objection to the observations the Gentlemen have made, as to the boundary of this Province Westward & I join heartily with them in recommending a proper fund to be established for recovering His Majesty's Rights from all Intruders. It appears by the King's Instructions to his Governor of this Province, that His Majesty has been informed of great Intrusions on His Rights by private persons, & the Governor is directed to take all legal means for recovering of the King's Rights. But this cannot be don without great expence at Law, for which there is the greater reason that provision be made, because no Officer can do his duty without incurring the resentment of rich & powerfull families

I am with great submission

My Lords

Your most obedient &

faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

The Right honourable Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

*Archbishop Secker to Reverend Dr. Johnson.*

[“ American Colonies MS.,” Lambeth Palace, No. 1128, III, No. 825.]

Good Dr Johnson

I heartily thank you for your letter of Aug. 10. particularly for the Concern which you express about my health. It is frequently disordered: but I can for the most part pay some attention to Business. When I fail, as I am now within a few days of seventy, an abler person in all respects, I hope will succeed me. Mr Beaches book is not come to my hands: I wish it had received your corrections. I am as desirous that your answer to Dr Mayhew should be published, as I can be without having seen it: because I dare say it is written with the temper, which I told you I wished Mr Beach might preserve. But indeed I fear the world will think we have settled too many Missions in New England and New York: and therefore it may be best, not absolutely to justifie, but to excuse ourselves in that respect, as prevailed on by Intreaties hard to be resisted, as having rejected many applications and resolved to be hereafter more sparing in the admission of them; instead of making it our business to *episcopize* New England, as Dr Mayhew expresses himself. Our adversaries may be asked, whether they have not made as great mistakes in some points as we in this: and whether bitter Invectives against Them would not be unchristian. There was a company incorporated by Car. Q. in 1661 *for propagating the Gospel amongst the Heathen Natives of New England and the adjacent parts*: which still subsists, and the affairs of it are managed by the Dissenters. Queen Anne in 1709 incorporated *The Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge*; and empowered them to propagate it not only there, but in *popish and infidel parts of the world*. Accordingly they had correspondents and Missionaries in New England above 30 years ago; and in Long Island, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Geogia above 20 years ago: and probably they have still. It may be useful to enquire, whether these two Societies have observed their Charters better than ours hath. If not, their friends should think and speak mildly of us. The new projected Society at Boston is about sinking itself into the latter of these, as I am informed. I know nothing of Dr Barclay's defence against Smith, nor of Aplin. Possibly this last word was a slip of your pen, for Apthorpe.

What will be done about Bishops, I cannot guess. Application for them was made to Lord Egremont, who promised to consult with the other Ministers, but died without making any Report from them. His Successor, Lord Halifax, is a friend to the scheme; but I doubt, whether in the present weak state of the Ministry he will dare to meddle with what will certainly raise opposition. I believe very little is done or doing yet towards the settlement of America: and I know not, what Disposition will be made of the Lands belonging to the Popish Clergy in the conquered provinces. I am very glad to hear, that the money is paid to Mr Charlton. I have heard nothing of any Design of a Doctor's Degree for Mr Chandler, but from You. If any person here is engaged in it, I should know, that we may act in Concert. But I think we should have a more formal recommendation of him from you and Dr Barclay, and any other principal persons, Clergy or Laity, that we may apply to the University with a better countenance. Your Account of Mr Cooper gives me great pleasure. In a late letter to me, he expresses good hopes about the College: but complains of some disappointment in regard to his income, which I do not distinctly understand. I have written to him, to recommend patience: and to Dr Barclay, to desire that the Governors will be as kind to him,



as with propriety they can. Mr Caner hath sent over one Mr Frink for a New Mission at Rutland, about 60 miles from Boston, without any previous mention of the matter to the Society, which is irregular: and I do not think we shall appoint him to it; perhaps to some vacant old one we may, if any such there be. The Mission of Braintree is offered to Mr Winslow, in order to make room for you at Stratford. Whether it be worth his acceptance, I know not. But the Society are very desirous of restoring you to your old Station: and if this proposal doth not succeed, they will be glad to have any other method pointed out to them.

Since I wrote thus far, the Society hath appointed Mr Frink, Missionary at Augusta. It seems he was inoculated a few days before. I hope he will get safe through the Distemper.

God bless you, good Dr Johnson, and his Church in your parts. I am with much esteem,  
Your loving brother

Lambeth, Sept. 28. 1763.

(Signed) THO. CANT.

*Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 218. ]

To Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup>

Sir

We have received your letter to us of the 1<sup>st</sup> of July last, containing a very melancholy representation of the calamities to which His Majesty's subjects in the interior parts of his American dominions are exposed by the savage hostilities of the Indians; in the consideration of which we have little other immediate hope of comfort than what arises from our reliance upon your ability and activity, and the influence you have so deservedly obtained amongst the confederate Nations; and which you at all times exerted with so much zeal and success.

We do entirely agree with you in opinion as to the causes of this unhappy defection of the Indians and are convinced that nothing but the speedy establishment of some well digested and general plan for the regulation of our Commercial and political concerns with them can effectually reconcile their esteem and affections. His Majesty's Ministers are intirely of the same opinion, and we have accordingly received His Majesty's commands to consider of such a plan; in which business we shall lose no time, and shall not fail to attend to the several points which you recommend in your letter, hoping to receive from you such further lights and information as may enable us fully to obey His Majesty's commands, and answer his royal intentions in the great and important object he has in view.

We are Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servants

HILLSBOROUGH

E<sup>d</sup> BACON

GEO: RICE

ORWELL.

29 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1763.

*Sir Jeffery Amherst to Sir William Johnson.*

New York, 30 September 1763.

To Sir William Johnson, Bar<sup>t</sup>

Sir,

I am to acknowledge the favour of Your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> instant, enclosing Extracts of your Proceedings with the Indians at the late conference, which I have carefully penned, and am now to give you my opinion thereon.

I must always submit to your better judgment with regard to the treatment of Indians, but the behaviour of the Senecas has been so glaringly bad, that I own I should have been for keeping any of that nation at a distance, and showing them that we considered them as infamous scoundrels whom we despised—However, from what you mention of the two Castles, *Kánáduscégy*, and *Cánádárúggo* and the Five friendly tribes interceding for them, I am glad to treat them as friends; and I have wrote to Major Gladwin and the Commanding officer at Niagara, in any offensive operations that may be carried on against the Senecas, not to molest the Indians of those Castles; but I have at the same time cautioned those officers not to take any notice of this to the Indians in general, lest the Guilty may immediately take shelter there, and by that means evade the punishment they so justly deserve, and which, I trust, they will meet with.

The Declarations and behavior of the Canada Indians give me great satisfaction, and your answers to them have my thorough approbation. But I can by no means think of employing them upon this Occasion: The retaining them in our interest is very necessary: Their assistance is rather a dangerous expedient, and by perseverance and proper measures, I have no doubt but we shall by our own Strength which is the most natural one, reduce the savages who have commenced hostilities to such a low ebb, as will effectually deter them from attempting to disturb us hereafter. The lateness of the Season, the unfortunate death of Captain Dalyell and some other circumstances which we could not prevent may perhaps put it out of our power of settling matters to our Satisfaction before the winter sets in; but the punishment of the Savages, and the Security of the Country shall not be the less certain, for I am determined to go through with it in such a manner that the whole race of Indians who have any Connection with the English may see the folly and madness, as well as the ingratitude of setting themselves in opposition to a people from whom they have received so many benefits, and whose power is such as can in a very short time, make the Savages feel the utmost extremity of want, and render their pretended importance of very little effect; for I really cannot help thinking that they owe much of that assumed dignity and consequence which they put on, to our treatment of them.

I am fully convinced of your Exerting your utmost endeavors for the good of the service, and have no doubt but you will pay the strictest regard to the Economy recommended by the Earl of Egremont, in the letter of which I transmitted to you an Extract. The late defection of so many tribes, in my opinion ought to lessen the Expenses in your departments; The measures they have occasioned to be taken for reducing them will create a very heavy and unavoidable expense to the Crown. Their punishment must be previous to the treating with them, and when that shall happen, all they can expect is forgiveness, and a Trade, under proper regulations, opened to them. But as to *presents*, it would certainly be the highest presumption

in them to expect any. Justice they shall have, but no more; for they can never be considered by us as a people to whom we owe *rewards*; and it would be madness, to the highest degree, ever to bestow favors on a race who have so treacherously, and without any provocation on our side, attacked our Posts, and butchered our Garrisons. Presents should be given only to those who remain our firm friends.

I agree entirely with you that Fort Stanwix is high enough, at present, to have any trade with the Indians; for the friendly tribes may very well supply themselves there, with what is absolutely necessary; and I would have them receive no more.

The clamour raised against the French, is, I am persuaded, greatly owing to a jealousy of the Traders; However, should it appear that any of the French at the Detroit have been tampering with the Savages, Major Gladwin has full power from me to send them down to Montreal, or punish them otherwise as the nature of their crime may deserve.

When the disturbances are quelled, and every thing settled again on a proper footing, the *Ottawas* and Indians inhabiting near *Michilimackinac* & *La Baye* may be supplied from Montreal; but I trust the precautions I have taken will put it out of their power of getting any at present, for they would most certainly make a bad use of it; and I can never think that one part of a nation bringing in a few of our people when the others are committing hostilities attended with the most shocking barbarities, should induce us to load them with presents, which would serve to enable their brethren to prolong the war they have so unjustly commenced.

I have wrote to the commanding officer at the Mobile, to take the necessary precautions for preventing any supplies of Ammunition, &c, getting to the Western Indians by the Mississippi; Indeed, the quantity they could get that way must be but very inconsiderable, and would be so long of coming that it could not answer their present purpose. However we cannot be too much on our guard to secure every Avenue by which they could get the least supplies.

I was greatly surprised to find M<sup>r</sup> Croghan desirous of going to England at a time when urely his presence is necessary in his department, if it ever was so. When I told him that I could not answer to the giving him leave of Absence at present, he offered to resign, which I likewise disapprove of, although as he was your Deputy, I could not refuse him, if he persisted in that mind. I however prevailed upon him to advise with you before he took such a step, which he agreed to, and he is set out for Bedford to attend on his duty, of which I conclude, he will inform you by letter. He seemed to be disgusted at the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt, having the direction of the Expenses, which I Cannot alter; as I still think it is more proper that that power should be lodged in a Commanding Officer, than a deputy Agent; Nor can I see what reason the latter can have to complain on that account, for I should imagine he would be glad to have that authority for the Expenses incurred in his department.

I am, &c  
(signed)      JEFF. AMHERST.



*Earl of Halifax to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

[No. 77.]

St. James, 18 October 1763.

Sir Jeffery Amherst, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

Sir,

Your despatches of the 3<sup>d</sup> of September last having been received on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, and immediately laid before the King, I am to signify to you His Majesty's approbation of the conduct and bravery of Colonel Bouquet, and the officers and Troops under his command, in the two actions on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of August, in which, notwithstanding the many circumstances of difficulty and distress they laboured under, and the unusual Spirit and Resolution of the Indians, they repelled and defeated the repeated attacks of the Savages, and conducted their convoy safe to Fort Pitt. It is to be regretted that the attempt made on the Indian Camp near the Detroit was not attended with Equal success.

It is matter of Concern to His Majesty, to find that the measure you had taken for putting and end to the Indian war, have not yet produced the desired effects; but that on the contrary the Insurrections of the Indians are considerably increased and almost become general, Upon this Extension of the war and increase of danger, His Majesty judges it proper to enable you, (in case you should find it absolutely necessary,) in the most efficacious manner to call upon the colonies, (the want of whose assistance is regretted in several of the papers you inclose,) to contribute to the general defence of the Country and annoyance of the Indians, by raising and employing such numbers of Provincial Troops or Militia as you shall find requisite. I therefore inclose to you letters for that purpose, not only to the Governor of Pennsylvania signifying his Majesty's displeasure at that supine and neglectful conduct, which you so justly blame, in the Legislature of that Colony, but also to the Governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and North and South Carolina.

His Majesty is hopeful that the success of your Endeavors may have restored the peace of the Country before this reaches your hands, and render these letters of Requisition unnecessary. But his Royal intention in commanding me to send them to you is to furnish you with the means of obtaining every possible assistance, and to leave the use of those means to your judgment according to the actual state of affairs.

I am, &amp;c.

(signed) DUNK HALIFAX

*Earl of Halifax to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

[ No. 77. ]

St James, October 19. 1763.

Sir Jeffery Amherst, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

Sir,

I write this separate letter for the sake of communicating to You my sentiments upon some points contained in the papers inclosed in Your Letter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September, which appear to me to be of importance to His Majesty's service.

I observe in the correspondence between you and Sir William Johnson of the 30<sup>th</sup> July and 14<sup>th</sup> August, that there is reason to suspect some of the French residing at or near the Detroit, or (as you seem rather inclined to believe,) some of the French Traders, of instigating the Indians to acts of Hostility. If any of His Majesty's new Subjects shall be found guilty of such acts of treachery, they will no doubt deserve severe punishment, and the example will be of great consequence to the future peace and security of the Country. I am therefore glad you have ordered a strict enquiry to be made into the grounds of that suspicion, and I am to desire that you will fully inform me of the result of it, as well with the respect to the situation and circumstances of the French persons concerned, as to the degree of their guilt.

I likewise take notice of the intelligence which Governor Boone, (in his letter to you of the 29<sup>th</sup> of July,) mentions to have received, of many persons, having been authorized to purchase lands of the Indians in the ceded Countries of Florida and Louisiana. As the private purchases formerly made by individuals, have been productive of infinite mischiefs; as His Majesty by Instructions given long since to his Governors, and by his Proclamation lately issued, has forbidden all such purchases and declared that all purchases of lands from the Indians shall be made by the Crown, I must recommend it to you to do your utmost to prevent such a practice from taking place, even in a single instance if it be possible.

With respect to the mode of carrying on the Indian trade for the future, as I observe that Mr Stuart has applied for instructions on that subject, it is necessary for me to inform you that the outline of the plan upon which that trade will probably be established is this;—To suffer no trade to be carried on but at the several posts where it will be under the inspection of the Officers respectively commanding at each; and to allow every subject to trade there, upon taking out a license from the Governors of the several provinces, and giving Security to observe such regulations with respect to the prices of goods, and other matters, as shall be thought necessary for the effectual prevention of those fraudulent practices which have produced so many bad Consequences, and which it appears impossible to prevent by any other means. A plan for the regulation of this trade is now under the consideration of the Board of Trade, and I hope soon to transmit it to you.

It is matter of concern to me, that, after so many years of fatigue in the high station in which you have served His Majesty with so much honour and success, and after having obtained His Royal permission to return to England, the situation of affairs in America should still be such as to make your presence there indispensably necessary; and I shall, upon that account, the more impatiently expect the good news of your having put an end to the Indian war, and reestablished the peace of the Country, as I shall take satisfaction in your being at

liberty to avail yourself of His Majesty's permission to return, after so long an absence, to your native country.

I am, &c  
(signed) DUNK HALIFAX.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, R., 51, in Bundle B. ]

Johnson Hall Nov<sup>r</sup> 13. 1763.

My Lords,

In obedience to your Lordships commands of the 5<sup>th</sup> of August last, I now do myself the honour of writing my sentiments concerning Indian affairs and of transmitting the best state I am able at present, of the several Nations within my department, with whom I have hitherto had intercourse.

Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> may please to observe that in my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1762, I gave a pretty general account of the Indians sentiments at that period, of the uneasiness amongst them, and my apprehensions thereon, as also my sentiments on the best method of conciliating their affections and preventing a Rupture; and I flatter myself it will appear, from what has since past, that my then opinion, was not ill founded.

In my letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> of July and 25<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> last I repeated my former sentiments, and humbly represented the causes to which the late hostilities might chiefly be attributed.

I shall therefore in this chiefly confine myself to the claims, interest, cause of defection and sentiments of the several Nations within my department, and with deference, offer my opinion on the ways and means for effecting a lasting peace, and securing their affections to the advantage of His Majesty and the safety and welfare of His American subjects for which importand end, I shall humbly lay before Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> a necessary plan for the better regulation of my Department.

In the State herewith transmitted I have (with as much exactness as the subject would possibly admit of at present) laid down the several Confederacies in my Department hitherto treated with, and pointed out as nearly as I could the situation and numbers of each Nation comprehended therein, with their present alliances; but as the Western Indians or Ottawas Confederacy, were but newly received into our alliance, I have only taken upon me to ascertain the numbers of them residing in the neighbourhood of the several outposts lately taken, as reported by my deputies, who performed tours amongst them, and given the best General Computation I have met with of the rest of their Confederacy, who live so scattered about the North of Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron, and even about the Lakes, Superior and Michigan, that no particular account can as yet be procured of them.

I am now to lay before your Lord<sup>ps</sup> the claims of the Nations mentioned in the State of the Confederacies.

The Five Nations having in the last Century subdued the Shawanese, Delawares, Twighties, & western Indians so far, as lakes, Michigan & Superior, received them into an alliance, allowed them the possession of the Lands they occupied, and have ever since been at peace



with the greatest part of them, and such was the prowess of the Five Nations Confederacy, that had they been properly supported by us, they would have long since put a period to the Colony of Canada, which alone, they were near effecting in the year 1688. Since that time, they have admitted the Tuscaroras from the Southward amongst them, giving them a Tract of Land beyond Onejda, and they have ever since formed a part of that Confederacy.

As Original proprietors, this Confederacy claim the Country of their residence, South of Lake Ontario to the great Ridge of the Blew Mountains, with all the Western part of the province of New York towards Hudsons River, west of the Caats Kill, thence to Lake Champlain, and from Regioghne a Rock at the East side of said lake to Osswegatche or La Gattell on the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence (having long since ceded their claim North of said line in favour of the Canada Indians as Hunting ground) thence up the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence and along the South side of Lake Ontario to Niagara.

In right of conquest, they claim all the Country (comprehending the Ohio) along the great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of Kentucke River, and down the same to the Ohio above the Rifts, thence Northerly to the South end of Lake Michigan, then along the eastern shore of said lake to Missillimackinac, thence easterly across the North end of Lake Huron to the great Ottawa River, (including the Chippawæ or Mississagey Country) and down the said River to the Island of Montreal.—However, these more distant claims being possessed by many powerful Nations, the Inhabitants have long began to render themselves independant by the assistance of the French, and the great decrease of the Six Nations; but their claim to the Ohio, and thence to the Lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese Delawares etc, who never transacted any Sales of Land or other matters without their consent, and who sent Deputys to the grand Council at Onondaga on all important occasions.

On my coming to the management of Indian Affairs in 1746. when the Indians refused to meet or treat with our Governours, the Indian interest was from our former neglect in so visible a State of decline, that it was conjectured by many, they would entirely abandon us; in this scituation, it was with the utmost difficulty that I was enabled to prevent their falling off, but by proper measures and personal interest, I was happy enough, not only to keep them in our interest but also to employ many parties of them against the Enemy, who greatly harassed them. On my further appointment by General Braddock (for which I never received any salary) I then acquainted them that I feared, the utmost I could do would be to preserve a neutrality, which alone would be of great consequence, and for this my opinion, I had sufficient reason, as the Indians had from the year 1749 to 1754. been continually complaining of neglect, and remonstrating against the growing power of the French, and repeatedly requesting our assistance, on which they would disposess them notwithstanding their Interest with the western Indians whom they had at an immense expence, and by the artful insinuations of Jesuits and other proper Emissaries brought over to them, and which in the declining state of the Six Nations, were too formidable Enemies alone to cope with.

The Six Nations living at the Ohio, had even requested both of Virginia and Pennsylvania to erect a Post on the Ohio, where Fort Du Quesne since stood, concerning all which I have the authentic Records and proceedings, but finding it neglected and themselves dispised, they in 1754. at the great Congress held at Albany (in the presence of the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York and Commissioners from several of the Govern<sup>ts</sup> mett there, to consider on ways and means to bring about an Union of the Colonies and to preserve the Friendship of the Six Nations, as

also to check the growing power of the French) refused to hear Gov<sup>r</sup> or any of the rest, until I was sent for, as I had for some time declined the management of Indian Affairs, on not being properly supported.—When addressing the Gov<sup>r</sup> ettc. the Indians said: “This is the ancient place of Treaty, where the Fire of Friendship always used to Burn—it is now three years “since *we* have been called to any public treaty here; it is true, there are Commiss<sup>rs</sup> here “(meaning the Albany Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Indian affairs, persons of very little capacity, who were “all devoted to their own interest and Trade, and by whose means the French were constantly “supplied with Indian and other goods, thro’ the channel of Canada Indians) but they have “not invited us to smook with them, but the Indians of Canada come frequently and smook “here, which is for the sake of the Beaver. Bretheren, you desired us to speak from the “bottom of our hearts, and we shall do it. Look about you and see all these houses full of “Beaver, and the money is gone to Canada; the fire is here burned out”—that is the fire of peace, meaning that their friendship was at an end.

Since I had the honour of being appointed to the sole management of Indian Affairs by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>’s commission in February, 1756. I had the satisfaction to find that my endeavours to regain the Six Nations ettc to his Maj<sup>ty</sup>’s interest was not totally without success, as well as advantage to the public, and your Lord<sup>pps</sup> approbation. I beg pardon for the preceeding digression, but I judged it necessary to remind your Lord<sup>pps</sup> in the words of the Indians, of their then sentiments and the cause thereof.

As the claims of the Western Indians, are on the North side of the Lakes, and extending thence to the Country of the Sioux, they in no wise concern our present possessions, except as to the Lands, on which the out posts have been erected, and of that, among other particulars I shall speak hereafter.

I apprehend from what I have formerly and now wrote, on this subject, it will appear clearly to your Lord<sup>pps</sup> that the Colonies, had all along neglected to cultivate a proper understanding with the Indians, and from a mistaken notion, have greatly dispised them, without considering, that it is in their power at pleasure to lay waste and destroy the Frontiers. This opinion arose from our confidence in our scattered numbers and the parsimony of our people, who, from an error in politics, would not expend five pounds, to save twenty, and it must be a matter of real concern to any good subject to find, that nothing but fatal experience would convince many of their errors.—

Without any exaggeration, I look upon the Northern Indians to be the most formidable of any uncivilized body of people in the World. Hunting and War are their sole occupations, and the one, qualifies them for the other, they have few wants, and those are easily supplied, their properties of little value, consequently, expeditions against them however successful, cannot distress them, and they have courage sufficient for their manner of fighting, the nature and situation of their Countrys, require not more.

As the French well knew the importance of the Indians, they wisely, took advantage of our neglect, and altho’ they were not able to effect a proper reconciliation with the Six Nations, took care to cultivate a good understanding with the Western Indians, which the safety of their Colony, and their ambitious views of extending their bounds, rendered indispensably necessary; to effect this, they were at an immense expence in buying the favour of the Indians.

On the reduction of Montreal, whereby the frontiers claimed by Canada, were ceded to His Majesty, I thought it prudent, to send M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, one of my Deputys with the Troops, who were to take possession of Detroit ettc, whereby I reconciled the change to the neighbouring



Indians, then in arms against us, and the next year went in person to Detroit, where, I held a Conference with the several neighbouring Nations, the particulars of which will appear from my transactions last year transmitted to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>; but apprehensive that our occupying these out posts, would never be approved of, unless the Indians shared our favours, as they had been accustomed to those of the French, I represented to the Commander in Chief, the necessity of weaning them therefrom gradually, as well as the repeated accounts I had constantly transmitted me of the uneasiness amongst the Indians, and my apprehensions thereon.

The Indians of the Ottawa Confederacy (& who begun the present war) and also the Six Nations, however their sentiments may have been misrepresented, all along considered the Northern parts of North America, as their sole property from the beginning; and although the conveniency of Trade, (with fair speeches and promises) induced them to afford both, us and the French settlements in their Country, yet they have never understood such settlement as a Dominion, especially as neither we, nor the French ever made a conquest of them; they have even repeatedly said at several conferences in my presence, that "they were amused by both parties with stories of their upright intentions. and that they made War for the protection of the Indians Rights, but that they plainly found, it was carried on, to see who would become masters of what was the property of neither the one nor the other"—The French in order to reconcile them to these encroachments, loaded them with favours, and employed the most intelligent Agents, of good influence, as well as artful Jesuits amongst the several Western and other Nations, who by degrees, prevailed on them to admit of Forts, under the Notion of Trading houses in their Country, and knowing, that these posts, could never be maintained contrary to the inclinations of the Indians, they supplied them thereat with Ammunition and other necessaries in abundance, as also called them to frequent Congresses, and dismissed them with handsome presents; by which, they enjoyed an extensive commerce, obtained the assistance of these Indians, and possessed their Frontiers in safety; and as without these measures, the Indians would never have suffered them in their Country, so, they expect that whatever European power passes the same, they shall in some measure reap the like advantages. Now, as these advantages ceased, on the Posts being possessed by the English, and especially as it was not thought prudent to indulge them with Amunition, they immediately concluded, that we had designs against their liberties, which opinion had been first instilled into them by the French, and since promoted by Traders of that Nation and others who retired amongst them on the surrender of Canada and are still there, as well as by Belts of Wampum and other exhortations, which I am confidently assured have been sent amongst them from the Illinois Louisiana and even Canada for that purpose.

The Shawanese and Delawares about the Ohio who were never warmly attached to us since our neglects to defend them against the encroachments of the French, and refusing to erect a Post at the Ohio, or assist them and the Six Nations with Men or amunition, when they requested both of us, as well as irritated at the loss of several of their people killed upon the communication to Fort Pitt in the years 1759 and 1761. were easily induced to join with the Western Nations, and the Senecas dissatisfied at many of our posts, jealous of our designs, and displeased at our neglect and contempt of them soon followed their example. These are the causes the Indians themselves assign, and which certainly occasioned the Rupture between us, the consequence of which, in my humble opinion, will be, that the Indians (who do not regard the Distance) will be supplied with necessaries by the Wabache and several Rivers,



which empty into the Mississippi, which it is by no means in our power to prevent, and in return the French will draw the valuable Furrs down that River, to the advantage of their Colony, and the destruction of our Trade; this will always induce the French to foment differences between us and the Indians, and the prospects many of them entertain, that they may hereafter become possessed of Canada, will incline them still more to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, which if ever attempted by the French, would, I am very apprehensive be attended with a general defection of them from our interest, unless we are at a great pains and expence, to regain their friendship, and thereby satisfy them, that we have no designs to their prejudice.

By the measures I have taken the Six Nations (Senecas excepted) are still our friends, and continue to repeat their offers of accompanying His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops against the Enemy, when the Commander in Chief shall approve thereof. As the Six Nations are the barrier of this province in particular, and can easily cut off the important Communication to Lake Ontario either way, their attachment can not I conceive be too much cultivated, and the redress of their grievances I hope may appear worthy your Lord<sup>ships</sup> attention, more especially as they dread the resentment of our numerous Enemies for their fidelity to Us. Of the Seneca Villages, two remain still our friends, viz<sup>t</sup> Kanadasegey and Kanadaraygo, and the fidelity of the rest of the Confederacy, hath hitherto preserved the frontiers of this Province and the communication to Lake Ontario. But as those who are still our friends, particularly the Mohawks, are they, who have the most occasion to be redressed in land affairs, it is necessary to observe to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> the particulars in which they are aggrieved, concerning their Lands, which I have in my former letters generally represented.

As we have not extended our settlement further than the Onejda Country, and but few there, we have as yet had but few complaints from that Nation or from those more distant.

The claim of the Mohawks extends from near Albany along the Mohawk River to the little falls or carrying place (the Onejda boundary) about 60 miles above Schenectady, and all the Country from thence Eastward and North to Rejioghne in Lake Champlain, with the Country South and West of the Mohawk River to the heads of Susquehana and Delaware Rivers; for the lands along the Mohawk River (a few small Tracts excepted) the Indians acknowledge themselves to be contented, except that claimed by the Corporation of Albany, of which I shall speak presently; but a matter of the utmost uneasiness to them is the large Patent of Kayadarasseras alias Queensborough. In the Reign of Queen Ann, some people of Albany persuaded a few Mohawks to sell them a small piece of Land (about enough for three Farms) along the Hudsons River above Saraghtoga, and procured an Indian deed for that purpose, for a trifling consideration, which, small as it was, having been left in Schenectady, was there burned when that Town was destroyed by the French & the purchase money never since paid. Under the pretext of said Indian Deed, the parties procured a Patent bearing date the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of November 1708 for all the lands then unoccupied between Hudson and the Mohawk River, to certain places on both those Rivers containing by estimation about 800000 Acres of land which included, the most valuable part of the Mohawks Hunting ground, subject to only four pounds currency per annum quit Rent, which if now granted, would yield a Revenue to the Crown of about £1700 p<sup>r</sup> annum currency; this unconscionable grant, the proprietors did not as yet attempt surveying or Dividing in 55 years, neither did they venture to settle any people thereon, 'till last year a few poor people were placed on it, which has greatly alarmed and revived the Indian's uneasiness, who never dreamed that they would have attempted to settle

what was so surreptitiously obtained, which, if allowed, will include several farms and improvements made by many poor industrious persons, who since the time of granting that large Tract, have fairly purchased and obtained Patents for small Tracts along the Mohawk River, and the Patentees foreseeing the consequence, of attempting to settle it themselves, were till lately deterred, from doing any thing therein, a practice too common amongst all possessors of large Tracts in this Country, who keep the same in Reserve waiting for the extinction of the Indians, or the encrease in value of Lands to the prejudice of all those who want to occupy and cultivate small Tracts.

The Corporation of Albany likewise (a great many years ago) obtained an Indian Deed, by intoxicating their Chiefs, and other unfair measures as the Indians say, of the lands called, the Mohawk Flatts at Fort Hunter, whereon they reside, and from whence they draw the greatest part of their subsistence; and altho' they have not as yet attempted to dispossess the Indians, yet it is to be apprehended, whenever matters are thoroughly established, they will certainly do so, which gives the utmost discontent to the Indians.

The parties concerned in the Patent at Conajohare as mentioned in a former letter, are now endeavouring to compromise the affair with the Indians. Should they settle it to the satisfaction of the Indians, it will prevent my giving your Lord<sup>ships</sup> any further trouble on that head, if otherwise, I shall in my next, lay the affair in the fullest and clearest manner I possibly can before your Lordships.

These are the only land disputes, at present necessary to be laid before your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, in which the Mohawks think themselves highly aggrieved, and in which, I am of opinion, Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will judge it very necessary to redress them, which will not only highly gratify them, but have the best effect imaginable on the minds of the rest of the Six Nations who are no strangers to the fraud, and have repeatedly demanded redress.

But the grand matter of concern to all the Six Nations (Mohawks excepted) is the occupying a chain of small Posts on the communication through their Country to Lake Ontario, not to mention Fort Stanwix, exclusive of which, there were erected in 1759. Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk River, and the Royal Block House at the East end of Onejda Lake, in the Country of the Oneidaes, Fort Brewerton, and a post at Oswego Falls in the Onondagaes Country; in order to obtain permission for erecting these Posts, they were promised they should be demolished at the end of the War. General Shirley also made them alike promise for the posts he erected; and as about these posts, are their fishing and Hunting places, where they complain, that they are often obstructed by the Troops, and insulted, they request that (according to promise) they may not be kept up, the war with the French being now over.

In 1760 Sir Jeffery Amherst sent a speech to the Indians in writing, which was to be communicated to the Nations about Fort Pitt ettc: by General Monkton then commanding there, signifying his intentions to satisfy and content, all Indians for the ground occupied by the Posts, as also for any land about them, which might be found necessary for the use of the garrisons; but the same has not been performed, neither are the Indians in the several Countries at all pleased at our occupying them, which they look upon them as the first steps to enslave them and invade their properties. And I beg leave to represent to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, that one very material advantage resulting from a continuance of good treatment and some favours to the Indians, will be the security and toleration thereby given to the Troops for cultivating lands about the Garrisons, which the present reduction of their Rations renders absolutely necessary.



I have now as briefly, as the subjects would admit of, stated the strength, Interest, Claims and sentiments of the Indians with the causes to which their discontent, and the present unhappy rupture must be attributed; and I am next to offer my opinion how there cause may be removed, and what will be the most effectual plan for the management of Indian Affairs, for the benefit of a Free Trade, and the security and interests of His Majesty's subjects.

In doing this I am hopeful, your Lord<sup>ps</sup> will be of opinion, that I offer no sentiments, but what are the result of experience, such as appear to promise the most success, attended with as much œconomy, as good policy will admit of, and which if approved of by your Lord<sup>pps</sup>, and recommended accordingly, may enable me to collect a good Force of Indians against the ensuing campaign, to accompany our Troops who may then pursue their destination, without the surprises, hazards and losses, which I am confident, will always attend their expeditions, unless Indians are encouraged to accompany them.

This necessary plan, may be reduced to two heads; First, the satisfying the Indians on the subject of their uneasiness, particularly concerning their lands; and secondly, by regulating the Department of Indian Affairs in such a manner, as shall best tend to the security of peace, and the promoting His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> interest amongst the Indians.

With regard to the First, I humbly conceive, that a certain line should be run at the back of the Northern Colonies, beyond which no settlement should be made, until the whole Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof. This would encourage the thick settlement of the Frontiers, oblige the Proprietors of large grants to get them Inhabited, and secure the Indians from being further deceived by many who make a practice of imposing on a few Indians with liquor and fair promises to sign Deeds, which are generally disavowed by the Nation, altho' the lucrative fees on a Patent made it formerly easy to procure one, without looking into the merits of the Indian purchase, and then, there is no redress here, a Patent being deemed a good title at common Law.

The line of 60 miles south of the Lakes Erie and Ontario, which by their deed in 1726. the Indians were disposed to have reserved to their posterity beyond a power of disposal, does not comprehend one third of the Lands yet unpurchased, neither it is any thing sufficient for the hunting grounds of people, who require a large Tract for that purpose, especially as several Tribes have since retired that way to be remote from our settlements. I would therefore humbly propose, that that Tract might be in some manner augmented, and some remarkable boundary appointed, and that the Indians should over and besides, be contented and satisfied, or permitted to occupy all the lands without the line until such time as they thought proper to dispose thereof; and I am certain, I can at any time hereafter perswade them to cede to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> more land, if it may be found wanting from the encrease of people, which is very improbable, there being already more pattented and unsettled than can possibly be well occupied in many years. The thirst of making distant settlements is very impolitic, as such frontiers are too weak and remote to oppose even an ordinary scalping party, and therefore it will be time enough to advance our settlements, when the large Tracts already Pattented are thoroughly inhabited.

If such a boundary (having due regard to their hunting grounds) should be thought adviseable, I shall immediately on receiving Your Lord<sup>pps</sup> commands, make the Indians acquainted therewith, and settle the same in such manner, as may prove most to their satisfaction, and the good of the public; and I have no doubt that the Indians on such determination, and on having their several grievances, concerning their lands redressed, will



be well satisfied on that score, and will doubtless dispose of great part of Kaiadarusseras in a manner most agreeable to his Majesty; but without your Lord<sup>PPS</sup> interposition, for which they repeatedly solicit me, they can expect little redress in a Country where so many parties concerned, will immediately oppose the necessary restitution of such unreasonable Grants, to these faithful people.

I come now to state the plan, on which my Department may be carried on, for the security and extention of His Majesty's influence & interest amongst the Indians.

The reduction of Canada affording us a connection with many Nations, with whom before we had no intercourse; it became necessary that we should cultivate a good understanding with them, for the security of, and the safety of the public, and, as before that period, I had but one Deputy, which was insufficient for the management of the Indians formerly in Alliance, I then represented the same to Sir Jeffery Amherst, who agreed that I should have the persons, now in my Department, who are well acquainted with, and qualified for their Offices; viz<sup>t</sup> George Crogan, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson Esq<sup>r</sup> at an annual salary of 200 pounds sterling each, which considering the fatiguing journeys and the necessary appearance they are to make amongst the Ind<sup>ns</sup>, is but a very moderate sum for their trouble and services; in aid to these Deputies, I have at present but two Assistants, and only five Interpreters in the whole Department exclusive of Detroit, for which, and all the out Posts, I think it imprudent to rely any longer on the French Inhabitants, than whom, on the cession of that Country I could find no others qualified.

The former of my Deputies, is for the Ohio and its dependencies. the second for Canada, and the third is my immediate Deputy for the Six Nations and Neighbouring Indians, Missisageys etc. These three Deputies are scarcely sufficient for the variety of business which hath accrued, and must encrease; and of which, none but those, who have experience of the trouble can have the least conception.

For the more effectual carrying on the service in my Department, I find myself under an indispensable necessity, of requiring additional persons to assist them in their duty, as well as to reside at some of the most considerable out Posts. One assistant for Detroit and its environs, with three Interpreters and three Smiths, one of each, at Fort Pitt, at Detroit and Michilimackinac.—Another Assistant to the Deputy in Canada, with two Interpreters and two Smiths, and for the Deputy of the Six Nations etc one Assistant with four Interpreters and four Smiths; one Interpreter and Smith, to be at Fort Stanwix, the same at Oswego, the same at Niagara, the fourth Interpreter to be ready at all conferences, and the fourth smith to reside at Susquahana.—

Good Interpreters are very necessary here, and are hard to be found, for although I am often thro' their ignorance obliged to deliver my own speeches and generally to explain them, yet the Indians always expect to be treated with an Interpreter. Nor can the want of them be dispensed with at the chief out Posts, to explain matters between the Indians and commanding Officers, and prevent the disputes which often arise between them and the Soldiery through their ignorance of each others language.

Another matter extremely essential, will be a choice of proper Missionaries to reside amongst the Indians in their own Villages; many of the present Missions are established at settlements on the sea-side, where the Nations formerly residing are become extinct, or reduced to an inconsiderable number, whilst other Missionaries are allowed a double cure, or live in our Towns; so that two or three visits in a year, are all, that the Indians get, and the

Missionaries unable to speak their language, are obliged to have recourse to the very bad Interpreters which the Country affords; by which means the worthy design of the Society, is in a great measure defeated. There have been other Missionaries, who have too often used their Influence in obtaining grants of Lands, which gives the Indians the most unfavourable opinion of their worldly and interested views. The Mohawks lately told me, that they apprehended the reason, they had not Clergy as formerly amongst them, was, because they had no more land to spare.

The French, who greatly outstripped us in making Proselytes, sent Jesuits and others amongst the Indians, who lived in their Castles, and took care to form them by their immediate example and precept. I fear we shall be unable to procure such persons amongst our Clergy, but I would humbly recommend, the necessity there is for sending some such persons to reside amongst the Mohawks and Oneidaes in particular; these two Nations having a very Religious turn, and desire for learning the Christian Religion, in which many of them are become great proficient, reading the Lithurgy and preaching amongst themselves, to promote which, I have caused a new edition of the prayer Book ettc to be printed in their own language, with some necessary additions. Two youths, a Mohawk and an Oneida, whom I sent to school, being returned, and appearing very zealously and devoutly inclined, deserve the notice of the Society; as from their connection and residence. they would prove of much use; for I observe with regret, that few of our people can be found, who will sacrifice the advantages and enjoyments of life to reside in their Villages, without which, they are of little utility.

I cannot sufficiently recommend the necessity and reasonableness of the foregoing plan, and I have only to observe, in addition thereto, that, on due consideration of the importance of securing peace to this Country, and of establishing the Fidelity of the Indians, on the most solid basis, there appears a necessity of bestowing some annual favours, on each Confederacy of Indians in this Department, in which case a proper assortment of Indian goods, should be purchased in England, this Country affording them at too high a price, which has hitherto inflamed the Indian accounts. I heartily wish this expence was unnecessary, but I think it my duty to assure your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, we can never insure a durable peace with the assistance of all the Troops which can be spared for this Continent, until we are become more formidable amongst ourselves, and that the Indians are perfectly reconciled to our Govern<sup>t</sup> by the removal of all their jealousies and suspicions, which can never be effected, if they are too suddenly deprived, of the advantages they have been accustomed to draw from the toleration afforded to the French; nor would double the number of Troops (which must involve the Nation in a vast expence) be able to preserve the communications, secure our Trade from meeting with a severe blow, already heavily felt in this Country, or protect the scattered Frontiers, much less subjugate a people accustomed to retire before a superior force, and at liberty to return when they think proper.

Every effort should, I think, be now made use of, for giving the Enemy Indians such a Blow (effectual it cannot be) as may convince them of our abilities and expertness in the Woods of which they entertain a very indifferent opinion, and afterwards by our treatment satisfy them, that they have a generous people to deal with; afford them a fair Trade at the Chief Out Posts, agreeable to certain regulations for the prices of goods and Furrs, and also with well dispensed favours, secure their fidelity for the future; but in the mean time, and always we should in an especial manner, improve our interest and Friendship with the Six Nations and



all other our Friendly Indians; the Six Nations in particular having a great influence over the rest, and being the best barrier for this, and the neighbouring provinces, who would have enjoyed the same security with this Frontier hitherto, but for the defection of the majority of the Senecas, as on the fidelity of the whole Six Nations, the conduct of the most of the Delawares and Ohio Indians in an especial manner depend.

Thus My lords, have I stated to the best of my abilities the affairs in my Department, and humbly submitted to your consideration the only measures, which from a due regard to the situation, strength and disposition of the Northern Indians appear to me capable of speedily terminating the present unhappy Rupture, and securing peace and a free Trade hereafter — points so essential to the interest of His Majesty, and those of the public, that I have reason to hope they will meet with your Lord<sup>ships</sup> approbation, and be considered as the most reasonable and promising system for our future security.

If the observations and plan I now offer, should thro' Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> representation, be honoured with a gracious reception from His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, my utmost endeavours and abilities, shall be exerted for the execution thereof agreeable to His Royal pleasure; but I must humbly observe to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, that from my experience of the State of Indian Affairs, unless properly supported and enabled to Act in the most conducive manner for effecting the aforesaid ends, it will be impossible for me, to answer His Majesty's expectations, or the favourable opinion with which your Lord<sup>ships</sup> have honoured my services.

My ardent desire, of paying the tribute of my gratitude to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, by a successful discharge of the important duties of my Department, would not permit me to say less on a subject, on which the interest of the Crown, the safety and welfare of the public, and the valuable Furr Trade with the Northern Indians so essentially depends.

The defection of the Ohio Indians rendering M<sup>r</sup> Croghan's residence amongst them for a time unnecessary, and his private affairs, as he informs me requiring his immediate presence in England, leaving an assistant at Fort Pitt, I have committed this packet to his care; the rather, as his long residence in this Country, and his knowledge of the Indians, will enable him to answer any further questions necessary for your Lord<sup>ships</sup> better information.

If M<sup>r</sup> Croghan does not incline to continue longer in my Department, I must make choice of another Deputy early in the Spring; on this, as well, as on the other heads of my letter I shall hope to be honoured with your Lord<sup>ships</sup> sentiments and Instruct<sup>ns</sup>, so as to enable me to take such steps as may be found necessary for the service of the ensuing year.

I have the honour to be

with the most profound respect

My Lords

Your Lordships' most obedient

and most humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.



*Enumeration of Indians within the Northern Department.*

[Plantations General Papers, R., LII., Bundle 8.]

Present State of the Northern Indians, in the Department of Sir William Johnson Bart. comprehended under the Six Nations and Ottawa confederacies etc. containing the names, numbers and situation of each Nation with remarks.

SIX NATION CONFEDERACY COMPREHENDING THAT OF CANADA, OHIO, ETTC			
NAMES.	NUMBERS OF MEN.	SITUATION.	REMARKS.
Mohocks .....	160	Two villages on the Mohawk River, with a few Emigrants at Schohar about 16. miles from Fort Hunter.	Of the six Nations, the Mohawks or Mohocks, Onondagas and Senecas are considered as the Chief and elder Branches—The Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras are the younger; the last mentioned Nation having many years ago retired from the southward were admitted into the Confederacy with the then Five Nations, the Oneidas giving them land, and they now enjoy all privileges with the rest.
Oneidas .....	250	Two villages, one 25 miles from Fort Stanwix. the other 12 miles west of Oneida Lake, with Emigrants in several places towards the Susquehanna River.	
Tuscaroras .....	140	One village 6. miles from the first Oneidas, and several others about the Susquehanna.	
Onondagas .....	150	One large village, 6. m. from the Lake of their name (which is the place of congress for the Confederates) with a smaller at some distance.	
Cayugas.....	200	One large village near the Lake of their name, with several others from thence to the Susquehanna.	
Senecas .....	1050	Have several villages beginning about 50. m. from Cayuga, & from thence to Chenussio, the largest about 70. m. from Niagara with others thence to the Ohio.	Of the Senecas two villages are still in our Interest, vizt Kanadasero and Kanaderagey, the rest have joined the Western Nations.
Oswegachys .....	60	Emigrants from the Six Nations chiefly Onondagas settled at la Gallette on the River St Lawrence.	These are at peace with the English.
Nanticokes Conoys Tuteoos Saponcoys etc }	200	A people removed from the southward and settled on and about the Susquehanna on lands allotted by the Six Nations.	These people are immediately under the direction of the Six Nations, and at peace with the English.
INDIANS OF CANADA IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SIX NATIONS.			
Caghnawagas .....	300	Emigrants from the Mohocks settled at South St Louis near Montreal, with Emigrants at Aghequissasne, below la Gallette, which is the seat of a Mission.	All these Nations are in alliance with the Six Nations and warmly attached to the British Interest, as are all the other Indians in Canada—Caghnawaga is the seat of a Mission, as is the village of Lac du deux Montagnes.
Canasadagas Arundacs Algonkins }	150	These three Nations now reside together at the Lac de deux Montagnes at the mouth of the Ottawa River near Montreal.	
Abenakis .....	100	Their village having been burned, at St Francis' below Montreal during the war, they have since lived scattered except a few.	These Indians are originally from New England: if they were all collected, they would amount to more than is represented—They have likewise a Missionary who is a Jesuit.
Skagquanoghronos .....	40	Reside at Trois Rivières, they are originally Algonkins.	(There are several other Nations to the Northward, who avoid any connection with the white people: and as they have no fixed residence, their numbers, though considerable, can not be ascertained).
Hurons.....	40	Reside at Loretto, near Quebec, a very civilized people.	

## INDIANS OF OHIO.

NAMES.	NUMBERS OF MEN.	SITUATION.	REMARKS.
Shawanese .....	300	Removed to the River Sioto, and other branches.	These people are greatly influenced by the Senecas, and reside on lands allotted them by the permission of the Six Nations. They are now at war with the English.
Delawares .....	600	In several villages on and about the Susquahanna, Muskingham etc and thence to Lake Erie.	
Wiandots, etc. ....	200	Some villages in the neighborhood of Sandosky Fort near Lake Erie.	
Total .....	3960	There are also in the Six Nation Confederacy, many Indians, whose numbers cannot be computed, as they have no fixed residence.	

OTTAWA CONFEDERACY,  
COMPREHENDING THE TWIGHTWEES ETC.

NAMES.	NUMBERS OF MEN.	SITUATION.	REMARKS.
Wiandots or Hurons.....	250	Reside opposite Detroit, their village is the seat of a Jesuit mission, their language bears affinity with that of the Six Nations -	This Nation has a great influence over the rest, and has been greatly instigated by the neighboring French to commit acts of hostility.
Powtewatomis: in the neighbourhood of Detroit..	150	Resided about a mile below the Fort, but abandoned their village on the commencement of hostilities.	
in the neighborhood of St Joseph.....	200	A little below the Fort.	With these, and the above Indians, are joined several others who form a flying camp under <i>Pondiac</i> an Ottawa Chief.
Ottawas, residing in the neighborhood of Detroit ..	300	Resided about Detroit but with the former, form a flying camp—	
in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac.....	250	Resided in different villages but are now probably with the former. Michilimackinac is the seat of a Mission—	
In the neighborhood of Fort St Joseph.....	150	Resided at a small distance, after the reduction of the Fort probably joined the rest.	The Ottawas in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac are well attached to us for the most part.
Chipewieghs, or Missisagais: in the neighborhood of Detroit.....	320	Resided above the Detroit, now probably in arms with the rest.	
In the neighborhood of Michilimackinac .....	400	Had several different villages in that country, and the environs of the Lake Huron.	These are the most numerous of all the Ottawa Confederacy and have many villages about Lakes: Superior, Huron, Erie etc. whose numbers can not at present be ascertained with exactness.
Meymomenys.....	110	All these nations reside on the West side of la Baye at Lake Michigan and in the neighbourhood of the Fort there.	
Folsavoins .....	110		
Puans.....	360		
Sakis .....	300		
Foxes.....	320		These Nations are at present in alliance with the Ottawa Confederacy, but appear inclined to our interest, nor did they take the Fort at La Baye, the officer abandoning it, on the news of the rupture, as he could make no defence.—

## MIAMIS OR TWIGHTWEES.

Twightwees .....	230	Near the Fort, on the Miamis River.	The Twightwees were originally a very powerful people, who, having been subdued by the Six Nations were permitted to enjoy their possessions.
Kickapous .....	180	These Nations reside in the neighbourhood of the Fort at Wawiahta, and about the wabache River—	
Mascoutens .....	90		
Piankashaws .....	100		
Wawiahtonos .....	200		

There are many Tribes and villages of them, but these are all, who are perfectly known.

NAMES.	NUMBERS OF MEN	SITUATION.	REMARKS.
Ottawas. Chipeweighs. etc. ....	4000	Residing thro' all the extent of Country, from the Lakes, to the great ottawa River and abt lake Superior, etc.	This is the most exact computation which can be made of these numerous people, who are scattered throughout the Northern Parts, and who having few places affixed residence, subsisting entirely by Hunting, cannot be ascertained as those of their confederacy residing near the out Forts.
Illinois number uncertain. ....		Reside about the Illinois River and hence to the Mississippi—	We have hitherto had nothing to do with these people, who are numerous, and variously computed. The Six Nations claim their Country, but their Right of Conquest thereto does not appear so clear as to the rest, as represented in the letter herewith.
Sioux number uncertain....		Reside in the Country westward of Mississippi, they are much addicted to wandering, and live mostly in camps.	The Sioux who are the most numerous of the Northern Indians, are little known to us, they not appear well affected to the western Indians, and promise to send Deputies to me in the Spring.
Total.....	8020		

November 18<sup>th</sup> 1763.W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 4. ]

New York, 7. December 1763.

My Lords,

I have the honour of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s commands of the 28<sup>th</sup> of September, October 7<sup>th</sup> & 10<sup>th</sup> inclosing His Majesty's Proclamation, and 11<sup>th</sup>; all of them by the Packet Boat, which arrived the 30<sup>th</sup> of last month; the preceeding packet Boat, I hear, was lost on the Coast of North Carolina, in the beginning of Novemb<sup>r</sup>

I shall be carefull to observe your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s directions in my correspondence with you.

While the Administration was in my hands, I took care to send several papers required by His Majesty's Instructions to his Gov<sup>r</sup> of this Province, to be sent to you; if I discover any omission, it shall be supplied. Since the Assembly have taken upon themselves of late years, to appoint their own Clerke, the Gov<sup>r</sup> cannot be so fully informed of their proceedings, as formerly, when the Clerke was appointed by the Gov<sup>r</sup>.

The next day after I received his Majesty's proclamation, I ordered it to be published in all the Counties of this Province, with the usual solemnity. Strict obedience to it shall be performed on my part, & I shall enjoyn the same on all others whom it may concern.

Since the receipt of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s of the 11<sup>th</sup>, I ordered the Officers of the Customs to attend me, when I communicated your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s letter of that date to them; I assured them of my protection and support in performing their duty; and that I shall have like care to have them punished, in case of neglect or Misbehavior in their several offices. At the same time I desired them to communicate to me, any observations they have made, which they think may be of use in detecting, of frauds and illicit Trade.

Without doubt much illicit Trade is carried on in this place, and, tho' more of it has been detected and punished in this Port, than an any of the other Colonies, I am persuaded there is not less among them, in proportion to the Trade. That the officers of the Customs in this Port, are more careful than in the others, I believe from this observation, that the illicit Traders send their vessels to the nearest ports to the Eastward and Westward of this Port,



from whence they import their cargoes, with proper clearances & certificates that the goods are legally imported. Since His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s ships of war have been stationed on this Coast, this practice has been prevented, by their putting Hands on Board suspected vessels before the got into any Port.

The Merchants in this place complain, that there is not the same care taken to prevent illegal Trade in Delawar River, and to the Eastward that is in this Port, whereby the Merchants in those parts are able to undersell them, and they loose their Trade, and that this place will be impoverished, while the others grow Rich. —

I have lately observed that one method taken to cover and conceal Illicit Trade from Holland (the most injurious to great Brittain of all in America) is by ships from Holland taking in a double Cargo, one part of which is entered and the duties paid in Brittain, the other part is pretended to be for some foreign Port and is accordingly Reported in the Ports of great Brittain; and I am told that whole Cargoes have been thus carried into some of the New England Ports, under pretence of the ship's being Chartered from Holland to one of the Dutch Islands, with leave to touch in her passage at the Port where her owners live; this saves them from the officers in case the landing of the goods be not discovered. An Act of Parliament seems necessary to prevent this fraud, by prohibiting any vessels carrying any goods into America from Holland under any pretence, without having first paid the duties in Brittain.

It is my constant care to perform my duty in every case, and to evince to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, that I am with the greatest truth and submission — My Lords.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 5. ]

New York. 7. December 1763.

My Lords,

In the year 1759. the Lutheran Congregation in this Citty, encouraged by their constant & uniform good behaviour, whence they hoped to receive the indulgence of the Crown, warmly solicited the Late Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> De Lancey, for the Royal Grant or Charter of Incorporation, with the usual powers to their Minister, Elders and Deacons. The Petition w<sup>ch</sup> they then preferred having been discussed in Council, was advised to be granted, but Mr De Lancey finding a like application from the principal dissenting Congregation in the Citty, and apprehending others would follow the example, declined giving any Charter, until he should have laid the matter before your Lord<sup>ships</sup>' predecessors in office, and have received their sentiments on a point, that appeared to him of too much importance to be determined by the authority of the Govern<sup>t</sup> here. Mr De Lancey's death happening shortly after, the parties interested dropt their solicitations until lately, the Lutherans thought proper to renew theirs, by a Petition they presented to me, which I layd before His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Council; who foreseeing the variety of applications that would necessarily follow the granting of this, declined entering any further into the consideration of the matter, than to advise me to lay the Petition before your Lord<sup>ships</sup>.

The papers on this subject your Lord<sup>ships</sup>—have inclosed—Except the Established Church, here are only four instances of the grant of such Charters, which were made to the Dutch Church. By one of the Articles, on the surrender of the Province in the year 1664. the Rights of that Church are expressly reserved, w<sup>ch</sup> is probably the reason why the Govern<sup>t</sup> thought fit to favour the Dutch Congregations beyond those of other Denominations; but it may be questioned whether these articles are not confined personally to the then Inhabitants; and it is further to be observed, that the Dutch reconquered this Province in the year 1674. and the states of Holland surrendered it by the Treaty of Breda without any conditions.

On perusal of His Majesty's instructions, I find, a particular attention to the interests & advancement of the Church of England; and that the strictest regard is to be paid to the Act of Toleration. But there is nothing in them so explicit, as I think will justify me in extending to the other Religious Denominations the ample privileges & indulgencies, which in this province have hitherto been confined to the Established Church, except the few instances above cited.

As the Dissenters in this and the neighbouring Colonies are more numerous, than those of the Church of England, Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will judge how far it is consistent with good policy and the English Constitution, to put the Dissenters, in respect to the point in question, upon an equality with the Established Church—Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> determination shall be received with the greatest submission by,

My Lords.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York Papers, ( S. P. O. ) CLVIII. ]

New York, Dec<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1763

My Lord,

Sir Jeffery Amherst by his letter to me of the 30<sup>th</sup> of October made a requisition of fourteen hundred men to be raised in this Province, for proceeding early in the Spring, in conjunction with such regular troops as can be collected for reducing the Savages, & securing peace and quiet to the settlements hereafter. He informed me that he had made a demand of six hundred men of New Jersey for the same service: that he had likewise made a demand of a body of men of Pennsylvania & Virginia for a similar service to the Southward. He made no demand of any assistance from the New England Governments.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of November when the General Assembly met I enforced the General's requisition as much as I could. The Assembly I expected thought it unreasonable that this Province & New Jersey alone should bear the whole burden and expence of reducing the Savages to the Northward & therfor insisted that the New England Governments should be called upon to contribute their quotas: in which case they assured me that they would contribute their quota of any number of men that shall be thought necessary. The Assembly are confident that the New England Governments will contribute their proportions, but in case they refuse the Assembly promises to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability. In the mean time

they have by their resolves enabled me to raise three hundred men, besides officers, which the General desired to be raised immediately for the defence of the Settlements on the Mohawk's River & Keeping open the communication between Albany and Oswego.

This Province have had for some time past 173 men in pay, who are posted at Oswego, Niagara & Detroit. These with the 300 men now to be levied make 500 men, officers included, which is above double the Quota of this Province of 2000 men demanded by the General.

Besides these who are to be under the command of the General of his Majesty's regular troops, the Assembly have enabled me to raise three hundred men for the defence of the Western Frontier. So that there will be in all 800 men in the pay of this Colony. From whence it appears that this Province is not in the least backward in giving their assistance for the publick service.

In the Assembly's address there are some insinuations of misconduct in the management of Indian affairs. Since the care of Indian affairs has been taken out of the Governor's hands I cannot write on sufficient Authority, but from all that I have learned the Indians have nowhere met with ill usage, or any just reason of offence. On the contrary, that at all the Out Posts they have been treated in the most friendly manner. It was from this & the confidence the Officers had in the friendships being reciprocal that they were so treacherously surprised. The Senekas, who have at this time behaved the worst & have been guilty of the most barbarous cruelties received during the last war their share of the large sums which were expended in preserving the friendship of the six nations; notwithstanding of this, as I am informed, some of them were at the same time in every scalping party on our frontiers. I am therefor with humble submission of opinion that no safe & lasting peace can be obtained with the Savages till these Senekas at least be chastised & made an example to the other nations. After which I doubt not a safe and lasting peace may be made with all the Indian Nations, if care be taken to preserve it, by doing them justice on every occasion of complaint.

It is needless for me to write more particularly since Sir Jeffery Amherst is gon to England. He has had better opportunities to be informed. He has taken more care to be well informed & is more capable of judging than any man in America.

My duty in my Office & the gratitude I owe Your Lordship lay me under the strongest obligations to use my utmost endeavours to obtain the honour of being My Lord,

Your most obedient

& faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New York Bundle, Oo., p. 107, ]

New York 9<sup>th</sup> December 1763

My Lords

Your Lordships predecessors in Office, by their letter to L<sup>t</sup> Governor De Lancey, of the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1760, which came to my hands after his Death, informed him that Petitions (of which copies were inclosed) have been transmitted by General Amherst to M<sup>r</sup> Secrettary Pitt, who



having by His Majesty's command referred them to your then predecessors, they had made a full Representation to His Majesty thereupon. They observed that the Limits of the Land petitioned for are very loosely and vaguely described; but as it is clear that it is meant to comprehend lands as far Westward as Fort Edward, they think it would not be adviseable to make any further grants in that part of the Country, at least not to the Eastward of the Lakes, untill His Majesty's pleasure be known upon the above mentioned petitions.

In consequence of these Orders I refused numbers of People while the Administration was in my hands who applied for Grants of Lands which I suspected to be within the limits of the land described in Major Skeens petition; and I am informed that General Monckton while the Administration was in his hands, declared his intentions to be the same with mine.

General Amherst after the reduction of Crown Point, having begun a large and extensive Fortification there, I conceived that he designed it for a Barrier hereafter against the French in Canada, and it was generally presumed in this Place, from some discourse with the officers of the Army that the General design'd to have a separate Government erected there, and to have the Lands settled after the Peace by the disbanded soldiery, but Canada being afterwards conquered, and at last ceded by the Treaty of Peace to the Crown of Great Britain, these views of the General are at end.

Sir Jeffery Amherst at no time intimated to me, his intentions in respect of the lands petitioned for by Major Skene: and the Major having gon on the expedition to Martinico without making the least application to me, or in any manner signifying his intentions of settling and improving these lands and I not knowing that he had made any the least improvement upon them, I concluded that he had drop'd his design, untill last Summer that he applied to me for a grant of the lands contained in his petition, the copy of which had been transmitted to me, I told him that I could not consistently with His Majesty's Instructions grant to one Man, any such large tract; nor where the boundaries are so vaguely and loosely described; nor where the quantity of land to be contain'd in the Grant is not ascertained; and advised him to take the regular steps used in this Government for obtaining a Grant of the Lands whereon his improvements are made. At the same time adviseing him to have the Lands whereon his improvements are made, previously surveyed for which purpose as soon as he should desire it, I would give orders to the Surveyor General of Lands to have the same don, and I promised in the mean time not knowingly to grant any lands which he had emproved notwithstanding of this he has neglected above three months to have any such survey made, and now he has gone to England,

It was at the time last Summer when he applied to me that I first heard of his haveing made any improvements, at which time likewise he inform'd me of the great expence he had been at in makeing his improvements. After this I resolved heartily to serve him, as much as in my power; in consequence of which he preferr'd a Petition of which a Copy is inclosed which I laid before the Council for their consent to the granting of the Lands.

One Tract granted while I had the Administration, and two others which the Council had advised General Monckton to grant; One to Captain Joseph Walton and other Officers of the Artillery, and the other to the Provincial Officers in this Colony, who had served in the late war, happened to interfere with the lands which Major Skene says are mentioned in his petition. That they did interfere was certainly unknown to me, and I believe to General Monckton, and to every officer of this Government by reason of the vague description Major Skene had given of the lands, and no surveys made in that part of the country, before those tracts were granted.

However as Major Skene inform'd me that the Tract which the Council had advised & consented to be granted to Capt<sup>a</sup> Walton & the other Artillery Officers, included some part of his improvements, and no farther proceedings had been made, either for a survey or grant of those Lands I endeavoured as much as I could to obtain the Council's consent to have that part which Major Skene had improved excepted out of the Grant to the Artillery Officers, but without effect. unless the Artillery Officers consented in which case they were to have as much added out of the adjoining lands, as they should yield to Major Skene; as by a Report of a Committee of Council a Copy of which is inclosed.

The reasons of the Councils refuseing Major Skene this favour, so far as I can recollect, was from an opinion that Major Skene's improvements bore no proportion to the expence he said he was at, and at that place were trifling. They were confirm'd in this opinion by his haveing neglected to have a survey made of his improvements. And they were of opinion that the granting him and his associates 25,000 Acres, in another place which he mentioned, was a sufficient recompence, for all the improvements he had actually made. To which must be added that the province made by this Government to the Officers of Artillery ought to be strictly observed.

I am sincerely inclined to favour Major Skene, but by his conduct he put it in a great measure out of my power. Now the obtaining of his request rests on your Lordships pleasure, and I beg that it may be signified as soon as you shall think proper, for while Major Skene keeps up his pretentions to so great a track of land as is contained in his petition remaining in your Lordships Office, and the Governor is restrained from granting any part of it, the reduced Officers of the Army who now apply for grants of lands in pursuance of His Majesty's Ploclamation will complain, and think themselves ill used or unfairly delt with.

I am in this, as in every other case, with great submission

My Lords

Your most obedient &

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners  
for Trade and Plantations.

faithfull servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 10. ]

New York 19 Decemb<sup>r</sup> 1763.

My Lords,

Since my last of the 11<sup>th</sup> of this month by the Packet we have received advice from Detroit that on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October the Indians sent on to sue for peace, after several conferences at last a cessation of arms was agreed till the General's pleasure shall be known in May next. The Officer commanding having told them that he had not power to make peace. A large detachment of 600 Men set out on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October from Niagara; on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November they were drove ashore in lake Erie, by a storm of wind at which time they lost 70 Men 3 Officers included, had their ammunition and provisions spoiled, and for that reason resolved to return to Niagara, tho' they had got two thirds of their way to Detroit.

The Commanding officer at Detroit received an account of this misfortune by two faithful Indians, who carried a letter to him; on which he sent 240 Men back to Niagara retaining 212, having only provisions sufficient for that number till 1<sup>st</sup> of July.

The want of Ammunition and the necessity the Indians were under to go to hunt at that season was the reason of their suing for Peace.—Notwithstanding all the fair promises the Indians have made, the Commanding officer thinks, their sincerity is not to be depended on if they can procure ammunition from the French. Early last spring they sent a large party down the Mississippi to New Orleans, with a large quantity of Beaver to purchase Ammunition.

The Indians affirm that they were incited to this general insurrection by the French in Canada; that is above two years since the Belts for this purpose were first sent among them, since which time they were carried from Nation to Nation in order to form the General Conspiracy. The Ind<sup>ns</sup>, as I am informed, affirm that they were at first incited to this conspiracy by some of the principal Men in Canada, when they have named with others, the Vicar General and S<sup>t</sup> Luke le Corne, the last is now in Canada. The Indians say they had a very considerable supply of Ammunition from Canada by the Outawa River, by which Route they avoided all our posts,

Sir William Johnson by his letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month, informs me, that there were then with him upwards of 120 of the Five Nations, & many more hourly expected. Those present have made the most solemn assurances of their unalterable attachment to the English, their intention to communicate from time to time all intelligence of the Enemies designs and motions, as well as their resolution to accompany His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops the ensuing campaign, whenever their presence may be required. "The advantage resulting from such assistance are clear to me (I copy the words of Sir William's letter) and must appear to all acquainted with their abilities and usefulness in the woods. I therefore spare no pains to cultivate this good understanding, by good treatment and favours which are highly essential at a time when they are not without the strongest inducements to partake of the plunder of our frontiers and the greatest apprehensions of suffering by their attachment to us"—so far I copy Sir William's words.

It is not long since Sir William gave me a very different account of the Disposition of the Five Nations. Is it not most probable that this change has arisen, from their knowledge of what has passed at Detroit, and from their being sensible (they now feel) that they can not live without us, since their supply of ammunition has been prevented. For this reason in my letter of this days date, I advise Sir William to be cautious in supplying the Indians with Ammunition, and I am confident, they will at all times be as willing to give intelligence to the Enemy as to us.

I am humbly of opinion, that we can never be secure against that fierce, cruel and rapacious spirit, natural to the Indians, without making them afraid of punishment, and this may be done by chastising the most obnoxious and most ungrateful nation the Sinnekes.

I am surprised to find it repeatedly asserted in the English Newspapers, that the present insurrection has been occasioned by the Indians having been cheated of their lands by the English in America; I can assure your Lord<sup>ships</sup> that there is not the least ground for this assertion and that, as to this Prov<sup>ce</sup> it has happened without any provocation on our part so far as I have heard at least, and I believe to be true.

I am obliged to write this while the ship which carries it is ready to sail and therefore I must beg your Lord<sup>ships</sup> excuse of inaccuracy. I forgot to mention another proof, that the late



insurrection of the Indians was by instigation of the French. All our Traders who had been seized by the Indians and made their escape, affirm, that when they told the Indians it was peace, they constantly answered, it is a lie, the French assure, there is no peace on the contrary, that a great French Fleet and army are coming if not already arrived at Quebecq.

No doubt, Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage has informed the Secretary of State by this opportunity more particularly, than I can inform your Lord<sup>ships</sup> but I think it my duty to inform you of every thing, which I think you may be desirous to know.

I have the honour to be with great submission

My Lords,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.



*Reverend Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker.*

[ "Americann Colonies MS.," Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, III., No. 336. ]

Stratford Dec<sup>r</sup> 20. 1763.

May it please Your Grace,

I humbly ask Your Grace's pardon for troubling you so soon again, which I hope you will excuse, as I should be extremely wanting in my duty to Your Grace, if I did not most gratefully acknowledge your very kind letter of September 25.—I am very glad and thank God, that your health is not so much impaired as to forbid your giving some attention to business, and I earnestly pray that it may be yet again confirmed and lengthened out to the utmost, and the rather, as I am extremely afraid that no gentleman can, or may, be found, that will go near to make good your Grace's ground, in these times!

I am surprized Mr Beache's Book is not come to your hand: I sent a Copy, which was promised me to be sent you from Boston, 6 months ago, and have again urged it, and Aplin's, (a Lawyer) for so is his name—Mr Apthorp declined answering.—Mr Caner, (as it is privately said) has made (I think) a pretty good answer to Mayhew, with which mine, such as it is, is printed (but I hear Mayhew has already replied, still in his own way.) I trust it will soon come to you, and that you will not dislike it: He has remarked on their Societies much as your Grace mentions. I know of but two or three little Clans of a kind of Christian Indians they have, not many more, I believe than Dr Barclay had. One Mr Wheelock is training up some lads, perhaps to good purpose, and I wish the Society would prosecute the Design they once mentioned of training up some Indian Lads at King's College.—But I apprehend nothing of much consequence can be done without making a Government Affair of it, with a wise Bishop and a worthy Clergyman of spirit, who understand french placed at Canada and other places; a thing which the sorrowful present depredations loudly call for, that, if possible, they may be civilized and converted.

Did our Benefactors know the real State of things in New England, they would allow that Missionaries are as much needed here as in other parts of America: the wildest notions are propagated here, both on the side of Enthusiasm and Infidelity. The letters of one Sandeman,

on Theron and Aspatia are much in vogue with many and tend to much mischief on the one hand, and such creatures as Mayhew, no less on the other: but I wish more could be done in the other provinces as well as here. Dr Barclay's defence was sent to the Society, and I have advised him to send your Grace a Copy; and also to write in behalf of Mr Chandler, whose character truly is, that of a very faithful Missionary, and one that hath made much proficiency in learning and especially in Divinity: I know of none so much to my mind, that loves books and reads as much as he.—It would be much for the honour of the Church and the Interest of true Religion, if there were at least one Doctor in each province, and he should be a Commissary. I wish Mr Caner had a D<sup>s</sup> Degree, who well deserves it, and the rather as the dissenters have 3 in that province, and the Chh none but Dr Cutler and he has done.—By a letter lately to me from Mr Cooper, it appears that the Governors of the College have enlarged his Salary to his Content.

It is truly a miserable thing, My Lord, that we no sooner leave fighting our neighbours, the French, but we must fall to quarrelling among ourselves: I fear the present state of the Ministry is indeed, very feeble; so that I doubt we must, after all our hopes, loose the present juncture also, for gaining the point we have long had so much at heart, and I believe must never expect another.—Is there then nothing more that can be done, either for obtaining Bishops, or demolishing these pernicious charter Governments, and reducing them all to one form, in immediate dependence on the King? I can't help calling them *pernicious*, for they are indeed so, as well to the best good of the people themselves, as to the interest of true Religion, as Your Grace remembers I formerly intimated in some Queries and Letters. I would hope Providence may some how bring it about that things may be compromised respecting the Ministry, and would it not now be a proper juncture for some such general address from the Clergy of these Provinces to the King, as I once mentioned to Your Grace? or is there not probability enough of success yet, with regard both to Bps and Governours, to make it worth while for a Gentleman or two, (who I believe might be procured) to go from hence, to solicit the gaining these points? for I doubt nothing will do without solicitation from hence. I should be greatly obliged to Your Grace for your Judgment and Direction with regard to these things, as soon as may be.—It is indeed too much to trouble Your Grace with these affairs, in your present infirm state: I therefore humbly beg your pardon that I am thus importunate.—I remember you once mentioned his Grace of York, as having an extraordinary Talent for Business, could not he be engaged to be active in these affairs?—

I am much obliged to the Society that they are very desirous to restore me to this Mission: Mr Winslow is gone to Braintree to see whether it will do for him to accept it.—If he does, I shall do my best, but it cannot be long before I shall need some Assistance.—I am with the greatest Veneration,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged,

most dutiful and obedient

humble Servant

(signed) SAMUEL JOHNSON.

P. S. Dec<sup>r</sup> 22.

Since writing, a sensible good gentleman, has been with me, who has been in all the parts of Canada, and a prisoner among the remotest Indians. He speaks highly of Mr Ogilvie at Montreal, and is persuaded with me, that (politically speaking) nothing could be of so much

consequence to the purpose of civilizing and gaining the friendship of the Indians, as well as converting the French, as for such a Bishop and Clergy, as above mentioned to be sent thither by the King, and the rather, as they have been used to a Bp of their own.—It would be well Hartford, (who desire it, and is but 12 miles off) should be joynd with Middletown under the care of Mr Jarvice, lately gone for orders.

To his Grace of Canterbury.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York (State Paper Office), CLVIII. ]

New York Dec<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1763.

My Lord,

In October last Sir William Johnson wrote to me that the Indians every where were in a very bad disposition, & added that he was informed that they intended to make inroads on our frontiers. In consequence of this Intelligence I put the frontiers every where in the best posture of defence I could, whereby their Incursions on any part of this Province have been prevented.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month I received a letter from him dated the 5<sup>th</sup> in which he informs me that he had then with him upwards of 120 of the five Nations, & many more expected. That they are in the best disposition, they assure him of their attachment to the English, & their readiness to join the regular troops the ensuing campaign against the ennemy Indians.

This sudden change in the five Nations is certainly owing to two things. First that the ennemy Indians at Detroit, of whose success they seemed to have been confident had sued for peace & had obtained a cessation of arms from the Commanding Officer there, 'till such time as the General's pleasure shall be known in the Spring. The other is the general want of ammunition among the Indians & their arms must in a little time become unfit for service. These two last are in our power & by proper care must in a short time reduce the Indians to the necessity of accepting peace on our own terms.

But before I proceed further I think it proper to inform Your Lordship of the different state of the Policy of the five Nations in different periods of time.

Before the peace of Utrecht the Five Nations were at war with the French in Canada, & with all the Indian Nations who were in friendship with the French. This put the Five Nations under a necessity of depending on this Province for a supply of every thing by which they could carry on the war or defend themselves, & their behaviour towards us was accordingly.

After the peace of Utrecht the French changed their measures. They took every method in their power to gain the Friendship of the Five Nations & succeeded so far with the Senekas who are by far the most numerous & at the greatest distance from us, that they were intirely brought over to the French interest. The French Obtained the consent of the Senekas to the building of the Fort at Niagara situated in their Country

When the French had too evidently before the last war got the ascendant among all the Indian Nations we endeavoured to make the Indians jealous of the French power that they were thereby in danger of becoming slaves to the French unless they were protected by the English. Since the conquest of Canada the French have turned our own arguments against



us to raise a jealousy in the Indians of our Designs, by sending of Belts from nation to nation, since the conquest of Canada, & furnishing the Indians privately with large quantities of Ammunition & arms from Canada this general conspiracy was formed by their assuring the Indians, at the commencement of their hostilities that no peace was made, nor would be made till Canada was restored & that a great fleet and army was coming from France to reduce Canada, & probably was at that time before Quebec.

The Indians at Detroit being at last convinced that peace was made & that Canada is ceded to Great Britain, & their ammunition becoming scarce that they could not have sufficient for their hunting which at that season became necessary for their subsistence, they sued for peace at a time very fortunately for the Garrison at Detroit, when by reason of many misfortunes in their supplies they soon would have been reduced to a necessity of abandoning it. These particulars I have learned from the Officers who are lately returned from Detroit & of which no doubt Your Lordships will be particularly informed by General Gage. From these and from numerous circumstances Your Lordships will judge of the truth of what I now relate.

I think it my duty with humble submission to give my sentiments of what may be proper to be don. I think it advisable to make peace with the far distant Indians at Detroit as soon as it can be properly don. That for the more effectual doing of this all trade with them from Canada during next summer be prohibited. Thereby the Indians will more effectually feel the necessity they are under of our friendship for their subsistence.

This war is carried on with great loss of brave men & heavy expence of money, & if the Indians loose hopes of our friendship, they may accept of the late Invitation of the French Governor at Chartres on the Mississippi, wherein he promises them fine hunting grounds on the West side of that River, & free commerce.

It seems proper that the Posts at Detroit & MissiliMakinak be continued and properly supported otherwise the French on the Mississippi may carry on designs among these far distant Indians pernicious to the Brittish interest & safety of the Colonies, without our being able to discover them.

That all Trade with the Indians be in open market under cover or protection of the fortified posts. The Indians are tempted to plunder the Traders scattered about in their Countries & in consequence murder them from whence new broils arise.

Notwithstanding that peace with the Indians appears to me so desirable yet I think it necessary to chastise the Senekas, who have been the most mischievous, have behaved with the greatest treachery & most ungratefully. This I think necessary for the future safety of the Inhabitants of our Colonies: for if the Indians who live nearest to us are not affrayed of punishment, & that fierce spirit natural to them be not subdued, it will on every opportunity break out into outrages. At the same time it is necessary to have some certain method established for their obtaining justice in a summary way on every just complaint.

I hope very soon to have the five Companies compleated which are at this time in the pay of this Province for keeping open the communication between Albany & Oswego.

I flatter myself, Your Lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken in giving my sentiments on matters of such consequence, for it is don with absolute submission, by My Lord,

Your most obedient & faithfull Servant,

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Dec. 27. Nothing new from Sir William Johnson nor from Detroit.

Right honourable Earl of Halifax.

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*[New-York Papers, Bundle 1<sup>st</sup> p., No. 11.]

New York 20 January 1764.

My Lords,

The dispute subsisting between this, and his Majesty's Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire, respecting their boundary, obliges me to lay the State of this matter before your Lordpp<sup>s</sup>

In april 1750. Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton communicated to the Council a letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth Gov<sup>r</sup> of New Hampshire, representing that he had it in command from His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, to make grants of the unimproved lands in New Hampshire, and desiring information how far noth of Albany this Province extended, and how many miles to the Eastward of Hudson's River, to the Northward of the Massachusets line, that he might govern himself accordingly — as also an extract of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commission to M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth, describing the boundaries of that Govern<sup>t</sup>. By the advice of the Council, M<sup>r</sup> Clinton informed M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth, in answer to his request, that this Province is bounded Eastward by Connecticut River, the letters Patent from King Cha<sup>s</sup> the second to the Duke of York expressly granting "all the lands from the West side of Connecticut River, to the East side of the Delaware Bay.

M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth in answer of the 25<sup>th</sup> April, says, that he had communicated to His Majesty's Council of that Govern<sup>t</sup> the above opinion of the Council of this Province, which he declares would have been satisfactory, had not the two Charter Govern<sup>ts</sup> of Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay, extended their bounds many miles to the westward of Connecticut River, and desires to be informed, by what authority Connecticut and the Massachusets Govern<sup>ts</sup>, claimed so far to the westward as they had settled, & acquainted Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton, that before the receipt of his letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> April, he had granted a township due North of the Massachusets line of the contents of six miles square, and by measurement twenty four miles east of the City of Albany. Upon Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton's laying this letter before the Council. they advised him to inform Gov<sup>r</sup> Wentworth, that the claim of the Govern<sup>t</sup> of Connecticut, is founded upon an agreement with that of New York in the year 1683. afterwards confirmed by King William. But that as to the Massachusetts settlements, so far to the westward, it was presumed they were first made by intrusion, and since continued thro' the neglect of this Govern<sup>t</sup>.—And that it was probable the lands within the township he had lately granted, or some part of them, had been already granted by the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New York.

In July 1750. M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth's letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> June preceeding, was laid before the Council; declaring, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Council of that Prov<sup>ce</sup> were unanimously of opinion not to commence a dispute with this Govern<sup>t</sup> respecting the extent of western Boundary to New Hampshire, until His Majesty's pleasure should be further known, and accordingly the Council had advised that he should on the part of New Hampshire, make a representation of the matter to His Majesty, relying that M<sup>r</sup> Clinton would do the same on the part of New York. To which proposal this Govern<sup>t</sup> agreed, adding, that it would be a measure for the mutual advantage of both provinces, that the copies of the respective representations to be made to his Majesty on this head should be exchanged.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> September M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth signified the Assent of his Govern<sup>t</sup> to the last mentioned proposal, as it might contribute to the speedy settlement of the boundary, between the two provinces, and assured M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, that he would transmit to him, a copy of the representation he should make in behalf of New Hampshire, as soon as perfected.



I find the representation on the Part of New York was not approved of by the Council, until the 15<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1751. when it was entered on the minutes, together with a letter of mine on the same subject. But before this period M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth had in his letter to the Board of Trade of the 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1750, suggested to their Lord<sup>ships</sup>, what he thought proper to urge on this subject, in behalf of his own Govern<sup>t</sup> without transmitting any copy thereof to Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton.

Thus the matter rested, according to my information, until the incursions of the Indians into this province, immediately preceeding the late War, put an intire stop to any new settlements, and rendered both Govern<sup>ts</sup> less solicitous to bring this controversy to an issue. The Govern<sup>t</sup> of New York confiding that New Hampshire, after what had passed, would not venture to make any further Grants, until His Maj<sup>ty</sup> should be pleased to determine the limits between his two provinces, as such grants, where they might interfere with those of New York, must be considered as a meer nullity.

But how great was the surprise of this Govern<sup>t</sup>, when they lately discovered that New Hampshire had, since the transactions above recited, granted upwards of thirty, some affirm one hundred and sixty townships, each of Six miles square, westward of Connecticut River; a fact which had probably been still concealed from the knowledge of this Govern<sup>t</sup> had not the grantees or persons employed by them, travelled thro' all parts of this and in the neighbouring province of New Jersey, publicly offering the lands for sale, at such low rates as evince the claimants had no intention of becoming settlers, either from inability, or conscious they could derive no title to the lands under the grants of New Hampshire.

To prevent therefore the further progress of this Mischief, by informing the people of the true state of the claim of the two provinces. His Majesty's Council unanimously advise me to issue a Proclamation, ascertaining the ancient jurisdiction of this Province to Connecticut River, a copy whereof I have the honour to inclose to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>.

The Claim of the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire to within twenty miles east of Hudson's River, being founded solely on the example of Connecticut and the Massachusets Bay. It will be necessary to consider the Right of those two Govern<sup>ts</sup> to that Boundary.—

The limits of Connecticut were settled by agreement with this Province confirmed by the Crown, and tho' the possession and claim of the Dutch, might have been offered as an argument to confine the limits of that Colony to the River Connecticut; yet as the Tract might thereby have been rendered too inconsiderable for the establishment of a Colony, and the people had so early extended their settlements Westward of the River, these considerations probably were the motives which induced the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New York, first in 1664. and afterwards in 1683, to yield to Connecticut the Lands westward, to the distance of about twenty miles of Hudson's River.

But no agreement or settlement of boundaries can be alleged on the part of Massachusets Bay. The Dutch, at the time of the Massachusets first grant, possessed this Province then called New Netherlands, extended their claims between the two Rivers Delaware and Connecticut; and had long before the English approached the last mentioned River, a Fort, called Fort Hope, on its western Banks, near where the Town of Hertford now stands—These facts were well known at the time, and therefore in the grant to the Council of Plymouth in 1620, of the lands within the 34 and 45<sup>th</sup> degrees of North latitude, on which the claim of Massachusets Bay and Connecticut was originally founded, all lands which were held or possessed by any other Christian Prince or State, are expressly saved and excepted—hence it



appears, that the grant to the Duke of York, in 1664 of the Lands Westward of Connecticut River, was certainly grounded on an opinion, that the Crown, had an absolute right to those lands, notwithstanding the claim of the New England Colonies, and that this grant which immediately preceded the conquest of this Province from the Dutch, was intended to include all the lands which the Dutch held here.

I have not till lately seen an extract of a Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Crown in 1664. to visit the New England Govern<sup>ts</sup> who declare, they find the limits of Massachusetts Bay to be Secounet Brook on the South west, & Merimack River on the North East, and two right lines drawn from each of those two places till they come within twenty miles of Hudson's River.

Nor an extract of a letter from Coll: Nicholls Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1665. to the Duke of York, in which speaking of the agreement made with Connecticut he says: "This determination was a leading case, of equal justice and of great good consequence in all the Colonies; and therefore we were assured would be an acceptable service to your Royal highness, though to the diminution of your bounds, so that to the East of New York and Hudson's River, nothing considerable remains to your Royal Highness, except long Island, and about twenty miles from any part of Hudson's River."—"I look therefore upon all the rest as empty names, and places possessed forty years by former grants, and of no consequence to your Royal Highness, except all New England could be brought to submit to your Royal Highness' Patent"—

If any settlement was then made by the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> and the Massachusetts Bay, it appears not on record, although that with Connecticut in the same year, is Registered in both Provinces; and if actually made, it was unauthorized; the powers to the Commissioners being expressly confined to the disputes between the New England Govern<sup>ts</sup>, namely, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Plymouth, Rhode Island, and the Providence plantation, as evidently appears from the commission, a copy of which I inclose your Lord<sup>shps</sup>; nor can it be supposed that the crown meant to invest a power in the Commiss<sup>rs</sup>, to settle boundaries between the Govern<sup>ts</sup> of New England and this Prov<sup>ce</sup>, the Commission bearing date in April 1664, and the conquest of this Govern<sup>t</sup> from the Dutch, not taking place till the month of August following. There is also a mistake in the assertion, that the "places were possessed forty years by former grants"—unless by the Dutch, for the English did not settle to the westward of Connecticut River, till 1635 or 1636, which settlement was made southward of the Massachusetts south line, without authority from any Govern<sup>t</sup>. The determination then in respect to Connecticut, could not with propriety be considered as a leading case of equal justice in all the Colonies, nor could the boundary of Connecticut River have affected the other Govern<sup>ts</sup> so materially as Connecticut, as those Govern<sup>ts</sup> have a far greater extent Eastward than Connecticut. This reasoning is justified also from these considerations, that the Crown did not by any Act, ratify or approve the opinion of the Commissioners, or of Gov<sup>r</sup> Nicholls who was one of them, but on the contrary, after the Dutch had in 1673. reconquered this Province, and by the Treaty of Breda in 1674., yielded it to England, made a second grant to the Duke of York in the same terms with the first; and it appears by the minutes of the agreement with Connecticut in 1683, that Gov<sup>r</sup> Nicholls and the other Commiss<sup>rs</sup>, had been deceived in the line they established with that Colony in 1664, which instead of leaving to this Province twenty miles East of Hudson's River, soon crossed that River, and left the far greater part of that River out of New York Govern<sup>t</sup>.—

Massachusetts Bay hath nothing I humbly conceive to urge in support of their claim to a twenty mile line East of Hudson's River, but a possession gained in opposition to the letter and spirit of their grants from the Crown, thro' the inattention of this Govern<sup>t</sup>. This argument may in equity entitle individuals to a confirmation from the Crown, of the lands they actually possess, rendering to His Majesty the usual quit rent reserved in this province, but cannot be offered as conclusive on the part of the Crown, in respect to its interests arising either from its Revenue of quit rents, which by computation at 2½ p<sup>r</sup> 100 acres, would amount to near £1200 Sterling p<sup>r</sup> annum, or from Escheats, neither can it with justice, I think be extended to the case of those Inhabitants of New York, who hold lands Eastward of a twenty mile line, the lands being at the time they obtained their grants, vested in the Crown within the express limits of the Province of New York, and not within the Grants on which the Massachusetts Bay found their Claim.

Having thus fully considered this point, in respect to the Province of Massachusetts Bay, I need add very little as to New Hampshire. That Govern<sup>t</sup> is to extend westward and Northward till it meets with His Majesty's other Govern<sup>ts</sup>, and cannot therefore interfere with the limits of this Province. The lands in question lay much more convenient to be included within New York, than New Hampshire. Hudson's River being navigable by vessells of considerable burthen to Albany; the Trade of that part of the Country will probably center there, to which place the transportation or carriage will be much easier than to the Ports of New Hampshire, and where the Inhabitants are likely to meet with a better market for their produce. The Revenue to the Crown, if the lands are settled under this Province, will be greater, than if granted under New Hampshire, in proportion to the difference of quit rent, which I am informed is 1. sh. sterl: p<sup>r</sup> 100 acres in that Prov<sup>ce</sup>, and is by His Majesty's Instructions fixed here at 2½. sterl:.. There is another circumstance of some weight at this juncture. The preference given to this Govern<sup>t</sup>, from its evident superiority, has induced a great number of reduced officers to claim here, the bounty His Majesty has been pleased by his Proclamation of the 7<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> last, to extend to those who have served in North America during the late war; and many of them have located their spots within the claim of N Hampsh<sup>re</sup>, indeed if they had not, it would have been impossible for this Govern<sup>t</sup> to have found lands enough for them, clear of dispute, and not reserved to the Indians; but they absolutely decline any application to New Hampshire for lands westward of Connecticut River.

As the setting the limits of Jurisdiction of the Govern<sup>ts</sup> of New York and New Hampshire, absolutely depends on His Majesty's pleasure, sh<sup>d</sup> His Majesty on any consideration, extend the limits of New Hampshire westward of Connecticut River, I humbly presume to hope the right of property and the right of jurisdiction will be saved to this province, in respect to all lands before granted by this Govern<sup>t</sup>, whose right to the boundary of Connecticut River, especially when considered as to New Hampshire appears clear and unquestionable.

I am with great submission

My Lords,

Your most obedient & faithful Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[Plantations General Papers, R., No. 53.]

Johnson-Hall. January 20<sup>th</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

I had the honour of writing to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> on the 18<sup>th</sup> of last November, by Mr Croghan, one of my deputys, wherein I represented the state of my Department, with the sentiments, claims, numbers etc. of the several Indian Nations in obedience to your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of August last.

I am at present to acknowledge being honoured with your Lord<sup>ships</sup> letters of the 29<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of Octob<sup>r</sup> last, the latter inclosing me His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Proclamation of the 7<sup>th</sup> of that month, to which I have paid all due regard, and caused the same to be reprinted and made publick, agreeable, to your orders, throughout my Jurisdiction.

Before this reach London, you will have heard of the ineffectual return of 600 of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Troops under the Command of Major Wilkins, who after some previous losses, sustained from small parties of the Enemy Indians, met with a storm within 90 miles of the *Detroit* on which occasion three officers and above 70 men with some field pieces and all their amunition being lost, they were obliged to return back to *Niagara* in a very indifferent condition.—

By the return of these Troops (and of a few Mohawks, who accompanied them, whom Major Gladwin writes, behaved very well and were of great use) I am informed of some offers of peace made by the Hurons of *Detroit* and some others, from whom also I have received Belts and Messages on that subject; and as I have been since visited by the Five Nations, attended by some Deputys from the Senekas, with offers of the like nature, I judged it very necessary to lay the same before your Lord<sup>ships</sup> with my sentiments thereon.

The Seneca Deputys (after recounting their grievances, and attributing the origin of the hostilities to the Delawares and Shawanese who had sent many Belts of wampum to instigate them and the western Nations to take up arms, which Belts were supported and encouraged by many of the French) say: that provided, we make up matters with them now, they will heartily join us against the Authors of the War, and this request was seconded by the rest of the Nations. In answer to which I referred them to the determination of General Gage, in like manner as the demand of the Western Nations, who on the strickest enquiry appear to have been principally stirred up against us by the Artificers of the French, who have already drawn a large quantity of Furrs down the Missisipi, and have invited several of the Nations to leave their Country, and settle on the West side of that River. If this is agreed to, they will prove a dangerous Enemy to our Frontiers, and a barrier to those of the French, to which Nation they will bring an addition of great wealth and Trade as they are the best hunters in America.

The occasion of the late offers of peace I apprehend to be:—First: the discovery of the artifices by which they were engaged in the War. Secondly: the steady attachment hitherto shewn by the Five Nations towards the English, rejecting both, the invitations and menaces of the rest. Thirdly, their apprehensions that the English will be joyned by a numerous body of Friendly Indians in the Spring.

This appears the more probable, as the Western Indians have lost few of their people, the Senecas none, and both have laid aside ammunition sufficient, till they can obtain further supplies, either by plunder or from the French. Upon the whole I believe, that their offers of peace are



at present sincere, and that they will not violate their engagements, if they meet with good treatment hereafter, but should they at any time be neglected, before we have established a fair and disinterested character among them, they will not fail to repeat their depredations, neither will we be able to prevent them from doing considerable damage.

The zeal and Friendship of the Five Nations and Indians of Canada, leaves me no doubt of their giving us any assistance we require in the Spring, and I am of opinion it should be put to a trial against those Nations who have discovered the greatest inveteracy. This will widen the breach between the Indians themselves, and if attended with that success I expect from the assistance of the Friendly Nations, will make our Enemies cautious how they quarrell hereafter with people so well supported.

There is no possibility of speedily rooting out the Northern Indians, and even if practicable it would destroy our Trade, so that for the present we must content ourselves with shewing them something of our power and influence, and afterwards by measures, the cheapest and most adviseable establish and secure their affections until we become more formidable in the interior parts of this Country.

I know not, how far it will be deemed pardonable in me to obtrude my sentiments concerning some of the Articles of peace, should a pacification be agreed to on certain terms, my own experience and observations in Indian affairs, are far less inducements thereto than the encouragement with which I have been hitherto honoured by Your Lord<sup>ships</sup>—If what I am now to offer coincides with your opinion, it will afford me an additional satisfaction, if not, I flatter myself the motive will plead my apology.

In case then that the offers made by the Indians should be accepted, I would humbly think it adviseable, that each confederacy, with whom peace be made, should separately guarantee to the English a secure Trade and free passage thro' their several countries, as also the possession of necessary out posts. By treating with them separately, we shall prevent too strict an union amongst them. That the Senecas should give up to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> the carrying place from the Fort to Little Niagara and guarantee the peaceable possession thereof for ever, it being of the highest importance, and the only land carriage to be met with in a course of several hundred miles. That all the prisoners in possession of any of the Nations, and all deserters be immediately delivered up, as also some of the Ringleaders in promoting the late hostilities. That they likewise agree to the removal of the French (who are all connected with and related to them) residing at Michilimackinac, Miamis etc. as these people will be always busied in setting them up to take arms, from the advantages which they receive by a quarrell between us and the Indians. And, that for our further security, they consent that the several Jesuit Missions, those fountains of discord, be abolished, which may be the readier effected, as that Society is no longer tolerated in France. The Lands, which will revert to the Crown by their abolition will endow a Bishoprick in Canada, as well as provide for a number of inferior Clergy, who might be employed greatly to the advantage of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> interest, and I can not help observing that the establishment of Episcopacy there, under a Resident Bishop, would not only generally strengthen the Church of England, but prove a means of adding in a few years a number of faithful subjects to the Crown, who can not at present be considered in that light.—

The keeping up several small vessells on the lakes Huron and Erie, is a matter worthy consideration; thereby the persons and properties of His Majesty's subjects will be exposed to small risque, compared with that of a Navigation in open Boats, obliged to put on shore every

night and oftener when there is a high hand, which is a temptation sometimes, not to be resisted by the Indians, especially the ill affected.

Matters settled somewhat similiar hereto, I trust that my department under the Regulations I had lately the honour of proposing will effectually answer the important ends proposed, of cultivating and securing our alliances for the preservation of peace, and the extending His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Indian interest and influence.

The measures recommended by His Majesty's proclamation for preventing any future unfair dealings with the Indians will prove of great service, but I must humbly observe, that an enquiry into past grievances will be a step worthy His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Royal attention, as circumstances immediately affecting the Indians, who look to His Majesty for Justice, of which they often declare, they have small expectations in America where (from motives of interest, and several other concurring causes) they have experienced such a variety of disappointments, as leave them small hopes of speedy and effectual redress.

Pardon My Lords, the freedom of these sentiments and remarks, and believe them to flow from my ardent and continual wishes that the interests of the Crown and the welfare of the subject, be established on the most solid basis throughout His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s extensive Dominions in North America.

The difficulties I have had to struggle with, particularly since the commencement of hostilities, to encourage the friendly Nations to a perseverance in their conduct, to secure the communications, and frontiers yet untouched, & defeat the designs of our Enemies, can neither be described nor conceived, but by those who experience them. Even my most retired hours are invaded, and thought too little to answer the different calls of my duty which are of too multifarious a nature to be described in a letter.

I arrogate no particular merit to myself from these labours; I know them to be absolutely and essentially necessary, as such I consider them as the Duty of my Office, and I have the satisfaction to see them Crowned with some success.

Believe me, My Lords, the disinterested plan by which, I have hitherto regulated my conduct, has occasioned me to forego many opportunities, which my long residence in this Country afforded of improving my fortune, and I cannot in justice to myself omit giving you one remarkable instance.

The friendship which several of the Indians Nations professed for me induced them at different periods many years ago to give me deeds of several large Tracts, signed in publick meetings of the whole, for which, as they always expect a return, I at such times paid them large sums, more than they received from many strangers, and might have procured Patents for such Tracts, and settled or disposed of them to great advantage long time since, but for my unwillingness to be concerned in Lands from the nature of my employment.—My Estate in this Country I purchased from different English proprietors, and amongst the many Indian Grants to me, I have never solicited a patent but for one (contiguous to my Estate here) which his Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Instructions to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York in 1761. prevented me from obtaining.—Thus by neglecting my own private concerns, I am not only large sums out of pocket, but remain unpossessed of what I have more just claim to, than half the proprietors in this Province can shew for their Lands. But however this may affect my private interest, I can affirm with confidence, that I am amply Rewarded in the consciousness of having done justice to the Crown, and contributed to the welfare and security of the publick, added to the honour

conferred on me by His Majesty's gracious approbation, of my conduct, and the favourable sentiments of your Lordships.

I flatter myself that I shall not be suspected of vanity and self-applause for relating such circumstances as might otherwise be unknown, especially when I assure your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s that I shall consider it a sufficient recompence, if they intitle me to a continuance of such honourable marks of approbation, and contribute to set my conduct in an advantagious light which is the sole aim of my services.

The late Murder committed on the Friendly Conestoga Indians, residing in, and under the protection of Pennsylvania, by a number of riotous persons, who, without any cause, surprised and killed six of these peaceable people, occasioned M<sup>r</sup> Penn to issue a proclamation for discovery of the Authors thereof, and to place the rest of that people in Lancaster, where they were lodged in the workhouse for better security. But the Rioters not alarmed at the Proclamation, came in a body armed, broke open the Work house, and barbarously murdered 14 more of these Indians, and even threaten to come down to the City of Philadelphia, and kill a number of peaceable and well disposed Indians taken into, the protection of that City.

As such Acts claim the most serious attention of Govern<sup>t</sup> and may at this Juncture prove of fatal tendency, M<sup>r</sup> Penn has issued a second proclamat<sup>n</sup> offering a large Reward for the discovery of the Offenders.—I fear this Massacre will give great concern to the Five Nations (with whom the murdered were connected) so that it may destroy their confidence in our favour and friendship which I am daily endeavouring to promote, but I shall take great pains to remove any prejudices they may have conceived against the Govern<sup>t</sup> of Pennsylvania and endeavour to clear up that affair to their satisfaction.

The Ardour which the Five Nations have lately so repeatedly expressed, as well as their desire of being employed against the Enemy before the season will permit our Troops to go upon service, has induced me to give the War Belt (as a beginning) to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who received it with apparent satisfaction, and I flatter myself, their enterprises will greatly distress the Enemy during the winter and contribute much to the security of the Frontiers, and the success of the ensuing summer.

I shall not ommit communicating any material occurrences of this winter, that may afford me an occasion of professing the respect with which I am.

My Lords,

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s most obedient and  
most humble servant.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.



*Colonel George Croghan to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, R., XIX., No. 54. ]

My Lords.

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s extensive knowledge of the true Interest of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Plantations, and the necessity that now appears (before a General Defection of the Indians in North America take place) of falling on some measures to restore peace and tranquility to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects, in that wild & extensive Country and secure Trade and Commerce with the



Natives on a better Regulated system, than has hitherto taken place, and to prevent for the future the unhappy effects of an Indian War, which too many of His Majesty's subjects so severely experienced this last summer. I beg leave to offer to your Lordship's consideration my thoughts on some objects which appear to me of the greatest consequence, and which can't fail, if put in execution, of answering the desirable and salutary ends of giving a lasting peace to His Majesty's British Colonies in North America, and I shall think myself happy if any thing I offer on this subject should meet with your Lordship's approbation.

During my residence in America I acquired some knowledge of the Indian customs and manners, as well as some knowledge of their Country; the situation of which give them great advantages over us; they can with great ease enter our Colonies, and cut off our frontier settlements, and thereby lay waste a large Tract of Country, which indeed they have effected in the space of four months the last summer in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and the Jerseys on whose Frontiers they have killed and captivated not less than two thousand of his Majesty's subjects, and drove some thousands to Beggary and the greatest distress, besides burning to the ground nine Forts or Block-houses in their Country and killing a number of His Majesty's Troops and Traders, whom they plundered of goods (the manufactories of England) to the amount of not less than one hundred thousand pounds, amongst which were large quantities of ammunition, which enabled them to harrass us; I say large quantities, for, one hundred Casks of powder to them who use no Artillery must have been a great additional supply to what they had before.

If the upper Senecas and a few other Tribes settled near Detroit and Miscellemackena with the Shawanees and Delawares settled on some branches of the Ohio were able to effect this in part of a summer, what must His Majesty's subjects dread from a general defection of the Indians?—In order to prevent such unhappy effects for the future, I would offer:

First. That a natural Boundary should be made between them and us across the frontiers of the British middle Colonies from the heads of the River Delaware to the mouth of the Ohio where it empties into Missisipi; that the lands west of such a line should be reserved for the Hunting grounds of the Six Nations, and the several Tribes dependant on them, and that a reasonable consideration be given them, as they are the original Proprietaries of that Tract of Country for all the lands East of such boundary. This in all probability may be effected and is the likeliest method to remove their suspicions of us.

The Indians before the late war, or the conquest of Quebeck considered us in the light of a Counterpoize to the power of the French, their ancient Enemies, and were steady Friends to the English on that account; but since the reduction of Canada, they consider us in a very different and less favourable light, as they are now become exceeding jealous of our growing power in that Country. It is not necessary to enter into any part of our conduct towards them since the reduction of Canada, which might have raised their jealousies, or whether the French used any means to spirit them up to what they have done; we know them now to be a very jealous people, and to have the highest notions of liberty of any people on earth, and a people, who will never consider consequences, when they think their liberty likely to be invaded, tho' it may end in their ruin; so that all that can be done now is to prevent such a defection of the Indians for the future, by the Boundary and good treatment.

The Indians have discernment enough, if they see a Tract of Country secured to them under the Sovereignty protection and Dominion of His Majesty for their hunting and planting grounds, and a Trade and Commerce carried on with them to supply them with such necessaries, as they

want from time to time, to see their own interest in living in friendship with His Majesty's subjects in America

'Tis true, the Indians require a considerable tract of Country for their Hunting, and that they may have West of the Boundary, I have mentioned; the several encroachments attempted to be made on their country, contrary to our repeated promises to them and without their consent, or receiving any consideration for it, has alarmed them much, so that now they place very little confidence in what we tell them.

It may be thought and said by some, that the Indians are a faithless and ungratefull set of Barbarians, and will not stand to any agreements they make with us; but it is well known that they never claimed any right to a Tract of Country, after they sold it with consent of their Council, and received any consideration, tho' never so trifling; so that on that head we have nothing to fear in fixing a Boundary with them.

This Boundary and some favours annually bestowed on them will secure to us the valuable Fur Trade, the free possession of the Lakes Erie and Untarie, with as many posts in that Country as will be necessary for us, to carry on Trade with them at; and I can see no use of having a number of little posts at so great a distance, which can neither support themselves nor protect the Trade, but rather serve as a temptation to ill-minded and restless Indians to commit hostilities.

It may be asked, if we make a boundary with the Indians, and pay them for the Lands East of such Boundary, why we should indulge them with any favours annually?—I answer, Custom and good policy; as amongst themselves a neglect of renewing their Treaties of Friendship, is looked on, as an open violation of the peace of Nations, and in that light they look on our false parsimony. The expence of giving favours to the many additional Tribes of Indians as are now in Alliance with Great Britain since the reduction of Canada must be considerable, but I dare say, it will be found the cheapest and best method in the End to cultivate a friendship with them in this manner.

By entering into a War with the Indians, we can get nothing, but fatigue and devastation of our frontiers, and load the Nation with debt, tho' they may deserve to be severely punished for their behaviour the last summer, but I don't look on it any ways decisive between the Indians and us, the manner hitherto taken, in making war on them, marching a Army at an immense expence into their Country, and driving a parcel of wretches before us, who, we know, won't give us a meeting, but where they have the advantage of either beating us or running away, and then content ourselves in burning their villages of Bark Huts, destroying the Corn and driving them into the woods.—This can not be called conquering Indian Nations; I grant it is removing them, and that the removing Indians from their villages is practicable if we will go to the expence; but what end does it answer? often a very fatal one, for as soon as they fly before our Troops, a number of their warriors in small parties make a descent on different parts of our defenceless frontiers, and commit the most cruel murders, and driving the inhabitants before them, lay waste a great part of the Country while the remainder of them are retiring over some Mountains, Lakes or Rivers with their Women and Children to a place of safety, where we can't pursue them with our carriages, and an Army of British Troops can't support themselves in the Indian Country without taking the means of carrying on war with them.

How absurd must it appear to every person who is the least acquainted with the manner in which Indians carry on war, to hear of such measures being recommended or imposed on the public as the only method to chastise them, who have by nature all the advantages their hearts



can wish for of us; When we remove them from their places of abode by surprise, which has happened but seldom, they fly to some other part of their country without regretting any magnificent buildings they have been obliged to leave behind, and there in a few hours erect a village for the reception of their families as commodious as they were before settled, and where they can provide the necessary supports of life as well, and perhaps, in more plenty than they could at their former habitations. Here they live secure from us, till the next year, when we may be able to make another campaign, to remove them from the place we drove them to last; the facility with which they can remove their Habitations whenever we may be able to penetrate them, will secure them for many years from being exterminated by us from the face of the Earth; but their strength does not entirely depend on the advantages already mentioned. — They cultivate no lands of any consequence, but draw their subsistence from Hunting and Fishing, of which their Country affords great plenty; and when they make war on us, they carry no Artillery, nor heavy baggage, they march light, which makes them so dangerous an Enemy to us, if they meet our Troops they will evade them, and fall on the unprepared inhabitants, who draw their subsistence from cultivating the Country, which is no less than ruin to such as fall within their reach of which we have had too many examples since the beginning of the late war.

Thus I have endeavoured to explain to your Lordships, why a boundary should be fixed between the Six Nations and their dependants and His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> subjects, and their friendship cultivated in order to regain their confidence in this manner, rather than enter into a general Indian War, which may be the consequence of a neglect on our side, and I dare say, the expence to this nation of last summer in order to support the Forts, Niagara, Detroit and Fort Pitt, after the small outposts fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the Indians (whether real or imaginary, its all one) was not less than some hundred thousand pounds, the Interest of which sum, would be more perhaps than sufficient to cultivate a lasting friendship between them and us, by annual favours, for ever. —

Secondly. By the Cessions made his Majesty at the late Treaty of peace, the Country lying West of the Ohio to its mouth and up the Mississippi to its sources, appears to me, to be the boundary between the French and us, in that part of the Country, and of course become our Frontiers; as the west side of the Mississippi will no doubt be settled by the French, I would offer to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> consideration, whether it would not be good policy at this time while we certainly have it in our power to secure all the advantages we have got there by making a purchase of the Indians inhabiting the Country along the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio up to the sources of the River Illinois, and there plant a respectable colony, in order to secure our frontiers, and prevent the French from any attempt to Rival us in the Fur trade with the Natives, by drawing the Ohio and Lake Indians over the Mississippi, which they have already attempted by the last accounts we have from Detroit. From planting this new Colony, many great advantages would arise to this Kingdom as well as to His Majesty's subjects in North America; it would extend Trade and commerce with the furthestmost Nations of western Indians hitherto unknown to us, which would enable the Trading people in the Colonies, to import more of the Manufactories of this Kingdom, than they have, heretofore done, which is an object of the greatest consequence to a Trading people; it would extend His Majesty's settlements in America, and make his subjects appear more formidable in the Eyes of the Indians, which is now become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the peace between them and us; it would cut off all connections between the French and those Nations settled over that large Tract of



Country on this side of the Mississippi and give us the absolute dominions over all the upper Lakes: Huron, Michigan and Superior, and bid fair for giving an everlasting peace to His Majesty's Southern Colonies; besides, from this Colony in a very few years, we should be able to supply with provisions of every kind the several posts or marts, that may be erected for Trade with the Natives on much easier terms than they have or can be supplied from any of our Colonies. At present it may be objected, that the establishing such a Colony, so far from the sea, will be attended with too great an expence to the Nation, which may be easily answered. The fertility of the Country and the fineness of the Climate is now known to us, which is sufficient to encourage industrious people to settle it, in a very little time without any expence to the Nation or hindrance to the growth of the present Colonies, and I dare say, people enough will be found that will undertake it.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> may be surprised that after the conquest of all Canada, and as soon, as a peace took place between England & France, and the Natives convinced that His Majesty's Arms have been victorious, over the French, that they, (the Indians) should attempt what they have done last summer, and render it absolutely necessary to make boundaries with them in order to preserve the peace between them and His Majesty's subjects.

From my knowledge of their Customs, manners and dispositions, I know them to be a proud and haughty people, who from their great love of liberty, which they have long enjoyed, they entertain and flatter themselves with the highest notions of their own importance and dignity, and from their conduct this last summer, we must be convinced they don't look at consequences tho' of ever so dangerous a nature, in which light, their attacking our outposts must be look't on by every body, for tho' they have great advantages of us from the manner of their carrying on war on the unprepared, and the situation of their Country making it so difficult for us to gain access unto it; yet, certainly were it thought to be the interest of the British Nation to engage in a war with them, we should in the end be able to subdue them and reduce them to a State of servitude. As I mentioned before in this letter, to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> the light in which they now consider the English in North America, since the reduction of Canada, with some breaches of faith on our side, and mistaken notions in not thinking it worth our whiles to cultivate their friendship, will I hope appear obvious to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> that there is a necessity to fix a Boundary with them, and establish a Colony on the Mississippi and Illinois, to make them fear and love us, on which their own happiness depends. To treat Indians with propriety and address is perhaps of all Tasks, the most difficult, and allowances must be made to those who are strangers to their customs and manners, should they not succeed in acquiring their good opinion. They are to be governed only by love and fear; to acquire the first, it requires a long acquaintance with their singularities, and study of their dispositions, to know how to flatter their vanity, so as to gain their confidence, which only can fix their love and affection, which undoubtedly, Justice, Honour and our own interest demand from us, and when this is done, there is no way to make them happy but by fear, for, if we suffer them to entertain too high notions of their own importance, it will naturally lead them to think, we are influenced by dread of their power, and so beget their contempt; then their expectations would be exorbitant, and their insolence beyond sufferance, which would be always productive of the worst consequences to the prosperity and welfare of His Majesty's subjects and interest in North America.

I beg leave to assure your Lordships that nothing but my sincere zeal for His Majesty's service and a view to endeavour at removing prejudices and misrepresentations of the Natives and

their little consequence to the prosperity of His Majesty's Colonies in America, could have induced me, to take up so much of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s time at present by offering those subjects to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s consideration.

I am, My Lords, with great esteem  
your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s most humble servant  
GEO: CROGHAN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Pp.. No. 17.]

New York. 21 January 1764.

My Lords,

Since the writing of my letter of yesterday's date, inclosed, reflecting that I had been no otherwise informed of the proceedings before your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s predecessors in office, in relation to the boundaries between this province and the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, but by my having obtained, a few weeks since, copies of those proceedings which M<sup>r</sup> Charles had transmitted to the Assembly of this province. I think it my duty to inform your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, that M<sup>r</sup> Charles has no authority from this Govern<sup>t</sup> to appear as Agent, he has no instruction from the Gov<sup>r</sup> or Council, the design of the Assembly being that he should Act independently of them. He has no other public appointment but by a clause annually inserted into an Act by which the Gov<sup>r</sup> and other Officers annually receive their support, and this is only done by a clause in that Act giving him a salary to which the Gov<sup>r</sup> could not refuse his assent, without riscuing the loss of the support of all the Officers of Govern<sup>t</sup>.—

It is no wonder then that your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s predecessors should not be well informed of His Majesty's interest in this his province, while they trusted to the information of a person no wise instructed thereon, or authorized by this Govern<sup>t</sup>. It is true that M<sup>r</sup> Charles, on conjunction with Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Baker, in some cases for receiving money granted to the Colonies by Act of Parliament, has been fully empowered to act as Agent of this Govern<sup>t</sup>, but in no other which I remember.

I think it proper likewise to inform your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, that every freeman in the Charter Govern<sup>ts</sup> thinks that he has a personal undivided interest in the lands within the limits of their Charter, and for that reason the Assemblies of those Colonies are very assiduous on promoting their interest by enlarging their boundaries. It is otherwise in this province, where the right of soil is in the Crown, the Assembly thinks, the King's Right not to be immediately of their concern, but of the King's Governour.

As I have no objection personally to M<sup>r</sup> Charles I intend to write to him on the subject of my letter of yesterday, that in case he will take the trouble of an affair, for which he has no allowance from the Assembly, he may thereby recommend himself to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s favour.

It is my constant endeavour to evince that I am with great submission—My Lords.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 14. ]

New York, 8 Febr<sup>y</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

I informed Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s by my letter of January 20<sup>th</sup> that the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire has lately made, most surprising & extravagant encroachments, on the Jurisdiction of lands of this His Majesty's Province; without, I may truly say, the least colour or plausible pretence of right. The Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire, I am told has lately granted 160 Townships, of six miles square each, on the west side of Connecticut River. A man, in appearance no better than a Pedlar, has lately travelled through New Jersey and this Province, hawking and selling his pretended rights of 30 Townships, on trifling considerations. The whole proceedings of the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire, in this case, if what is told me be true, are shameful and a discredit to the Kings Authority, under which they act. Tho' it be not in my power to be authentically informed, it is in your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s for it is evident from the low price shares are sold at, it is not for the benefit of persons who design to settle and improve. Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s by a proper enquiry may discover for whose benefit these fraudulent grants are really made

To prevent as much as in my power the ill consequences of these proceedings, I have by the advice of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Council of this Prov<sup>ce</sup> issued a proclamation, of which a printed copy is inclosed, and another in my letter of Jan<sup>ry</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> to which letter I beg leave likewise to referr.

It became the more necessary for me at this time to indicate the right of this Govern<sup>t</sup> to these lands, because great numbers of reduced Officers and disbanded Soldiers who have served in America, have applied to me for the Reward in Land, granted by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Proclamation in their favour, and I have no other lands to grant but these, which the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire, have taken upon themselves to grant, in the manner above mentioned. I endeavour to distribute his Majesty's Bounty in the manner most agreeable to the Officers, and so that the grants may pass with the greatest dispatch and least expence, as will appear by the minute of Council which I enclose. Since that time in a few days, near one hundred Commissioned and non Commissioned Officers and privates have applied for grants of Land, so that from this Province, all the reduced Officers and disbanded Soldiers in this part of North America, chuse to receive the King's reward in lands within this province.

As the reduced Officers and Souldiers will find the necessary and unavoidable expence of settling hard upon them, they are apprehensive of an additional expence of Law-suits, however slight the pretensions be, and therefore it will greatly encourage and forward the settlement of that part of the Country, to have a speedy end put to the pretensions of the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire, which Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s may effectually do, by only signifying to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of N. Hampsh<sup>re</sup> his Majesty's pleasure on that head, and by sending a duplicate of the order to the Governor of this Province.

The only thing which can make any person prefer the grants of New Hampshire, to those of this Govern<sup>t</sup>, is the difference of quit rent; for as the commerce of that Country must be carried on by Hudson's River, it must be more convenient for the inhabitants to be under, the jurisdiction of New York. The Quit rent of N. Hampshire I am told, is at the rate of one shilling sterling for every hundred acres, and that of New York, is at the Rate of two shillings and sixpence; this difference on a moderate computation may amount to one thousand pounds



sterl: yearly. So that it is likewise much for the benefit of his Majesty's Revenue of quit rents, that this dispute be speedily put an end to.

I am informed that the Officers and private Men of the Provincial troops of this and the neighbouring Colonies employed in the late war in America, design to apply for his Majesty's bounty in lands to be extended to them as to the Officers and Soldiers of His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s army. I have no objection to this, only, that the Civil Officers of this Govern<sup>t</sup> ought to be considered, who have freely given up their usual fees in favour of the Army; for I apprehend the same reason does not extend to both in this respect. The Officers, and Men of the provincials, all live in this Country, have their friends and Relations to assist them, and as the Colony Troops were levied annually, and received annual bounty, different officers and Men were employed in different years, their numbers will be very great, and the trouble to the Civil Officers of this Govern<sup>t</sup> become very heavy; for the Charter and proprietary Govern<sup>ts</sup> are not bound by the King's proclamation. It seems therefore reasonable that, if the King should think proper to extend his bounty of an abatement of Quit-rents, for ten years, in favour of the Provincials, that they receive their grants on paying the usual fees.

I am with great respect and humble submission

My Lords.

Your most obedient and faithful Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[New-York Papers, (State Paper Office,) CLVIII.]

New York, Feb<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1764

My Lord,

As I know not that Sir William Johnson writes by this Opportunity I think it proper to communicate a paragraph of his letter to me, dated the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month. It is in the following words.

I am just now parting with a large number of Indians from whose behaviour I have reason to expect a happy result. I assure you it would scarcely be imagined how sanguine they are & how desirous their young men appear to go against our ennemies. The Chenessios are a very proud people & I do not expect much concession from them. The delivering up some of their Ring leaders, which would be a very reasonable demand, will I apprehend hardly be agreed to. The French who were at the bottom of this Affair deserve to have their conduct strictly inquired into. The Jesuits are a dangerous society which I heartily wish may be abolished. Their possessions in Canada would endow a Bishoprick, as well as small provision for severall Protestant Missionaries. The utility of such a foundation appears to me very evident in that Country where I think it would greatly promote the Interest of His Majesty & soon increase the number of his protestant subjects. So far Sir William writes.

I shall only presume to make a few remarks for your Lordship's consideration.

The Indians every where are in great want of ammunition & are now sensible they can not as formerly be supplied by the French or otherwise than by us.

The Indian Nations are a mere mob directed by popular leaders who are governed by their passions with a violent inclination to war, & easily instigated to revenge, which is the characterestick passion of Savages.

No friendship with such people can be depended on while they are under no fear of punishment.

The Chenissios (the largest tribe of the Senekas) have don the most mischief, have been guilty of the greatest cruelties, without any provocation on our part, but only by the instigation of the French while in possession of Niagara in their neighbourhood. The Chenissios were the principal inciters of the other nations into the late insurrection: and yet these people as part of the five nations have continually received presents of us from the first settlement of the English in this country to the present time. They still continue haughty and insolent & therefore may most properly be made an example to others of punishment & probably this alone may be sufficient.

Many think it most prudent to set one Indian nation to punish an other as this may be don with the least expence & without loss of Christian lives, but it must be attended with great uncertainty while it depends on the humour of Savages & cannot be effectual on the minds of other nations.

The Indians at this time will make any promises that they may be supplied with arms & ammunition, & yet I doubt much that the Five Nations can be perswaded to turn their arms against the Chenissios.

The setting one Indian Nation against an other feeds & nurishes the fierce & cruel spirit of the savages & while that spirit remains they will be allwise mischievous. If they can be intirely restrained from war for some years their fierceness will subside & they may take themselves solely to hunting and planting, & thereby become most usefull.

I am of Opinion that a general peace may at this time be made with the Indians by only receiving them on their usual submission. If this be thought eligible, steady measures for preserving peace will become necessary & for securing the frontiers & Traders from insults and rapine.

I flatter myself, that Your Lordship will excuse my writing my private thoughts, as Indian affairs for many years have been the object of my thoughts & Your Lordship is at so great a distance.

The Battalion of five companies which the Assembly of this Province enabled me to raise has been compleat for some time past, & is now posted in the Mohawks country to keep open the communication between Oswego & Albany.

I am with the highest respect & humble submission, My Lord,

Right Honourable  
Earl of Halifax

Your most obedient & faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Sir William Johnson to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Papers ( State Paper Office ), CLVIII. ]

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Johnson to Lieutenant Governor Colden.

Dated Johnson Hall, Feb<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1764.

There are now several Parties marched against the Enemy one of them amounts to about 200 Indians, many more are daily collecting to follow them, my whole time is occupied in conferences, fitting out Parties, &c The Indians will not be discouraged by the rigour of the season.

The Parts I have sent them are the Forks and Branches of the Ohio and Susquehanna where many of our enemies reside and the allacrity which our friend Indians manifest gives me great reason to hope I shall shortly have the pleasure of acquainting you that they have in a great measure destroyed and removed these dangerous ennemys who have infested the neighbouring frontiers.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Johnson to Lieutenant Governor Colden,  
Dated Johnson Hall March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1764 at night.

Dear Sir, It gives me great pleasure that I can now inform you of the success of the first party I lately sent out against our ennemys, an Express being just arrived with Letters acquainting me that on the 26<sup>th</sup> Ultimo in the Evening near the main branch of Susquehanna as they were pursuing their rout they received advice that a large Party of our Ennemys the Delawares were encamp'd at a small distance on their way against some of the Settlements hereabouts upon which Intelligence they made an expeditious march to their enchampment which they surrounded at day Break then rushing upon the Delawares ( who were surpriz'd & unable to make Defence ) they made them all prisoners to the number of 41, including their Chief Captain Bull son to Teedyuscung, and one who has discovered great inveteracy against the English, & led several parties against them during the present Indian War. They are all fast bound and may be expected here under an Escort in a few days.

The Indians of Ouoghquokey and Canowaroghere the latter within 12 miles of Oneida Lake are very uneasy lest our ennemys should take advantage of the absence of their men and destroy their families, on which account they are very solicitous for a guard till their men return & I apprehend if their request is complied with it will give new Spirits to the Partys & encourage more to go on service. I have therefore mentioned it to the general, and am of opinion it may be easily done by parties from the Provincials at the German Flatts.

I am of Opinion it will be best to send the Prisoners to New York as the best place of security there to remain till something be done with them.

I am with great respect, Sir.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 23. ]

New York 9 March 1764.

My Lords,

At the desire of His Majesty's Council of this Prov<sup>ce</sup>, and of the Merchants of this place, I transmit to your Lord<sup>pps</sup> a copy of a memorial which the Merchants have ordered their Agent to present to the House of Commons.

I shall only beg leave to mention some reflections which have occurred to me, since I read this memorial.—May not a Colony consisting of great numbers of Freemen, who consume a vast quantity of the Manufactures of Great Brittain, tho' this Colony raise no staple which can be imported directly into Great Brittain, be more useful to her, than, a Colony which raises a considerable staple, imported into Great Brittain, and this Staple is entirely raised by the hands of Slaves, who consume very little, or none of the Manufactures of Great Brittain.

Is it not the interest of great Brittain, to encourage all the means which the Colony, consuming her Manufactures, take to pay for these Manufactures, when those means are not prejudicial to the Commercial interest of Great Brittain. The lowering in our sugar Colonys, the price of sugars, cannot be prejudicial to this Commerce.

Since the Northern Colonies found means to carry their produce into the foreign Colonies the price of labour, and of Provisions have rose to near double what they were before that time. The high price of labour makes it impracticable in the Colonies to interfere with the Manufactures of Great Brittain. It is evident to a demonstration that the more Trade the Colonies in North America have with the Foreign Colonies, the more they consume of the British Manufactures. But if they should be reduced so low, that they cannot purchase cloathing, they must make them, and be content with what they can make.

As the French and Spanish Govern<sup>ts</sup> do not permit us to Trade with their Colonies, the Trade with them from the Northern Colonies, is carried on in small Vessells; and that the sugars imported by these small vessells may be transported to Europe, it is necessary that the Merchants have leave to shift them from the small to larger Vessels without paying any duty; as the act now stands, foreign sugars pay no duty if not landed.

May it not be proper to allow Spanish vessels from their Colonies, to Trade with the Northern Colonies, for they can import no European Manufactures, and that the Govern<sup>ts</sup> be allowed to suffer such Trade.

I flatter myself, your Lord<sup>pps</sup> will pardon the liberty I take to give my private sentiments, for it is done with absolute submission by—My Lords

Your most obedient &amp; faithful servant.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Petition of Merchants of Albany to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 114.]

To the Right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

The petition of us the Subscribers being Indian Traders & Merc<sup>ts</sup> residing in the City and County of Albany in America.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners as well as their Ancestors have for near a Century and a half carried on a free trade with the Indians living Westward of Albany under such regulations as have from time to time been made by the legislative Power of this Province, the last Twenty Seven years of which time the said Trade was carried on under the Inspection and Superintendency of a Commissary thereunto appointed; agreeable to which regulations the trade whilst centured at Oswego, flourished without any interruption by the Savages, or without being subject to any Prohibition of Rum or other spiritous liquors, till the commencement of hostilities by the French and Indians on the Ohio, in consequence whereof the Traders being intimidated to risque their effects in this Trade a temporary stop was put thereto; But on the Declaration of War against the French and subsequent thereto the glorious Acquisitions obtained by His Majesty's Armies in the reduction of Niagara and afterwards Canada with its dependencies, encouraged your Petitioners to use their endeavours in carrying on this valuable branch of Trade in a more extensive manner than had hitherto been practized, tho in pursuit of this plan your Petitioners by some new invented regulations were totally prohibited from carrying rum and other spiritous liquors, the enforcement of which regulation your Petitioners conceive was founded on a mistaken notion, if not on some lucrative views; tho true it is that some of the Five Nations have exclaimed against the sale of rum amongst them, yet its equally true that the other Tribes with whom your Petitioners carry on a far more considerable Trade, look upon such a Prohibition as the greatest Indignity, and as an encroachment on their liberty of trade, your Petitioners finding by Experience since this prohibition took place a considerable decrease in the Trade which they can ascribe to no other reason than such prohibition because when the Indians have nothing farther to provide for than bare necessities, a very small quantity of Furs in Trade will abundantly supply that defect, Whereas when the Vent of Liquors is allow'd amongst them, it spurs them on to an unwearied application in hunting in order to supply the Trading Places with Furs and Skins in Exchange for Liquors.

Your Petitioners notwithstanding the Discouragements this Trade has laid under (having first obtained passes for that purpose) have for these three last years carried on said Trade with the remote Tribes of Indians, at all or most of the different conquered stations now under His Majesty's Protection on this Extensive Continent under the arbitrary direction of the Commanders on the different stations, some of whom being ignorant in Trade and unacquainted with the Indians, obstructed the Traders and slighted the Indians, and tho' the expence and fatigue on such long trading voyages on the Lakes is very considerable and labour very dear, yet with them as they have no proper idea of labour, (travelling to them being little or no expence) they being at home wherever they come.

Your Petitioners beg leave farther to present that some or most of your Petitioners last Summer coasting along the Lakes in pursuit of this Trade, and others who had arrived at their

respective destined places of Trade were inhumanely set upon and attacked by those Savages and several of their Fellow Traders murdered, their effects plundered and some of your Petitioners led into captivity & otherwise treated in the most cruel & barbarous manner, whereby they have been most unhappy sufferers (when our new fellow subjects the Canadians carried on their trade at the same time and places without being in the least molested) the Dread of such treatment for the Future discourages your Petitioners from pursuing this branch of trade with their wonted alacrity.

Your Lordships Petitioners beg leave farther to observe that unless some salutary remedy be put in practice your Petitioners conceive it may occasion a Stagnation in said Trade, on account of the Traders in the prosecution of their voyages being at all times obnoxious to such treatment for the future, the Indians in such cases having a safe retreat to the Mississippi, where it is the interest of the French not only to protect but also to encourage them, To this may be further observed that the different places of Trade are so far up in the interior part of the Continent, that no sufficient caution can at all Times be taken to guard against the occasional Excursions & Depredations of those Savages.

Your Petitioners therefore farther beg leave with all due submission to your Lordships superior Judgment to present (in order to anticipate the Cruelties, Losses & Misfortunes which your Petitioners hereafter might be liable to, should the trade remain as it is) that Pittsburgh Niagara Fort Williams Augustus & Cannusadago are the most conveniently situated to center this Trade in.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray in Consideration of the Inconveniencies that this Trade as it now stands, is so eminently exposed to, that those Places for a general Resort to all His Majesty's subjects be expressly stipulated, and that none under Pretence of Trade shall presume to go farther to the Westward or Northward, than the Places so fixed upon, & that the same be under the Superintendency of some proper Person or Persons duly authorized for that purpose and that there be no Prohibition of Spiritous Liquors, without its being first duly enquired into, whether it is detrimental to any of His Majesty's Subjects; or to do such other Things in the Provinces as the Urgency of your Petitioners particular Care necessarily requires and your Lordships in your great Wisdom shall think meet and convenient.

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c<sup>a</sup>

Albany March 1764

Harmanis Wendell	Volckert P. Douw	Nanning Visscher
Jacob Lansing Jun <sup>r</sup>	Jn <sup>o</sup> De Peyster	B Visscher
Gysbert Fonda	Cornelis Cuyler	Henry Wendell
John Ja <sup>s</sup> Lansing	Hendrick Bleecker	John J. Bleecker
Anthony Bleecker	David van Der Heyden	Jacob Van Schaick
Henry Bleecker	Sybrant V: Schaick jun <sup>r</sup> ,	John Cuyler
Henry Bleecker jun <sup>r</sup>	Hendrick m Roseboom	John Glen
Rynier Van Yeonen	Jacob H, Ten Eyck	Jn <sup>o</sup> R. Bleecker
Peter Ryckman	Seymon Johs Veeder	John Roseboom
Joghem Staats	Thos: Roseboom	Peter Hansen
Henry Williams	Cornelis Ten Broeck	Gysbert Marselis jun <sup>r</sup>
John Marselis jr	Abra <sup>m</sup> Schuyler	Peter Williams



Jacob Bleecker	Ab <sup>m</sup> Ten Broeck	John Gansevoort
Sam <sup>l</sup> Pruyn	Barent Ten Eyck	Isaac Deforeest
Harmanus Cuyler	Jacob A Lansingh	Marte Beeckman
Mynd <sup>t</sup> Roseboom	Dirck Roseboom	Gerrit Ja Lansingh
Jn <sup>o</sup> Jac: Beeckman	Johannes v Douw	W. Mancius
Gerardus Lansing	Cornelius Douw.	Nanning H. Visscher
Isaac G Verplanck	Isaac Swits	Abrm Cuyler
John Ten Eyck	Wellem Wenne	J Roorbach
John Cluet jun <sup>r</sup>	Abraham Douw	Neicholas Cuyler
Harmanus J. Wendell	Ha: Gansevoort	John Visger ju <sup>r</sup>
Thomas Hun	Jn <sup>o</sup> Ten Broeck	Benjamin Egbertse
Peter Yates	Hendrik van Nes	Jer: V. Rensselaer

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*Major Philip Skene to Secretary Pownall.*

[ New-York Bundle, Oo., p. 106. ]

London y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1764

Sir,

In the year 1759, before Canada was conquered a design was formed to settle a frontier Colony near Crown point, on the road leading to Number four, on Connecticut River; by the encouragement of General Amherst then Commander in Chief for North America, I presented a Memorial with the Provincial Colonels, for that end, which had been transmitted to the principle Secretary of State, who laid it before his late Majesty.

In the month of June 1760 the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of Trade directed that the above lands memorialed for, should not be granted.

Before my duty called me on the Expeditions of Martinique and the Havana, I settled a number of poor Families, and some servants, gave them houses, provisions, cattle and grain, at a vast expence, in order to emprove and settle the lands, as well as for the Conveniency of those passing to and from the Southward.

Upon my return to New York, I found that the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governour of New York, had not only granted part of the lands in my request, on Wood Creek, but also had that part in possession of John Griffiths, ——— Beumos, and John Parks, settled under me; the first at a great Expence to himself having laid out above five hundred pounds.

I have been informed by Colonels Lyman (and Worster, of the Provincials) that the Governour of New Hampshire has granted the greatest part of their request, and that he continues to grant lands, to the East of Lake Champlain towards Wood Creek; Colonel Worster shewed me in November last, at New York, a plan of lands near Lake Champlain, to the amount of one Million and a half of Acres, the most of which was granted and divided into townships or lots of six miles square each, they sold at New York for 300 dollars a lot.

By the turn Hudson River takes to the Westward, near the falls of Fort Edward, and all the lands to the Southward of Fort Ann being granted,—imagine the remaining lands to be

granted, on Wood Creek, will be above twenty miles from the River of Hudson, and therefore may admit of a Lawsuit, in regard to the claim of New York or Hampshire, under this Circumstance it would be difficult to settle, and fix the property to the inhabitants, I have mentained, subsisted and built houses, for those settled ever since the year 1759, and do continue and give provisions and cattle &c. to all discharged soldiers that settle: 270 men discharged at the Havana, came with me to New York, the most of them waits my return to settle them, am therefore the more anxious to have my patents of those conquered lands fixed here, especially as it will save me £25. per thousand acres paid in North America for surveying, exclud of Quit Rents. I am

Sir

Your most obedient

humble servant

To John Pownal Esq<sup>r</sup> Secretary to the Hon<sup>bl</sup> Board of Trade.

PHILIP SKENE

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 26. ]

New York. 12. April 1764.

My Lords,

Having lately seen a proclamation of the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New Hampshire, in a printed paper, I now inclose it to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, as it shews the necessity of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s coming to some speedy resolution on this point.

From the recitals in my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of January last, on this subject, it will appear with what candour this Proclamation is framed; and your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s may in some measure judge whether the truth of the artifices with which that Govern<sup>t</sup> is charged, be not thereby confirmed: viz<sup>t</sup> The numerous grants of Townships by New Hampshire on the west side of Connecticut River, in so short time as since the last peace, cannot be with any view, in the persons who have rec<sup>d</sup> those grants, to settle and improve those lands, but with a sinistrous view in a few persons to put large sums of money in their pockets, by jobbing and selling of Rights thro' all the neighbouring Colonies, as appeared to the Council of this Province, by several persons going ab<sup>t</sup> this Province, New Jersey, and Connecticut, hawking and selling their pretended rights, to great numbers of ignorant people, at low rates, and defrauding them of large sums of money. That the grantees had no view of settling and improving the land by themselves, appears likewise by several Advertisements in the News paper in which Gov<sup>r</sup> Wentworth's Proclamation is published and inclosed with this.

How low it is to give New Jersey as an instance, that the Patent to the Duke of York is absolute? This can only be designed for ignorant people, who know not that the proprietors of New Jersey hold under the Patent to the Duke of York. If the Patent to the Duke of York be absolute, and the lands granted by that Patent not now vested in the Crown as part of its Demesnes, New York, has no bounds.

I am persuaded that upon your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s mature consideration of this matter, it will evidently appear on the principles of justice, Policy and public utility, that the Jurisdiction of New York

ought to extend to Connecticut River, as the Duke of York's patent does. The Commerce of the whole Country on the west side of Connecticut River is by Hudsons River, and the produce of the Northern part of that Country must be transported by that River.

Above four hundred reduced officers and disbanded Soldiers have already applied to me for lands pursuant to his Majesty's Proclamation which at this time are to be surveyed for them in that part claimed by New Hampshire. Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s will perceive the necessity of determining the Claim of New Hampshire speedily.

People of all sorts who intrude on His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Rights in America, are very assiduous in prosecuting every measure, that serves for their purpose; the care of the King's rights in this Prov<sup>ce</sup>, is left to Gov<sup>r</sup> alone, without a single farthing to defray any expence that may become necessary for that purpose; for this reason the Gov<sup>r</sup> has no method but by applying to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s. The multiplicity of business, has often prevented the King's Ministers from taking the representations of the Gov<sup>r</sup> into immediate consideration, and as he can not be at the charge of Solicitors, to remind your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, these affairs have been often forgot. This has given great advantage, not only to intrusions from the neighbouring Colonies, but to intrusions of private persons, among ourselves. Any delay at this time will certainly be prejudicial to his Majesty's interest; prevent the benefit designed for the Army in America, and the settling of that part of the Country, besides the inconveniencies and perhaps mischiefs, which may happen by the different claims of jurisdiction. These things I flatter myself will excuse these repeated solicitations on this subject from—My Lords—etc.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*General Gage to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General Papers, R., No. 83. ]

New York April 13. 1764.

My Lord,

The Pitt Packet arrived on the 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo and I had the honor by that opportunity to receive your Lordp's dispatch of the 11<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup>. It gives me the greatest satisfaction, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has approved of the directions sent to Major Gladwin, respecting his conduct towards the Indians of the Detroit, upon the overtures they had made him. The last letters from Detroit are of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December; no change had then happened in our affairs; and Major Gladwin with his usual prudence and activity, was providing his Fort with provisions, firewood, and every other necessary, which the place affords. Supplies will also be sent him from Niagara, by the earliest opportunity, and he will not be distressed for amunition or provisions, whatever else may happen. After concerting with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson the proper measures to be taken in order to conclude a peace with the Indians of that district, I have wrote to Major Gladwin, that if he finds them sincerely disposed to peace, in the spring, he would give notice to the Chiefs of the several Nations to repair to Niagara by the end of June, where Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson would meet them in order to complete the work of peace, agreeable to their own forms and ceremonies.



Since my last letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> March, the Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut have revised their proceedings on the subject of the requisition, and have at length agreed to raise 250 Men and to increase their numbers in case the Savages of the Detroit should recommence hostilities. It is to be wished, there was room to send your Lord<sup>p</sup> the same favourable accounts of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. After several Messages had past between the Governor and the Assembly of that province, about the wording the supply Bill, for the support of the Troops which had been voted, in that part of the Bill which related to the taxation of the Proprietaries Estates, and differing in opinion concerning the Interpretation of an order in Council, relative to such Taxations; the Assembly broke up their sessions, first passing nem: con: twenty six resolves ag<sup>t</sup> the Proprietaries, and they have left the Bill with the Gov<sup>r</sup> in their own Form and words, to pass or not. The Gov<sup>r</sup> refuses to pass it, as inconsistent with his duty to the Crown, and obligation to the Proprietaries. During this contest between the two Branches of the Legislature of this distracted province, The Indians made incursions on their Frontiers, and have done some mischief. Your Lord<sup>p</sup> will believe that any disappointment in the hopes of assistance from Pennsylvania and Virginia, with the reduction which has taken place since last year in His Majesty's Regular Forces in the Southern district, who now only consist of fourteen companies on the New Establishment, will occasion some distress. I shall not trouble your Lord<sup>p</sup> with a detail of difficulties, but assure you, that I shall use every means in my power, to get over them. As Coll: Bouquet will command the Troops in that district, I have wrote to the Governors of Virginia and Maryland requesting, tho' they can not order their militia out of their respective provinces, that they would direct their Officers to obey such orders, as they shall receive from Col: Bouquet respecting the stations they shall occupy with the Militia, within their respective limits; and if any of their Militia Men would voluntarily join the King's forces on an emergency, that they may have liberty to do so, without being struck off their pay as Militia Men. Some assistance may be procured by these means, and it is expected that the frontier Inhabitants of Pennsylvania seeing no measures taken for their protection by the Legislature, will form association for their mutual defence. I have hopes to draw some service from those Associations as well as from the Militia. The People being drove from their habitations, and greatly exasperated ag<sup>t</sup> the Savages, gives reason to believe that they may be brought by a little encouragement, not only to join His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s regular Troops in escorting convoys etc, but in services more effectual towards putting an end to the war, and that they will march on temporary expeditions, to make sudden attacks upon the Enemy in their Retreats. Tho' this will entail some expence upon the Crown, which the Provinces ought to bear, your Lord<sup>p</sup> sees the necessity of it; and I shall take the greatest care, that everything shall be conducted with as much Oeconomy, and as little expence as possible.

As soon as the Jersey and Connecticut forces are ready to march, every thing will be in motion to the Northward under Coll: Bradstreet. Your Lord<sup>p</sup> will see an account of the operations intended to be carried on in that district, in my next letters. I have received no material advices from Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, since the sailing of the last Packet Boat, but am daily expecting News from him, there having been a Congress held at his house, where a considerable number of Savages were assembled.

Your Lord<sup>p</sup> will receive, herewith, the plans and papers referred to in Coll: Robertson's Report of the Floridas, which I had the honour to transmit you with my last Dispatches. A vessel is just sailed for the several Forts in Florida, with some subsistence—money for the

Troops, a proportion of Tools, Pilots, etc, and Artifices. The last have been procured here at a less expence, than they could have been got elsewhere, have been engaged only for a twelve-month, to make temporary repairs and may be engaged further by the Governors, if they see occasion, who will find affairs, by these means, in some forwardness on their arrival. M<sup>r</sup> Stuart's presence seeming to me absolutely necessary to regulate the Indian Affairs at the several Forts in Florida, to give his advice to the Officers concerning their transactions with the Indians, in which they can not be supposed to be very knowing; & particularly to regulate the presents proper to be made them, that they may be distributed with Judgement and Oeconomy, and not with an useless profusion; I have taken it upon me, to desire M<sup>r</sup> Stuart to visit the Forts for the above purposes, and finding that presents are continually made, have desired him to carry with him such things, which he judges will best suit the Indians, and are to be purchased at a cheaper rate in Carolina, than in Florida; of which he will leave a proportion at each Fort, with instructions, to what occasion only they are to be given. There are some medals and gaudy painted Commissions preparing, which please more than presents of greater value, but they could not be finished to go with the Vessel, but they will be sent by the next opportunity.

The Officer Commanding the Three Companies of the First Batallion, Royal American Regiment sent to Carolina to replace the Independent companies of that Colony lately disbanded, makes very bad Reports of the State and condition of the Forts, he is ordered to Garrison in Carolina and Georgia, having no Stores of Ammunition and provision; nor will the Province of Carolina give any Assistance towards furnishing the necessary supplies, which they formerly used to furnish to the Independent Companies. They have always been considered as Provincial Forts, and I understand, maintained at the expence of the Province, but the moment the King's Troops came there, all expences were thrown upon the Crown. Fort Prince George being at so great a distance from the inhabited country, can not be supplied but at considerable charge.

I am, etc.

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.

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*General Gage to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General Papers, R., No. 84. ]

New York April 14. 1764.

My Lord,

Since my letter to your Lord<sup>sh</sup> of yesterday, a vessel is arrived from New Orleans, which has brought me a letter from Major Loftus of 16<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> acquainting me that the 22<sup>nd</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> under his command did not arrive at New Orleans till the 12<sup>th</sup> of that Month, and that notwithstanding the delays he had met with in his voyage there from Mobile, the Boats were not ready on his arrival to transport him up the Mississippi; but applying to the Gov<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie for his assistance, he very civilly ordered the French King's Carpenters to work on his boats and he hoped to set out for Illinois immediately. Mons: D'abbadie gave him a very bad account of the disposition of the Indians towards us, and assured him, unless he carried some presents to distribute amongst them, that he would not be able to get up the River. Mons: D'abbadie has taken the opportunity of this vessel to write to Col: Robertson, in which he intended to inclose

a copy of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Neyon Commandant of Forts Chartres at the Illinois, but by some accident the enclosure was omitted. M. D'abbadie's letter shews, that it contained some particulars of the bad intentions of the Savages; that Pondiac, the famous Chief of the Detroit, had declared his designs to commence hostilities, and had made a demand of supplies of ammunition from M. de Neyon. From a paragraph in M. D'abbadie's letter, there is reason to judge of Pondiac, not only as a Savage, possessed of the most refined cunning and treachery natural to the Indians, but as a person of extra abilities. He says, that Pondiac keeps two Secretaries, one to write for him, and the other to read the letters he receives, & he manages them so, as to keep each of them ignorant of what is transacted by the other. I propose to send advice to Major Gladwin of Pondiac's designs, that he may be upon his guard, but I hope M. de Neyon has not given him much Ammunition; he says that he had but a small quantity in his Garrison.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.

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*General Gage to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General<sup>s</sup> Papers, R., No. 85. ]

New York, April 14. 1764.

My Lord,

Since closing the Mail, I have received letters from Sir William Johnson to acquaint me that the Chenusios and Enemy Senecas had been with him several days, and after considering the terms of Peace demanded, they had at length agreed to them, beyond his expectation.—For his Majesty's particular information, I transmit your Lord<sup>sh</sup> herewith a copy of the preliminary Articles, forwarded to me by Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, who also adds, that they shew an apparent eagerness, as do all the rest of the Five Nations who were present, to go against our Enemies.

The Tract of land ceded to the King round Niagara, may be useful hereafter; I desired Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson to demand that Tract, as I meant likewise to demand another considerable Tract round Fort Pitt, whenever peace shall be made with the Savages of that district. I have done this with a view, if His Maj<sup>ty</sup> should approve of the plan, of forming a Military settlement round Fort Pitt, by granting the Lands gratis, in lots, not exceeding two hundred acres each, on Military tenure, and such other conditions, as shall be judged proper and convenient for the purposes proposed. We may by such means become formidable on the Ohio, at no expence and in a short time, and the Fort may be supplied at an easy rate; whereby the immoderate expence, which the Crown has always been put to, for the transportation of all manner of supplies for the support of the Fort, will be hereafter avoided.

I am ettc<sup>a</sup>

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.



*Articles of Peace concluded with the Seneca Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, R., No. 86. ]

Preliminary Articles of Peace, Friendship and Alliance, entered into, between the English, and the Deputies sent from the whole Seneca Nation, by Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s sole agent and superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern parts of North America, and Colonel of the Six United Nations their Allies and dependants etc.

ARTICLE 1<sup>st</sup>

That the Seneca Nation do immediately stop all hostilities, and solemnly engage never more to make War upon the English, or suffer any of their people to commit any act of violence on the persons or property of any of His Britanic Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects.

The Sachems and Chiefs of the Senecas agree fully to this Article.

ARTICLE 2<sup>nd</sup>

That they forthwith collect all the English prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen and Negroes amongst them, and deliver them up to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson (together with the two Indians of Kanestio who murdered the Traders in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1762) previous to the Treaty of peace, which will take place within three months if these articles are agreed to; and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any Deserters Frenchmen or Negroes, from this time, but should any such take refuge amongst them, they are to be brought to the Commanding Officer of the next garrison, and delivered up, promising likewise never to obstruct any search made after such persons, or to hinder their being apprehended in any part of their Country.—

Agreed to, and they will assist in apprehending any such in their Towns.

## ARTICLE 3.

That they cede to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> and his successors for ever, in full Right, the lands from the Fort of Niagara, extending easterly along Lake Ontario, about four miles, comprehending the Petit Marais, or landing place, and running from thence southerly, about fourteen miles to the Creek above the Fort Schlosser or little Niagara, and down the same to the River, or Strait and across the same, at the great Cataract; thence Northerly to the Banks of Lake Ontario, at a Creek or small Lake about two miles west of the Fort, thence easterly along the Banks of the Lake Ontario, and across the River or Strait to Niagara, comprehending the whole carrying place, with the Lands on both sides the Strait, and containing a Tract of ab<sup>t</sup> fourteen miles in length and four in breadth.— And the Senecas do engage never to obstruct the passage of the carrying place, or the free use of any part of the said Tract, and will likewise give free liberty of cutting timber for the Use of His Majesty, or that of the garrisons, in any other part of their Country, not comprehended therein.

Agreed to, provided the Tract be always appropriated to H. M.'s. sole use, that at the definite Treaty, the lines be run in presence of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson and some of the Seneca's to prevent disputes hereafter.

## ARTICLE 4.

That they will allow a free passage thro' their Country from that of the Cayugas to Niagara or elsewhere, for the use of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops and subjects for ever; engaging never to obstruct or molest any of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops, or other subjects, who may make use of the same, or who may have occasion to pass thro' any part of their country by Land or by Water, from hence forward

Agreed to, and moreover  
(.if required) The Senecas  
will grant escorts of their  
people, but it is expected  
they will not be ill treated  
by any of the English who  
may pass thro' their  
Country.

## ARTICLE 5.

That they grant to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> and his successors for ever, a free use of the harbours, for Vessels or Boats within their Country on Lake Ontario, or in any of the Rivers, with liberty to land stores ettc and erect sheds for their security.

Agreed to.

ARTICLE 6<sup>th</sup>

That they immediately stop all intercourse between any of their people and those of the Shawnese, Delawares or other His Majestys Enemies, whom they are to treat as common Enemies, and to assist His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s arms, in bringing them to proper punishment, solemnly engaging never to be privy to aid or assist any of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Enemies, or those who may hereafter attempt to disturb the public tranquillity.

Agreed to

## ARTICLE 7.

That should any Indian commit Murder, or rob any of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects, he shall be immediately delivered up to be tried, and punished according to the equitable Laws of England, and should any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he shall be immediately tried and punished if guilty. And the Senecas are never for the future to procure themselves satisfaction, otherwise than as before mentioned, but to lay all matters of complaint before Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, or His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s superintendant of Indian affairs for the time being, and strictly to maintain and abide by the covenant Chain of Friendship.

Agreed to.

ARTICLE 8<sup>th</sup>

To the due performance of these Articles. The Senecas are to deliver up Three of their Chiefs as Hostages, who are to be well treated and restored to them, so soon as the same are fully performed on their parts.

They agree to leave  
as hostages *Wannughsita*,  
*Serihoana* and *Arujungas*,  
three of their Chiefs.

ARTICLE 9<sup>th</sup>.

In consequence of their perfect agreement to the foregoing Articles, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson doth by virtue of the powers and authorities reposed in him, in the name of His Britannick Majesty, promise and engage, that the said Indians shall have a full pardon for past transgressions; that they shall be left in the quiet and peaceable possession of all their Rights not comprised in the foregoing articles, and that on their duly performing the same and subscribing to the definite Treaty of peace to be held in consequence hereof, they shall be once more admitted into the Covenant chain of friendship with the English, and be indulged with a free, fair and open Trade, so long as they abide by their engagements.

This Article the Senecas expect will be strictly regarded and also, that trade will be carried on, in a fair and equitable manner.

The foregoing Articles, after being duly and fully explained to the Chiefs and Warriors, Deputies from the Senecas, they have signified their assent thereto, by affixing the Marks of their Tribes to these presents.

Given under my hand at Johnson Hall the third day of April 1764.

(signed.) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

signed.	TAGANADIE	[ L. S. ]	SAYENQUERAGHTA	[ L. S. ]
	KAANYES	[ L. S. ]	WANUGHISSAE	[ L. S. ]
	CHONEDAGAN	[ L. S. ]	TAGANOONDIE	[ L. S. ]
	AUGHNANAWIS	[ L. S. ]	TAANJAQUA	[ L. S. ]

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York Papers, ( State Paper Office, ) CLVIII. ]

New York May 8<sup>th</sup> 1764

My Lord,

Mr Charles Apthorp about a fortnight since delivered to me a Copy of His Majesty's Mandamus to admit him (Mr Apthorp) of His Majesty's Council of this Province which copy is certified to be a true copy of the entry made of the original mandamus on the books of the Earl of Halifax's Office by John Larpent.

It has been an established rule to admit no person to a seat in His Majesty's Council, otherwise than by the King's pleasure signified under his sign manual & signet & no instance I beleive can be given to the contrary.

Mr Larpent who certifies the copy is unknown to me, he designs himself by no office, to give him authority. I am only told that he is a clerk in the Secretary of State's Office. Supposing it be so the Attorney General assures me that this Copy can not be admitted as evidence in any Court, & is not of sufficient Authority to justify me.

I humbly conceive, my Lord, that certain solemnities, forms & rules that are wisely established in Acts of Government, to preserve a proper dignity, to prevent arbitrary



proceeding & irregularities productive of confusion, & that these established forms & rules are never to be departed from without evident necessity. In the present case there can be no necessity since a Duplicate of the original mandamus may be obtained in a few months by the regular return of the packets.

The Assembly of this Province had provided for the Support of the Guards on our Frontiers, & for part of the Provincial Troops that had joined His Majesty's regular troops only to the first of this month which put me under a necessity of calling the Assembly to meet in the last month. They very chearfully in a short Session provided for these deficiencies.

By the last letters which I received from Sir William Johnson he makes no doubt of a peace with all the western Indians, & that the Delawares & Chauenese only remain in hostility, against whom he has sent several parties of the Six Nations, who he expects will effectually chastise them. I make no doubt your Lordship will have a more particular account of these things from Sir William himself who is a better judge how far Indian promises may be depended on at this time than I am,

I have the honor to be, My Lord,

Your most obedient and faithful Serv<sup>t</sup>

Right honourable  
Earl of Halifax.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, 8., No. 14. ]

Johnson Hall May 11<sup>th</sup> 1764.

My Lords.

On receipt of the disagreeable News that Mr Croghan my Deputy who was charged with letters of the 18<sup>th</sup> of November and a state of my Departm<sup>nt</sup> as mentioned in my last, has been cast away on the Coast of France, I forthwith transmitted a duplicate of the papers committed to his care, which the multiplicity of business would not admit of my doing before.

In my last of the 20<sup>th</sup> January I laid before your Lord<sup>ships</sup> the several particulars which occurred from the departure of Mr Croghan to that period, with some observations which I took the liberty of submitting to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> consideration.

The first good effects produced by the good disposition into which I had brought the Friend Indians, and the capture of the prisoners I did not yet lay before you, as I understood the same was communicated by the Commander in Chief, and the Gov<sup>r</sup> of this province; besides, I was desirious of waiting till I received further news from the Indian parties, which I have now the pleasure of acquainting you with, after briefly observing several transactions since my last.

Shortly after my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> January, I assembled the Indians, to whom I had given the *War Hatchet*, and proposed that they should go immediately upon service. Accordingly near 200 of them proceeded against the Delawares near the Susquehana, and on the 26. of February discovered a large party of them to the amount of 41. who were destined against our settlements, whom they immediately surprised and made prisoners, and amongst them a

remarkable Indian Called Capt<sup>n</sup> Bull. who was their Leader, in which capacity he had done considerable damage during the War. Him, with 13 others I sent prisoners to New York, and distributed the rest amongst the Friend Indians for the replacing of their deceased connections according to the ancient Custom, the observance of which has added vigour to their proceedings.—Immediately after this fortunate blow, a small party I had sent out, fell in with a party their equals in number, killed their Chief and took three prisoners, who, with the scalp were brought here yesterday; and this being the first blood shed by them in our quarrel, will effectually widen the breach between the Indians and promote his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service. On receipt of the news of the first success, I immediately dispatched my Son with another Body of Indians, and a few approved White Men, to take advantage of the consternation, into which the Enemy were thrown by the offensive operations of our friends, and shortly afterwards as I expected, I was visited by Deputys from all the Senecas, accompanied by the Five Nations. These Deputys were charged in the name of their whole Nation to desire peace, and to represent that their Nation, had been led into the war by the artifices of the rest, which they had now discovered, and therefore earnestly requested, that they might be once more admitted into our Friendship, upon which, (with the General's approbation) I proposed to them the several articles, whereof the enclosed is a copy, to which they unanimously assented and subscribed the same accordingly on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April, with many promises of engaging heartily ag<sup>t</sup> all our Enemies; for the performance of all which, they have left me Three of their chiefs as Hostages, the rest returning to carry the News to their Nation and collect all the prisoners etc. which by the articles they are bound to deliver up at Niagara, whither I am by appointment of the General to go in June to make peace with them, and the western Nations, at which time I shall not omit using all my endeavours for obtaining such concessions and tying them down in such a manner, as will be most conducive to the public security hereafter, and I flatter myself, that the Terms now submitted to by the Senecas will appear to your Lord<sup>sh</sup> to be as full as could well be expected from the present posture of affairs, & the known independence of that Nation.

The Senecas and Five Nations went away near a Month ago, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> of april an express arrived with letters informing me, that the last party I sent out as before mentioned, had left Oghquago on the Susquahana the 1<sup>st</sup> April to the Number of 140. with a few White Men; that on coming to the first of the Enemy's Towns, called Kanhanghton, they found the same abandoned, and accordingly burned it, consisting of 36 good houses built of Squared Logs with Stone chimneys. From thence they proceeded up the Cayuga Branch, destroyed another Town of 30 good houses with four villages, and then marched to Kanestio, the largest of the Delaware Towns, from whence the first hostilities were committed, consisting of 60 good houses all of whom they burned, with a vast quantity of corn which had been hid, and a great number of Implements of husbandry taken from the poor Inhabitants with Saddles, Horses, and Cattle in abundance, but the greater part so poor, that they were obliged to kill them—From thence partys went in pursuit of the Enemy, who have fled and dispersed themselves amongst the Shawanese and others, so as to free the neighbouring frontiers from their future incursions.

The fears of the Enemy (of which I have received accounts from all quarters) cannot easily be described; they are not accustomed to sustain any losses from us, and are consequently greatly alarmed at those they have met with, dreading also the issue of the proceedings of the Friend Indians. On the other hand, I am preparing fresh parties to pursue them to their



retreats, as also a large Body to attend the Troops who go by way of the Lakes; but I have great reason to expect, that the Indians who go directly in Parties by land, will do great part of the business of the Campaign. The Regular Troops who can be assembled amounting to a very inconsiderable number, and a provincials, who are but a handful not being yet levied, and in fact, after a peace is made with the Senecas and Western Nations, the Shawanese and Delawares debarred of their assistance, must certainly retire beyond the Mississippi, or whither none but Indians can follow them with any prospect of success.

The separate and distinct manner with which I intend to treat with the Western Nations and Senecas at Niagara, will I flatter myself render their Union less firm than heretofore, and be a means of preventing their going in a war hereafter, to which end, it will be good policy to foment a coolness between the two confederacys, and render them jealous of each other. If this is properly kept up, and that the Plan I have transmitted is approved of, so as I may have the further assistance necessary, I think, that a peace in this Country will be of long duration; but without it, I fear that neither the husbandman or trader can carry on their respective occupations, with either safety or advantage to themselves or the public; for the Indians, if dissatisfied, will always commence hostilities, and although they may not be able to continue a War for any considerable time, yet, these Ruptures will be often repeated to the great detriment of public credit, and the Mother Country deprived of the Advantages, she might otherwise draw in a course of a few years from the tranquility and flourishing State of the Colonies.

By late accounts from Detroit it appears that the Western Nations, are again meditating a Rupture; they have not as yet recommenced hostilities, but from some discoveries lately made, *Pondiac* with his adherents are making some preparations. I hope the firmness of the Friend Indians and their accompanying the Troops will give it a timely check, if so, the Indians can be best employed ag<sup>t</sup> those on and about the *Sciota*, as the Troops will have great part of the campaign occupied in rebuilding and repossessing the outposts.—a Soldier has been scalped last month near Niagara, either by the Chippawaes or Missisagues, and the Senecas since subscribing the preliminaries, have sent me word that the Delawares, who fled after the success of the first Indian partys, have sent Messengers to them, to request their mediation with the English; the Senecas have detained these Messengers and inform me that these Delawares etc. are so greatly alarmed at the steadfastness of our Indian Allies, that they would readily give up several of their Chiefs and Ringleaders to bring about a peace with us; in the mean time least they, or any other of our Enemies should attempt further to disturb the Convoys on Niagara carrying place and the Vessels building near it, which might not only defeat the expedition, but occasion the fall of Detroit.—I have sent some proper officers with 100 trusty Indians to be employed in scouting and accompanying the Escorts, Stores etc; the Troops are to be accompanied from hence by a large body of Indians, and on their arrival at Niagara, are to be joined by the 100 before mentioned.

This Mylords, brings the State of Indian affairs down to the present period, I have now only to add my assurances, that nothing shall be wanting on my part for rendering the Military operations of the Indians as important as they are essential to His Majesty's interest, and for effecting the ends proposed by my negotiations with the Indians.

I have the honour to be—etc.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON



*Earl of Halifax to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.) CLVIII ]

St. James' 12<sup>th</sup> May 1764

Sir,

I have received, and laid before the King, Your several letters, the last of which is of the 10<sup>th</sup> of March, & I have the pleasure to acquaint you that his Majesty approves Your Zeal and Attention in suggesting whatever you think may be conducive to his service with respect to the conduct of the Indian War, or the means of establishing a safe and lasting peace: And it is hoped that you have communicated and will continue to communicate your thoughts upon Indian Affairs, in which you have so much knowledge and Experience to General Gage and Sir William Johnson.

It were much to be wished that the several Colonies whose assistance was required had cheerfully exerted themselves to raise the full numbers of Men demanded of them by His Maty<sup>a</sup> Commander in Chief in order to put a speedy end to the Indian War. His Majesty observes however with satisfaction that amidst the general backwardness which has prevailed in the neighbouring Provinces the Assembly of New York has distinguished itself, by enabling you to raise 500 men for the General Service, & 300 for the protection of the Western Frontier.

The difficulties which you labour under from the want of strength in the hands of Government to secure his Majesty's Rights and inforce the Laws of Trade, arising from the various causes which you mention deserve as you justly observe the attention of His Majesty's Ministers, and as the Relief which you propose is for the present to arise out of His Majesty's Quit Rents the management and application of which belong to the Department of His Majesty's Treasury, I lost no time in communicating Your Letter to the First Lord of that Board, who, I doubt not, will duly consider the Importance of the Evils which You represent, & the Expediency of the remedies which you propose.

I have also transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury a Copy of Your Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, concerning the seizure of a Ship and Cargo by the Sardaigne, & the claim of Cap<sup>t</sup> Hawker to one Half of the Forfeiture.

I am, &c<sup>a</sup>

DUNK HALIFAX

Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup>Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York.*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 29. ]

New York. 12 May 1764.

My Lords,

The Assembly having in the Sessions last winter, provided for the support of the guards on the frontiers, and of part of the provincial Troops, who have joined His Majesty's Regular Troops to the first of this month. I was obliged to call them last Month to make further

provision for those services, which they have cheerfully done, as will appear by the printed minutes of a very short session, which I inclose

By the letters which I have lately received from Sir William Johnson, we have reason to expect that peace and tranquility will be restored with all the Western Indians, which I am inclined to believe, from the accounts I have otherwise received that the Chenessios and Indians at Detroit, who had been in hostility, are under great apprehensions from the preparations making at Albany, of being chastized; and are very desirous of being received into favour, on their humble submission. Inclosed is a copy of Sir William's last letter to me, who is a better Judge than I am, how far we may depend upon the faith of Indians.

There is something so singular in the inclosed Minute of Council, that I have thought it my duty to transmit it to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>. The Earl of Stirling came to me with Mr Apthorp, who delivered to me a copy of the King's Mandamus to admit Mr Apthorp of his Majesty's Council of this Prov<sup>ce</sup>, certified by John Larpent, who they told me is a Clerk in My lord Halifax' Office. At that time I expressed my doubt of that copy being of sufficient Authority to justify me, and told them, I would Consult the Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup>, which I did. The Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> assured me that this copy is no evidence in any Court, and in consequence could not justify me.

Next Council day I mentioned my doubts of this copy's being of sufficient authority. The Earl of Stirling gave his opinion warmly to the Contrary, and before he could know my resolution, for I had not then formed any, he told me he would have his opinion entered on the Minutes. The reasons which determined me appear on the minute inclosed, which are humbly submitted by

My Lords.

Your most obedient & faithful servant.

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Sir William Johnson to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 81. ]

(copy)

Johnson Hall. 28 April 1764.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that on the 15<sup>th</sup> inst: I received letters informing me that the first inst: Cap<sup>t</sup> Montour with 140 Indians and some white Men set out from Ohquaga, and on arriving at the first of the Enemy's Towns found the same abandoned, which he burned, it consisting of 36 houses, built of square Logs, with good Chimneys; from thence he went to and burned another of 30 houses with four Villages, and then proceeded to Kanestio, which he likewise destroyed; it consisted of 60 good houses, with three and four fire places in each of them; here and at the other Towns, he found a large quantity of Indian Corn, which he destroyed, as also a great number of implem<sup>ts</sup>, which they had taken from the Inhabitants, with many new saddles etc, several horses, horned Cattle and swine, the most of them in such a poor condition that he killed them all, but about a dozen which they

carried off with them. Having effected this service, parties were sent after the Indians, who had fled several days before, and many others are gone in pursuit, who I have reason to hope will give a good account of them.

A large body of our Friend Indians are in readiness to join the few Troops who are to proceed this way, whilst I shall endeavour to get another body to join the Troops from Fort Pitt, but as a peace is to take place with the Senecas and Western Indians, the Shawanese and delawares will probably be reduced by the Indian parties, as they will in all likelihood retire to such places, as will render it impracticable for the Troops to follow them.

I am with the most perfect esteem.

Dear Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

P S. Yesterday Capt<sup>a</sup> Montour with some of his party arrived here and brought the Scalp taken some time ago by Tho<sup>a</sup> King's party. They say, it is that of the Chief Delawares Nephew, now our most active and inveterate Enemy, they also brought with them one Emanuel Hower, of the Raritans taken last fall by the Delawares at wioming.

I have yesterday secured, and shall tomorrow send to Albany an Indian, who has been here as a Friend some time, but was at length, by some of the Indians found out to be a bad Man.

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*Memorial of Lieutenant Campbell to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Bundle, Co., p. 111. ]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Trade & Plantations.

Memorial of Lieut Donald Campbell of the Province of New York.

Humbly Sheweth,

That in the year 1734 Colonel Cosby being then Governor of the Province of New York by and with the advice and assent of his Council published a printed Advertizement for encouraging the Resort of Protestants from Europe to settle upon the Northern Frontier of the said Province (in the route from Fort Edward to Crown Point) promising to each family two hundred acres of unimproved land out of 100,000 acres purchased from the Indians, without any fee or expences whatsoever, except a very moderate charge for surveying, & liable only to the King's Quit Rent of one shilling and nine pence farthing per hundred acres, which settlement would at that time have been of the utmost utility to the Province & these proposals were looked upon as so advantageous, that they could not fail of having a proper effect.

That these Proposals in 1737, falling into the hands of Captain Lauchlin Campbell of the Island of Isla, he the same year went over to North America, and passing through the Province of Pennsylvania where he rejected many considerable offers that were made him, he proceeded to New York, where, tho' Governor Cosby was deceased, George Clarke Esq<sup>r</sup> then Governor, assured him n<sup>o</sup> part of the lands were as yet granted; importuned him & two or three persons that went over with him to go up and visit the lands, which they did, and were very kindly received and greatly caressed by the Indians. On his return to New York he received the



most solemn promises that he should have a thousand acres for every family that he brought over, and that each family should have according to their number from five hundred to one hundred & fifty acres, but declined making any Grant till the Families arrived, because, according to the Constitution of that Government, the names of the settlers were to be inserted in that Grant. Captain Campbell accordingly returned to Isla, and brought from thence at a very large expence, his own Family and Thirty other Families, making in all, one hundred and fifty three Souls. He went again to visit the lands, received all possible respect and kindness from the Government. who proposed an old Fort Anna to be repaired, to cover the new settlers from the French Indians. At the same time, the People of New York proposed to maintain the people already brought, till Captain Campbell could return and bring more, alledging, that it would be for the interest of the Infant Colony to settle upon the lands in a large Body; that, covered by the Fort, and assisted by the Indians, they might be less liable to the Incursions of Enemies.

That to keep up the spirit of the undertaking, Governor Clarke, by a writing bearing date the 4<sup>th</sup> day of December 1738. declared his having promised Captain Campbell thirty thousand acres of land at Wood Creek, free of charges, except the expence of surveying & the King's Quit Rent in consideration of his having already brought over thirty families who according to their respective numbers in each family, were to have from one hundred and fifty to five hundred acres. Encouraged by this Declaration, he departed in the same month for Isla, and in August 1739, brought over Forty Families more, and under the Faith of the said promises made a third voyage, from which he returned in November 1740, bringing with him thirteen Families the whole making eighty three Families, composed of Four Hundred & Twenty Three Persons, all sincere and loyal Protestants, and very capable of forming a respectable Frontier for the security of the Province, But after all these perilous and expensive voyages, and tho' there wanted but Seventeen Families to compleat the number for which he had undertaken, he found no longer the same countenance or protection but on the contrary it was insinuated to him that he could have no land either for himself or the people, but upon conditions in direct violation of the Faith of Government, and detrimental to the interests of those who upon his assurances had accompanied him into America. The people also were seduced to demand separate Grants for themselves, which upon large promises some of them did, yet none of them ever had so much as a foot of land, and many listed themselves to join the Expedition to Cuba.

That Captain Campbell having disposed of his whole Fortune in the Island Isla, & expended the far greatest part of it from his confidence in these fallacious promises found himself at length constrained to employ the little he had left in the purchase of a small farm seventy miles north of New York for the subsistence of himself and his Family consisting of three sons and three daughters. He went over again into Scotland in 1745, and having the command of a Company of the Argyleshire men, served with Reputation under his Royal Highness the Duke, against the Rebels. He went back to America in 1747 and not long after died of a broken heart, leaving behind him the six Children before mentioned of whom your Memorialist is the eldest, in very narrow and distressed circumstances. All these facts are briefly commemorated by Mr Smith in his History of the Colony of New York, page 179, where are some severe, tho' just strictures on the behaviour of those in Power towards him and the families he brought with him, and the loss the Province sustained by such behaviour towards them.

That at the Commencement of the present War, your Memorialist and both his brothers following their Father's principles in hopes of better Fortune entered into the Army, & served in the Forty Second, Forty Eighth and Sixtieth Regiments of Foot during the whole War,

at the close of which your Memorialist and his brother George were reduced as Lieutenants upon half pay, and their youngest Brother still continues in the service; the small Farm purchased by their father being the sole support of themselves and three sisters till they were able to provide for themselves in the manner before mentioned, and their sisters are now married & settled in the Province of New York.

That after the conclusion of the Peace, your Memorialist considering the number of Families dispersed through the Province which came over with his Father, and finding in them a general disposition to settle with him on the lands originally promised them, if they could be obtained, in the Month of February 1763 petitioned Governor Monckton for the said lands but was able only to procure a Grant of ten thousand acres, (for obtaining which, he disbursed in Patent and other fees, the sum of two hundred Guineas) the people in Power alledging, that land was now at a far greater value than at the time of your Memorialist's Father's coming into the Province, and even this upon the common condition of settling ten Families upon the said lands and paying a Quit Rent to the Crown. Part however of the People who had promised to settle with your Memorialist in case he had prevailed, were drawn to petition for lands to themselves, which they obtained, tho' they never could get one foot of land before, which provision of lands as your Memorialist apprehends, ought in Equity to be considered as an obligation on the Province to perform, so far as the number of those Families goes, the Conditions stipulated with his Father, as those Families never had come into & consequently could not now be remaining in the Province, if he had not persuaded them to accompany him, & been at a very large Expence in transporting them thither.

That there are still very many of these Families who have no land and would willingly settle with your Memorialist. That there are numbers of non commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the Regiments disbanded in North America who notwithstanding His Majesty's gracious Intentions are from many causes, too long to trouble your Lordships with at present without any settlement provided for them, and that there are also many Families of loyal Protestants in the Islands and other parts of North Britain which might be induced by reasonable proposals and a certainty of their being fulfilled, to remove into the said Province, which would add greatly to the strength, security and opulence thereof, and be in all respects faithful and serviceable subjects to His Majesty.

That the premisses considered, particularly the long scene of hardships to which your Memorialists Family has been exposed, for Twenty Six years, in consideration of his own and his Brother's services, & the perils to which they have been exposed during the long and fatiguing War, and the Prospect he still has of contributing to the settlement of His Majesty's unimproved Country, your Memorialist humbly prays that Your Lordships would direct the Government of New York to grant to him the said One Hundred thousand Acres, upon his undertaking to settle One Hundred or one Hundred and Fifty Families upon the same within the space of Three years or such other Recompence or Relief as upon mature Deliberation on the Hardships and Sufferings which his Father and his Family have for so many years endured, & their merits, in respect to the Province of New York which might be incontestably proved, if it was not universally acknowledged, may in your great Wisdom be thought to deserve.

And your Memorialist; &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>:

May 1764.



*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General (S. P. O. ), No. 250. ]

Johnson Hall, 22. May 1764.

My Lord,

Lieut' John Ormsby Donnellan has requested the honor of delivering this letter to your Lord<sup>p</sup>. He is, I am informed a Gentleman of a good family, and has, as he tells me, during his service in America, collected several anecdotes, which he would be desirous of communicating.

I had the honor of writing to your Lord<sup>p</sup> last November by my Deputy M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, and I have the pleasure to hear it arrived safe, together with that to the Board of Trade therewith transmitted.

In that letter to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, I acquainted you with the favorable disposition of the Friend Indians and that they only waited to be employed against His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Enemys, they have since been sent upon service, have taken upon one occasion 41. Delawares with their Chief, upon another three and killed one, as also several others of the Enemy, many of whom I sent prisoners to New York distributing the rest amongst those Indians who had most distinguished themselves, to replace their deceased connections agreeable to ancient custom, they have also burned three Towns, and four villages on, and about the Susquehanna River, with a large quantity of corn and other articles.

The Senecas have likewise agreed to preliminary articles to which amongst other particulars they cede to His Maj<sup>y</sup> the carrying place of Niagra and Country from the Fort to the Cataract on both sides of the Strait, but I avoid being particular on the subject, as the same has been mentioned at large by me to the Lords of Trade etc.

These steps have occasioned the Delawares to abandon all their Country, and being driven to despair by the steadiness and unshaken fidelity of the Friend Indians, they are now applying to some of the Nations for their interposition with us, whilst those who are more remote, with the Shawanese are assembled about the plains at Scioto to wait the motion of our Troops who are preparing to go upon the expedition, and who are to be accompanied by a considerable number of Indians, I have now assembled for that purpose, but the delays which have attended some of the Troops for this service, has greatly retarded affairs, and the number when assembled will be much less than was first expected.

I use my utmost to prevent these circumstances, from encouraging our Enemys, or abating the ardour of our friends, and I flatter myself the measures I pursued during the winter, and those I am now taking, will in a great measure make up for the disadvantages we labour under from the difficulty of collecting a sufficient body of Men, as well as that the Enemy who are greatly disheartened by the zeal of the Indians in our interest, and knowing their singular abilities in an Indian War, in the interior parts of a Country covered with Woods, will (if not heartily punished) be at least glad to embrace terms of peace, and to make concessions advantageous to the honor of the Crown and the public security.

To accomplish this, I am the next month to meet the Senecas and Western Nations at Niagara, when the Terms entered into by the former, shall be solemnly ratified, and such others offered to the rest, as are best calculated for His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s interest, and the future welfare of the Colonies; and as for those Indians, who still remain in Arms, I am hopeful that the steps to be taken by the Troops, seconded by the sanguine endeavours, and powerful assistance



of the Friend Indians will leave them no alternative—These measures might have been taken some time ago, nay, the necessity of them might have been early prevented, but whilst Indian affairs are considered as trivial, and their abilities dispised, the seeds of disaffection and revenge, and the jealous apprehensions of our evil designs will ever remain amongst them; the event has spoken for itself, and even to those before unacquainted with the power of the Northern Indians, no more is now necessary to convince them, that whilst we hold posts in remote frontiers and carry on the commerce with distant Nations, we must conquer the prejudices they have hitherto conceived, and treat them with friendship favour and notice.

I shall not at present take up more of Your Lord's time than to declare my ardent wishes that my late proceedings may have proved agreeable to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, and that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> may be satisfied of the earnestness, with which I devote myself to the duty of my Department.

I have the honor to assure your Lord<sup>p</sup> that I am with the most profound respect

My Lord

Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient, & most  
devoted humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Entries, Q. 263. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor of New York.

Sir.

Having under our consideration a plan for the future management & direction of Indian Affairs throughout all North America, under one uniform and general system of administration, we herewith transmit to you the heads of this plan, desiring you will report to us, as speedily as possible, your opinion thereupon. And to the end that you may be apprized of the particular parts of it, upon which we wish to receive more particular information and intelligence, we likewise transmit to you copies of our letters to the Superintendants for Indian Affairs, in which our sentiments upon this plan are fully explained.

Besides the general abuses and enormities complained of by the Indians concerning irregular purchases and grants of land, as stated in this plan, we find by our letters from Sir William Johnson that the Mohocks continue still to express the greatest uneasiness and dissatisfaction on account of the Kancaderossaras or Queenborough Patent, as also that to the Corporations of Albany at Fort Hunter. It is our duty therefore to desire you will take the earliest favourable opportunity of recommending to the Assembly to pass a Bill for vacating these Patents, in like manner as was done in 1705 in the case of the extravagant patents granted by Governor Fletcher.

We have no doubt that if this matter is properly recommended to the Assembly, a proper attention will be given to it. But if, contrary to our expectations, they should refuse to act in a case in which the publick interest and welfare and those of their constituents is so essentially concerned, it will be our duty to advise His Majesty to apply to Parliament; and therefore you

will, in case of such refusal, transmit to us authentick copies of these Patents from the Records, & every information you can collect with respect to the measures which the Proprietors may have at any time taken, to settle the lands or perform the conditions of the grants, if there be any conditions inserted therein.

So we bid you heartily farewell, and are

Sir

Your very loving friends

HILLSBOROUGH

GEO: RICE

BAMBER GASCOYNE

J. DYSON

Whitehall

July 10. 1764.

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*Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General Entries, XLV., ( M. ) p. 407. ]

To Sir William Johnson, Superintendant of Indian affairs for the Northern District of America.

Sir,

His Majesty having before the opening of the last Session of Parliament, directed us to consider what arrangements it might be proper to make, in respect to the future management and conduct of Indian affairs in general, We did in obedience to his Majestys command prepare the heads of a Bill for regulating this important Branch of His Majesty's Service under one uniform general plan, and for enabling His Majesty to make such Establishments, as appear'd to us to be necessary for the Execution thereof; But it was thought advisable from considerations, as well of the great importance of the measure itself, as the difficulty of establishing a fund to answer the expence which would necessarily attend the execution of it, to defer the bringing any Bill into Parliament till next Session, before which time it was apprehended further information might be procured on many essential parts of the plan, and of which there was the greater expectation, as we had before directed the Superintendants to make very full reports to us of the actual state of Indian Affairs within their respective Departments

The letters which we have received from you, and the Superintendant of the Southern District, in consequence of these orders, have fully answered our wishes and expectations on this head; have confirm'd our opinions of the danger and disadvantage attending the present vague and uncertain Administration of Indian Affairs and have enabled us to make additions to and improve our plan; But as your situation and intimate knowledge of this difficult & complicated subject may enable you to furnish us with still further lights we think proper to transmit to you the inclosed heads of the plan we have prepared, for your opinion upon it which we expect you will send to us as soon as possible, and we hope to receive it before the meeting of Parliament

This Plan has for its object the regulation of Indian Affairs both commercial and political throughout all North America, upon one general system, under the direction of Officers appointed

by the Crown, so as to sett aside all local interfering of particular Provinces, which has been one great cause of the distracted state of Indian Affairs in general and it is judged expedient in the execution of this plan that North America should be divided into two districts each having one Chief Agent or Superintendant the first difficulty which occurs in the consideration of the plan, is how to ascertain the limits of each district

The making the River Ohio the boundary line, or line of division between the two districts seemed to us at first the most precise distinction; but finding upon examination that several of the northern Nations had not only claims and interests but possibly actual possession and residence to the south, of some parts at least, of this river, we thought proper to relinquish this proposition and to have recourse to the expedient of distinguishing each district by naming the several Nations to comprehended in each You will observe however that we have added to the Tribes contained in the list you have transmitted to us those which inhabit the Borders of New England, and in Nova Scotia, which Tribes must necessarily be comprehended in the northern district.

This appears to us upon the whole to be the most precise Method of distinguishing and dividing the two districts; and as such we refer it to your consideration; If however you are of opinion, that the objection to our first Idea which have appeared to us so strong as to induce us to lay it aside are not well founded and that the Ohio being a natural Boundary will still be the best line of division or that any other boundary will be more exact and distinct we desire you will state your opinion fully on this point with your reasons at large.

The first principle upon which all the regulations in this plan respecting the Trade with the Indians are founded is that such Trade shall be fixed throughout all America to certain posts and places; and as it appears to us as upon a consideration of the nature and situation of the several Tribes of Indians, and of what has been the accustomed method of carrying on the Trade with them in each Department that it would be adviseable to fix the Trade, in the Southern District to the several Towns in each Tribe; and in the northern district at certain fortified Posts we have accordingly adopted that plan But as the ascertaining the several Posts in the northern district to which the Trade ought to be fixed is a matter of the most delicate and difficult consideration depending upon exact information of the residence of the Indians and their convenience and satisfaction in many other respects we must refer this proposition to your particular attention & carefull examination desiring that you will report to us your opinion not only what you conceive to be the proper Posts for the six Nations and other Tribes under your immediate influence and direction but also for the more remote Indians dependent upon the Government of Quebec, Nova Scotia and the New England Colonies; but as you will observe from the regulations of the plan that the Establishment at each post will be a very considerable expence to the Public it will be very proper that the number should be as limited as possible and no more allowed than what are of absolute necessity

The Posts at which it appears to us proper to fix the Trade in the northern District are, Oswego, Niagara, Pittsburg, Fort upon the Miami River, Fort Chatres, in the Illinois Country Detroit, Missillimackinac, Chicoutime, upon the Saguinay River, Fort Cumberland at Baye Verte, Fort Frederick upon St John's River, and Fort Halifax upon Kenebeck River.

These Posts will in Our opinion conveniently accommodate the several Nations or Tribes in the Northern District: But as this is a very essential part of the Plan we desire your opinion freely upon it.



Another regulation of great difficulty and delicacy proposed by this plan to be established is the settlement of a Tariff of Trade which tho it be recommended both by yourself and the Superintendant for the Southern District yet seems to us doubtful in its principle and difficult in its execution; since it is in its nature inconsistent with and might in its operation be restrictive of that freedom which is one of the first principles of Commerce and cannot either in Justice or Reason be fixed without the mutual consent of parties having adverse and contradictory Interests. If however it shall appear to us either from the effect of any Regulation of this kind which may have already taken place, or from reasons & arguments that do not occur to us that these doubts of its propriety and apprehension of difficulties in its execution are without foundation we shall recommend a proposition that in many other Views of it, is much to be wish'd for and desired

The most superficial view of the nature and disposition of the Indians and of the manner in which they regulate their civil concerns will suffice to show that a steady and uniform attachment to, and love of Justice and Equity is one of their first principles of Government and it is upon a general consideration of the effect and influence of this principle upon their conduct that we have ventured in the eighteenth and nineteenth Articles of this plan to suggest a regulation that appears to us to conform itself to their inclinations and disposition in this respect and which if it can be accomplished will restore mutual confidence by checking those abuses which have tended to destroy it

In every proposition of this kind, however we expect to receive your sentiments and therefore we desire you will attentively consider it and give us your opinion, as well upon the propriety of the measure itself as the mode of carrying it into execution, in case it shall be thought adviseable to recommend it.

The foregoing are all the remarks which appear necessary for us to make upon the inclosed Plan the rest of the propositions speak for themselves and sufficiently point out the grounds and principles upon which they are founded. It only remains therefore for us to direct your attention to, and desire your opinion upon, what is suggested in respect to the fund for defraying the expence attending the establishment of this system It is upon this that the whole depends, and therefore we must require you to be very full and explicit in your report upon it transmitting to us the most exact accounts you can collect of the actual annual Quantity and value of goods sold to the Indians and peltry received from them in return, with your opinion at large what duties you think the Trade will bear in what manner they may be laid and how and at what places collected with the least burthen and disadvantage to the Trade and we desire that you will annex to your Reports and Estimate of the annual expence of the several Establishments proposed to be made in the northern District and what will be necessary for presents to the Indians and all other contingent expenses with such explanations upon each particular as may enable us to judge not only of the amount of the fixed Establishments but also of what will be the probable amount of the whole under every head and Article thereof and in forming these estimated, we recommend it to you to state the expence at as low a rate as possible because the whole of it must be borne by the Trade. So we bid you heartily farewell, and are, Sir, your very loving Friends

Whitehall  
July 10. 1764.

HILLSBOROUGH  
GEO: RICE  
BAMBER GASCOYNE  
J. DYSON

*Plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs.*

[ Plantations General Entries, XLV., ( M. ) p. 428. ]

**Plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs.**

1<sup>st</sup> That the Trade and Commerce with the several Tribes of Indians in North America under the protection of his Majesty shall be free and open to all his Majestys Subjects under the several Regulations & Restrictions hereafter mentioned so as not to interfere with the Charter to the Hudson's Bay Company

2<sup>d</sup> That for the better regulation of this Trade and the management of Indian Affairs in general the British Dominions in North America be divided into two Districts to comprehend and include the several Tribes of Indians mentioned in the annexed Lists A and B.

3<sup>rd</sup> That no Trade be allowed with the Indians in the Southern Districts, but within the Towns belonging to the several Tribes included in such District; and that in the northern District the Trade be fixed at so many posts and in such Situations as shall be thought necessary

4<sup>th</sup> That all laws now in force in the several Colonies for regulating Indian Affairs or Commerce be repealed

5<sup>th</sup> That there be one general Agent or Superintendant appointed by his Majesty for each District

6<sup>th</sup> That the Agent or Superintendant for the Northern District shall be allowed three Deputies to assist him in the Administration of Affairs within his District; and that the Agent or Superintendant for the southern District shall be allowed two Deputies

7<sup>th</sup> That there shall be a Commissary Interpreter, and Smith appointed by his Majesty to reside in the Country of each Tribe in the southern District

8<sup>th</sup> That it be recommended to the society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, to appoint four Missionaries in each District to reside at such places as the Agent or Superintendant for each District shall recommend.

9<sup>th</sup> That the Commissaries, Interpreters and Smiths, in each District, do act under the immediate Direction and Orders of the Agent or Superintendant who shall have a power of suspending them in case of misbehaviour and in case of suspension of a Commissary or of a vacancy by death, or Resignation the office shall be executed, until the King's pleasure is known by one of the Deputies to the Agent or Superintendant

10<sup>th</sup> That the said Agent or Superintendant shall have the conduct of all public Affairs relative to the Indians and that neither the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in America nor any of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of any of the Colonies or persons having Military Commands in any of the Forts within each of the said Districts do hold any general meetings with the Indians or send any public Talks to them, without the concurrence of the Agent or Superintendant unless in cases of great exigency or when the said Agent or Superintendant may be in some remote part of this District

11<sup>th</sup> That the said Agents or Superintendants do in all affairs of political consideration respecting peace and War with the Indians purchases of lands or other matters on which it may be necessary to hold any general meetings with the Indians advise and act in Council with the Governors (or the Governors and Councils as the occasion may require) of the several Colonies within their respective Districts and that the said Agents or Superintendants shall be



Councillors extraordinary within each Colony in their respective Districts in like manner as the Surveyors General of the Customs for the northern and southern Districts of America.

12<sup>th</sup> That the Governor or Commander in Chief of every Colony be Directed to communicate to the Agent or Superintendant of that District within which his Government lyes all such information and intelligence as he may receive respecting Indian Affairs and that the Agents or Superintendants shall in like manner communicate to the Governors all intelligence and information respecting the state of Indian Affairs which may in any wise regard the Security and interest of the said Colonies

13<sup>th</sup> That no order shall be issued by the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of his Majesty's Colonies or by any Officer having Military Command in any Forts within the Indian Country for stopping the Trade with any Tribe of Indians in either of the said Districts without the concurrence and consent of the Agent or Superintendant for Indian Affairs.

14<sup>th</sup> That the said Agents or Superintendants shall by themselves or sufficient Deputies visit the several Posts or Tribes of Indians within their respective Districts once in every year or oftener as occasion shall require to enquire into and take an account of the conduct and behaviour of the subordinate Officers at the said Posts and in the Country belonging to the said Tribes to hear appeals and redress all complaints of the Indians make the proper presents and transact all affairs relative to the said Indians

15<sup>th</sup> That for the maintaining Peace and good order in the Indian Country and bringing Offenders in criminal cases to due punishment the said Agents or Superintendants as also the Commissaries at each Post and in the Country belonging to each Tribe, be empowered to act as Justices of the peace in their respective Districts and Departments, with all powers and priviledges vested in such Officers in any of the Colonies and also full power of committing offenders in capital Cases in order that such offenders may be prosecuted for the same and that for deciding all, civil Actions the Commissaries be empower'd to try and determine in a summary way all such Actions as well between the Indians and Traders as between one Trader and another to the amount of ten pounds Sterling with the liberty of appeal to the Chief Agent or Superintendant of his Deputy who shall be empower'd upon such appeal to give Judgment thereon which Judgment shall be final and process issue upon it in like manner as on the Judgment of any Court of Common Pleas established in any of the Colonies.

16<sup>th</sup> That for the easy attainment of Justice the evidence of Indians under proper regulations and restrictions be admitted in all criminal as well as civil causes that shall be tryed and adjudged by the said Agents or Superintendants or by the said Commissaries and that their evidence be likewise admitted by the Courts of Justice in any of his Majestys Colonies or Plantations, in criminal cases subject to the same Pains and Penalties, in cases of false evidence as his Majestys Subjects.

17<sup>th</sup> That the said Agents or Superintendants shall have power to confer such honors & rewards on the Indians as shall be necessary and of granting Commissions to the principal Indians in their respective Districts, to be War Captains or Officers of other Military Distinctions

18<sup>th</sup> That the Indians of each Town in every Tribe in the southern District, shall choose a beloved man, to be approved of by the Agent or Superintendant for such District, to take care of the mutual interests both of Indians & Traders in such Town; and that such beloved men so elected and approved in the several Towns shall elect a Chief for the whole Tribe who shall constantly reside with the Commissary in the Country of each Tribe, or occasionally attend upon the said Agent or Superintendant as Guardian for the Indians and protector of



their Rights with liberty to the said Chief to be present at all meetings and upon all hearings or tryals relative to the Indians before the Agent or Superintendant or before the Commissaries and to give his opinion upon all matters under consideration at such meetings or hearings

19<sup>th</sup> That the like establishments be made for the northern Districts as far as the nature of the civil constitution of the Indians in this District and the manner of administering their civil Affairs will admit.

20<sup>th</sup> That no person having any military Command in the Indian Country, shall be capable of acting as Commissary, for the Affairs of the Indians in either of the above mentioned Districts respectively; nor shall such person having military Command be allowed to carry on Trade with the Indians or to interpose his Authority in any thing that regards the Trade with, or civil concerns of the Indians but to give the Commissary, or other civil Magistrate all assistance in his power whenever thereunto requir'd.

21<sup>st</sup> That the said Commissaries shall keep exact and regular accounts by way of Journal of all their Transactions and proceedings and of all occurrences in their respective Departments; and shall by every opportunity communicate such transactions and occurrences to the Agent or Superintendant in their respective Districts; which Agent or Superintendant shall regularly by every opportunity correspond with the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

22<sup>nd</sup> That the Agent or Superintendant to be appointed for each District as also the Commissaries residing at the Posts, or in the Indian Country within each District shall take an Oath before the Governor or Chief Judge of any of the Colonies with their respective Districts, for the due execution of their respective Trusts; and they and all other subordinate Officers employed in the Affairs of the Indians shall be forbid under proper penalties to carry on any Trade with them either upon their own account or in Trust for others or to make any purchase of, or except any Grants of Lands from the Indians.

23<sup>rd</sup> That for the better regulations of the Trade with the said Indians, conformable to their own requests and to prevent those Frauds and Abuses which have been so long and so loudly complained of in the manner of carrying on such Trade, all Trade with the Indians in each District be carried on under the Direction and Inspection of the Agents or Superintendants, and other subordinate Officers to be appointed for that purpose as has been already mentioned.

24<sup>th</sup> That all persons intending to trade with the Indians shall take out licences for that purpose under the hand and Seal of the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Colony from which they intend to carry on such Trade for every of which licences no more shall be demanded or taken than two shillings

25<sup>th</sup> That all persons taking out licences shall enter into Bond, to His Majesty His Heirs & Successors in the sum of                      with one Surety in the sum of                      for the due observance of the regulations prescribed for the Indian Trade.

26<sup>th</sup> That every person willing to give such Security and finding a Surety willing, if required to take an Oath that he is possessed of Property to double the value of the sum he stands Security for shall be intitled to a licence

27<sup>th</sup> That every such licenced Trader shall at the time of taking out the licence declare to the Post or Truckhouse at which or the Tribe of Indians with which he intends to trade which shall be specified in the licence itself

28<sup>th</sup> That no licence be granted to continue longer than for one Year.

29<sup>th</sup> That no Person trade under such licence but the Person named in it his Servants or Agents whose names are to be inserted in the Margent; and in case any of the Servants

or Agents named in such licence shall die or be discharged the same shall be notified to the Governor by whom the licence was granted or to the Commissary of the Post or in the Tribe where such Trader carries on Trade to the end that the name or names of any other Servants or Agents employed by the said Trader in the place of those dead or discharged may in like manner be inserted in the Margent of the licence.

30<sup>th</sup> That all Licences be entered in the Secretarys Office or other proper Office of Record in each Colony where they are taken out; for which entry no more shall be demanded or taken than six pence for each licence and all persons to have free liberty to inspect such entry paying a fee of six pence for the same.

31<sup>st</sup> That persons Trading with the Indians without a licence and without giving the Security above required or trading at any other Posts or Places than those expressed in their licences do forfeit all the goods they shall be found then trading with and also pay a fine of            to His Majesty His Heirs and Successors, and suffer            Months imprisonment.

32<sup>nd</sup> That all Traders immediately upon their arrival at the Posts or Truckhouses in the northern District or in the Tribes in the southern District for which licences have been taken out, and before any goods are sold to or bartered with the Indians do produce such licences to the Commissaries appointed for the Direction and Inspection of the Trade at such Posts or Truckhouses or in such Tribes,

33<sup>rd</sup> That all Trade with the Indians shall be carried on all Tariffs to be settled and established from time to time by the Commissaries at the several Posts or Truckhouses or in Countries belonging to the several Tribes in concert with the Traders and Indians.

34<sup>th</sup> That the Commissaries appointed to direct and inspect the Trade at each Truckhouse in the northern district shall be empowered to fix and prescribe certain limits round each Post or Truckhouse within which limits all Trade with the Indians may be commodiously carried on in the most public manner.

35<sup>th</sup> That all Traders have free liberty to erect Huts and Warehouses within such limits in such order and manner as the Commissary shall with the concurrence of the officer commanding at such Post direct and appoint.

36<sup>th</sup> That no Trader shall traffic or have any dealings with the Indians without the limits prescribed by the Commissary or other chief Officer appointed for the inspection and direction of the Trade.

37<sup>th</sup> That each Truckhouse or Post of Trade in the northern District be fortified and garrisoned and that all Traders have free liberty to retire into such Garrison with their effects when ever any disturbance shall arise, or the Commissary at such Post shall represent it to be necessary

38<sup>th</sup> That no Trader shall sell or otherwise supply the Indians with Rum, or other spirituous liquors, swan shot or rifled barralled Guns.

39<sup>th</sup> That in Trade with the Indians no credit shall be given them for goods in value beyond the sum of fifty shillings and no debt beyond that sum shall be recoverable by law or equity.

40<sup>th</sup> That all disputes concerning weights or measures in the buying or selling goods shall be decided by standard weights and measures to be kept in each Post or Truckhouse in the Northern District and in each Town in the Southern District.

41<sup>st</sup> That no private person, Society Corporation or Colony be capable of acquiring any property in lands belonging to the Indians either by purchase of or grant or conveyance from the said Indians excepting only where the lands lye within the limits of any Colony the soil of

which has been vested in proprietors or corporations by grants from the Crown in which cases such proprietaries or corporations only shall be capable of acquiring such property by purchase or grant from the Indians.

42<sup>d</sup> That proper measures be taken with the consent and concurrence of the Indians to ascertain and define the precise and exact boundary and limits of the lands which it may be proper to reserve to them and where no settlement whatever shall be allowed.

43<sup>d</sup> That no purchases of lands belonging to the Indians whether in the name and for the use of the Crown or in the name and for the use of proprietaries of Colonies be made but at some general meeting at which the principal Chiefs of each Tribe claiming a property in such lands are present and all Tracts so purchased shall be regularly surveyed by a sworn surveyor in the presence and with the assistance of a person deputed by the Indians to attend such survey and the said surveyor shall make an accurate map of such Tract which map shall be entered upon record with the Deed of conveyance from the Indians.

It is estimated that the annual expence of supporting the establishments proposed in the foregoing plan providing presents for the Indians and other contingent expences may amount to about twenty thousand pounds and it is proposed to defray this expence by a duty upon the Indian Trade, either collected upon the exportation of skins and furs (Beaver excepted) from the Colonies or payable by the Traders at the Posts and Places of Trade as shall upon further examination and the fullest information be found most practicable and least burthensome to the Trade.

### A

#### List of Indian Tribes in the Northern District of North America.

Mohocks	Algonkins	Foxes
Oneidas	Abenakis	Twightwees
Tuscaroras	Skaghquanoghranos	Kickapous
Onondagas	Hurons	Mascoutens
Cayougas	Shawanese	Piankashaws
Senecas	Delawares	Wawiahtonos
Oswegachys	Wiandots	Keskeskias
Nanticokes	Powtewatamies	Illinois
Canoyes	Ottawas	Sioux
Tuteeves	Chipeweighs or Missisagis	Micmacs
Saponeys	Meynomenys	Norwidgewalks
Coghnawagas	Falsav[o]ins	Arseguntecokes
Canassadagas	Puans	Penobscots
Arundacks	Sakis	S' Johns

### B.

#### List of Indian Tribes in the Southern District of North America.

Cherokees	Beluxis	Tunicas
Creeks	Humas	Peluches
Chickasaws	Attucapas	Ofugulas
Chactaws	Bayuglas	Querphas.
Catawbas		



*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 249. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieut Governor of New York.

Sir

We have taken into consideration the several letters we have received from you since the administration of Government devolved upon you by General Moncton's coming to England and shall communicate to you our sentiments upon such points as appear to us to require immediate attention; deferring to future consideration what relates either to the regulations which have been made for the execution of the Act of Parliament for laying Duties upon foreign Rum, Sugar and Molasses, and the state of the trade of New York in reference to that law, or to your proceedings with the General Assembly upon the requisition of the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces for further aid for carrying on the war against the Indians.

Your representation concerning the disputes with New Hampshire about the Boundary Line and the conduct of the Governor of that Province in surveying and granting lands to the westward of Connecticut River, appears to us to be in every light a matter of great importance, as well in respect to His Majesty's honor and interest, as to the peace and welfare of his subjects; and therefore we have made a full Representation to his Majesty upon it, and as the reasons you assign for making Connecticut River the Boundary Line between the two Provinces appear to us to have great weight, we have adopted and recommended that Proposition.

We have attentively considered the petition of the Ministers Elders and Deacons of the Lutheran Church, praying for a Charter of incorporation, and tho we shall be at all times desirous of concurring in any measure that may contribute to the satisfaction of every pious community, the principles of which are not adverse to the religious constitution of these kingdoms; yet it does not appear to us from any thing set forth in their petition that such incorporation is at present either necessary or expedient.

As to the dispute with the Province of the Massachusetts Bay concerning the Boundary, we do not conceive that it can be otherwise determined than by a Commission from His Majesty and by both Provinces making provision for the expence of carrying such a measure into execution; and as we very much approve the steps which have been taken for bringing the question concerning the Boundary Line between New York and New Jersey to a final decision and have recommended to His Majesty to confirm the laws passed by both Provinces for this purpose, and to issue a commission in consequence thereof, we shall be very glad to be enabled to recommend the same measure in respect to the Boundary Line between New York & Massachusetts Bay.

Monsieur Michel Chartier de Lotbiniere, heretofore an officer in the French Kings service in Canada has presented to us a memorial desiring the confirmation of two concessions in America, the one called D'Alainville, four leagues & upwards in front, part upon Lake George and part upon Crown Point River, and extending in depth five leagues to the west, granted by the Marquis de Vaudreuil in 1758; the other situated opposite to Crown Point, having the same extent in front and extending in depth five leagues to the East purchased of Mons<sup>r</sup> Hocquart in 1762, to whom it is alleged to have been granted in 1743 and 1745.

As this gentleman's case appears to us to require particular consideration, we have wrote to the Governor of Quebec for authentick copies of these grants from the Records, in order that we may be enabled to make a representation to His Majesty thereupon; and in the mean time we think proper to direct that no grants whatever be made under the authority of the government of New York of any part of the lands comprehended within the limits of these Concessions. So we bid you heartily farewell, and are,

Sir

Your very loving friends

HILLSBOROUGH

GEO: RICE.

BAMBER GASCOYNE<sup>1</sup>

J. DYSON

Whitehall

July 13. 1764.

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*Petition of Sir James Jay to the King.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 36.]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELL<sup>t</sup> MAJ<sup>ty</sup> in Council.

The Memorial and humble Petition of Sir James Jay Knight, in behalf of the Gov<sup>r</sup> of King's College in the City of New York in America.

Sheweth.

That although the said Seminary Hath been honoured with the most distinguishing Mark of Your Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Royal favour, yet the superior importance it is become of to your Majestys American Dominions in consequence of the acquisition of Canada and its dependance encourages him to hope that his present application in favour of it will meet with your Majesty's gracious approbation.

That in order that the necessity and importance of the said Seminary may be rightly understood he begs leave to mention its origin, progress and present situation.

That several Gentlemen in the Prov<sup>ce</sup> of New York, observing the many inconveniencies and Disorders that prevailed in America in General, and that Colony in particular from the different opinions, manner and customs of the Inhabitants, and apprehending that more fatal evils would arise among a people, composed of various Nations, differing in language and in their principles of Religion and Govern<sup>t</sup> if left destitute of the proper means of Education endeavoured to establish a seminary for their instruct<sup>n</sup>.

That it was also observed that many of those evils, were in a great measure owing to the want of proper Ministers and Teachers, and that it was impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of able Instructors unless opportunities were provided for educating them *there*, as few Men of proper qualifications *here* could be induced to quit their hopes in these Kingdoms, for a laborious

<sup>1</sup> BAMBER GASCOYNE was the son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1731. He was born in 1727, and in 1761 was elected to represent the borough of Malden. After leaving the Board of Trade, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and represented Liverpool for several years. He was also Steward of the Manor of Southwark and Verdurer of Epping Forest. He died at Bath in the year 1791. *Gentleman's Magazine*.—Ed.

employment in a remote wilderness where they are to expect but small secular advantage to reward their toil.

That sundry circumstances rendered these considerations the more immediately interesting and particularly the amazing pains, which Your Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Popish Enemies were every where perceived to take for the propagation of their peculiar Tenents and the many Establishments they were making for that purpose in all the Countrys of America subjected to them, while your Majesty's numerous subjects there, remained too liable to their corruptions by being spread abroad on a wide frontier without a sufficient number of Protestant Ministers among them.

That from a just sence of these growing evils a College was erected in New York, not indeed to aim at any high improvements in literature but to guard against total ignorance to instil into the minds of Youth true principles of Religion, a veneration for the British Constitution, and a grateful sence of the many Blessings we enjoy under your Majestys auspicious Govern<sup>t</sup>, to instruct them in such useful Arts and branches of knowledge as are necessary to Trade Agriculture and the due improvement of your valuable Colonys there, and lastly, to assist in raising up a succession of faithful Instructors to be sent forth among our own people and the Indians in alliance with us, in order to teach them the ways of truth to save them from the corruptions of the Enemy and wipe away the reproach of suffering the Emissaries of a false Religion to be more zealous in propagating their slavish and destructive Tenets, than we are in promoting the glorious plan of public Liberty and happiness committed to us.

That with these generous views, the said Seminary was begun about Ten years ago, and is placed under the inspection of the Govern<sup>t</sup> and Established Church, The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the First Lord of Trade and Plantations, and the Chief Officers in the Govern<sup>t</sup> of the Colony, being by the Charter of incorporation, Governours of it in virtue of their Offices—That besides a sum of Money granted by the Assembly it has been chiefly supported, by the liberal contributions of Individuals, excepting that the venerable Society in London for propagating the Gospel, being sensible how much the undertaking would contribute to the extension of Religion and virtue assisted them with a donation of 500 pounds. But, as undertakings of such an extensive nature even in the most wealthy kingdoms, have seldom been compleated, unless by the united generosity of many private benefactors, and often by the bounty of Sovereign princes, it cannot be thought strange that all the resources in the power of individuals in a young Colony should be found insufficient for the purpose, and that the Governors of the College should be reduced to the necessity of soliciting the assistance of their mother Country to enable them to carry on this useful work.—

That your Petitioner was accordingly appointed to represent the design and state of the undertaking, and to solicit and to receive the benefactions of pious and well disposed people in Brittain, and that he has so far succeeded in his endeavours as that including Your Majesty's Gracious Donation of 400 pounds; the private benefactions of many of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, and the sum collected on your Majesty's Royal Brief, he will be enabled to remit on the whole about five thousand pounds clear of all expences.

That as there is little, or no prospect of obtaining further assistance in the Province, and as the sum of five thousand pounds is insufficient to carry on the design even in its present confined manner much less to render it of more extensive and general utility, your petitioners, considering that the Universities in Brittain and Ireland were liberally endowed with lands, by



your Majesty's Illustrious Predecessors and relying on your Majesty's known regard for the advancement of Religion and useful knowledge is encouraged to pray that your Majesty will be pleased to grant a Tract of Land in the Province of New York, to the aforesaid Seminary, but as the unappropriated lands in that Province are in a remote wilderness at a great distance from the improved parts of the Colony; that as it must be a long time before they can be cultivated or rendered of any advantage and as the profits that will arise from them are to be applied for the public benefit, he for these reasons, without adducing as precedents the great privileges, exemptions and Indulgencies, that were granted to similar Institutions in Brittain & Ireland by former Princes, hopes, that it will seem reasonable that the usual terms of Cultivation and Quit Rent, on which lands are granted to private persons, should be dispensed with on this occasion and therefore particularly prays:

That your Majesty will be pleased to grant twenty thousand Acres of land in the Province of New York, free of the conditions of cultivation and Quit Rents to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of the College of the Province of New York, in the City of New York in America, for the use and behoof of the said College, and that the said Gov<sup>r</sup> have leave to locate the quantity of lands allowed the said College out of any of the Crown Lands in the said province before any person or persons who have obtained orders for lands in the said province, are permitted to locate the same.

And your Majesty's Petitioner, as in duty bound shall ever pray etc.

(signed) JAMES JAY

London. 17 July 1764

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*Lords of Trade to the Lords of the Privy Council.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 259. ]

To the Right H<sup>on</sup>ble the Lords of the Committee of His Majestys Most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Council for Plantation Affairs.

My Lords.

In pursuance of your Lordships Order of the 17<sup>th</sup> inst, we have taken into our consideration the memorial and humble petition of Sir James Jay, Knight, in behalf of the Governors of Kings College in the City of New York in America humbly praying "That his Majesty will be pleased to grant twenty thousand acres of land in the Province of New York, free of the conditions of cultivation and Quit Rent, to the Governors of the College of the Province of New York in the City of New York in America, for the use and behoof of the said College, and that the said Governors may have leave to locate the quantity of land allowed the said college out of any of the Crown lands in the said Province, before any person or persons who have obtained orders for Lands in the said Province are permitted to locate the same."

Whereupon we beg leave to report to your Lordships, that as this new established Seminary for the encouragement of Religion and usefull learning appears to us to be a laudable Institution and as such has already been favour'd with his Majesty's countenance and protection; we see no reason why your Lordships may not advise His Majesty to endow it with such a landed property as the Petitioner requests, which will give it a greater respect and stability, and will under proper restrictions and prudent management be no inconsiderable addition to its present slender

and precarious support; and therefore we beg leave to recommend that his Majesty's orders may be given to the Governor of New York to cause twenty thousand acres of land to be surveyed and laid out for this purpose in one contiguous tract, in such part of the Province as the acting and resident Governors of the College shall choose, and upon a return of such survey to pass a Patent for the same to the Governors of the said College as named in the Charter & their successors for ever, for the use and benefit of the said College, with a power to the said Governors to grant leases of the premises for three lives or any term not exceeding ninety nine years; reserving a rent to the College of at least one third of the improved value.

As to the request of the Petitioner that these lands may be granted free of Quit Rent, if His Majesty shall be pleased as a mark of his royal Grace and Favour to approve of such remission of the usual Quit Rent, we humbly recommend that an annual rent of 6|8, should be reserved to be paid by the President and Fellows of the College to the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Province sitting in Council in the Council Chamber on every Monday after Easter in each year; but we do not think it either expedient, or for the interest or advantage of the College, that this grant should be made free from the conditions of cultivation prescribed in His Majesty's instructions, or that it is either just or equitable to allow that priority of location of the lands desired by the Petitioner

We are &c

Whitehall  
July 23. 1764

HILLSBOROUGH  
GEO: RICE  
J. DYSON.

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*Earl of Halifax to the Governors in North America.*

[Plantations General No. 250.]

To His Majesty's Governors in North America and the West India Islands.

Sir,

The house of Commons having, in the last Session of Parliament, come to a resolution, by which it is declared that, towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting and securing the British Colonies & Plantations in America, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said Colonies and Plantations; it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you should transmit to me, without delay, a list of all instruments made use of in public transactions, law proceedings, Grants, conveyances, securities of Land or money within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, with proper and sufficient descriptions of the same, in order, that if Parliament should think proper to pursue the intention of the aforesaid resolution, they may thereby be enabled to carry it into execution, in the most effectual and least burthensome manner.

If you should be unable of yourself to prepare a list of this kind with sufficient accuracy you will in such case require the assistance of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Attorney general, or the principal Law Officer of the Crown within your Govern<sup>t</sup>, who are the proper persons to be consulted, towards procuring the said information in the manner required.

I am etc.

S<sup>t</sup> James's 11. August 1764.

DUNK HALIFAX.

*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General, ( S. P. O.) No. 250. ]

Johnson Hall. 30. August. 1764.

My Lord,

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Coll: Eyre of the 44<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Chief Engineer in America will have the honor of delivering this to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, in case he gets to London as expected, otherwise, I have directed it to go by the Pacquet. I have also wrote a-letter of the same date to the Lords of Trade, giving a brief account of my transactions at Niagra, from whence I am lately returned, and transmitted copies of my Treaties with the Hurons & Senecas ettc which will doubtless come under your Lordship's inspection.

Your Lord<sup>p</sup> will observe by the Treaty of Peace with the Senecas, that they have given up to His Majesty all the lands from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, of the breadth of four miles on each side of the Strait; the carrying place of Niagra is comprehended therein, and there are at present several little posts erected for its better security, they dont chuse it should become private property, as their hunting grounds are adjacent to it, but it may turn to very great use to all the posts on that communication, which is the most important of any I am acquainted with, at the time of making this Cession, as your Lordship will see in the Treaty. The Senecas gave me all the Islands laying in the straits, between the two Lakes Ontario and Erie, one of which I know to be very fine Land, and computed at about 15 thousand acres, there are several others, which with the former, have a good deal of clear land, and vast large meadows of grass on them, and will prove absolutely necessary for the Oxen, Horses ettc. to be employed in His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s service, as well as the Cattle of the Garrisons, there being no land fit for Meadow or grain near the Fort. I could not agreable to the Custom of Indians refuse their offer, without giving great offence, and the great addition themselves had made to what their Deputies had agreed to, last April, together with their other proposals induced me to accept of them, that I might have it in my power, to make an humble offer of them to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> for such uses as he may think proper, I must beg leave to entreat your Lord<sup>p</sup> to present my most profound duty to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> on this occasion and to assure him, that I should not presume to make this offer, but that I know these Islands will prove of importance within a little time, & may be extremely useful at present.

The Indians who did not attend at Niagra were I believe doubtful of our sincerity, but they now seem desirous to make terms of concession, to which the good behaviour of the Friend Indians must greatly contribute, it is a hard case that the situation and strength of the Indians Westward and Southward should give so much trouble and create so much expence, but I see plainly, that if we desire to keep our out posts, Convoys and Traders in safety, we must show favours to these Indians, little as they appear to deserve them, for, otherwise all these are in their power, as well as the Frontier Inhabitants, interest will soonest bind them to the observance of peace, and there remains but one alternative for us, that is, to withdraw our Out posts, confine our Trade and Inhabitants within narrower limits, and keep a large Force upon the frontiers.



I submit these thoughts to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, because I can affirm them to be real facts, and such as you can rely upon, with the utmost certainty.

I beg, your Lord<sup>p</sup> will pardon the trouble I have given you, and that you will believe,

I am with very profound respect

My Lord,

You Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obliged, most obedient  
and most humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, S., No. 27. ]

Johnson Hall. Aug: 30<sup>th</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

In my last of the 11<sup>th</sup> of May, I had the honour of acquainting your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s with the success of my Indian Partys, and my transactions from January to that period, as also, of my then intended journey to Niagara, to receive the submission of, and enter into an alliance with the Western Nations, who had requested peace. Accordingly I set out last June, and arrived at Niagara the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, where I found some of the Western Nations already assembled, at the same time Coll: Bradstreet arrived with the army under his Command, to accompany which, I had brought upwards of six hundred of the Friend Indians. By the 25<sup>th</sup>, I had Deputys from almost every Nation to the Westward viz<sup>t</sup> Hurons, Ottawaes, Chippawaes, Meynomineys or Folles avoins, Foxes, Sakis, Puans ettc. with some from the North side, of Lake Superior and the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay, but it was not, till some days after that, the Senecas came in, a report having prevailed among them, that the English intended to cut them off. This delay of theirs, which at first we were at a loss to account for, rendered it impolitic for the Troops to move, and leave the carrying place exposed, until we had settled matters with them; the whole number of the Indians amounted to 2060, of which 1700 were fighting Men, a greater number, than ever assembled in one body, on the like, or any other occasion.

The treaties of peace with the Hurons of Detroit and the Enemy Senecas, I have the honour to enclose you herewith. As for the other Nations, they declared, that they only came to renew their engagements, not having approved of the War, or engaged in it, except some individuals who had left them for that purpose, and the Indians being likewise furnished with several certificates from Major Gladwin, and other officers, importing that they had behaved very well, and protected the Garrisons of la Baye and Michilimainac, I thought it best to promise them, that they should be admitted into the Covenant Chain of Friendship, on their agreeing to the reestablishment of Michilimacinac (which Coll: Bradstreet was ordered to effect) and promising to get all prisoners out of the Enemys hands, as also to procure some restitution for the Traders losses; all which, they engaged to perform. The Hurons delivered three prisoners, and the Senecas 14. with a Deserter.—The Delawares of Susquehana and its branches having abandoned their habitations after the success of my first Indian party, applied to the Senecas of Chenussio to use their Interest that the breach between them and the English

might be made up, and sent several Belts of Wampum with them to that effect, which I refused to accept<sup>of</sup>, till they had delivered a person called their King, together with their Chief Warrior, and all the prisoners in their possession; which, the Chenussios engaged to see performed, and delivered up two of their own Chiefs as Hostages, who are in confinement, till the same be complied with. Matters thus far settled on the 6<sup>th</sup> of this instant; Coll: Bradstreet and the Troops accompanied by the Friend Indians, proceeded for Lake Erie, and the same day I set out on my return home, where I arrived a few days ago.

The cession made by the Senecas is very considerable, and will, I hope, put a stop to all future disputes about the carrying place; in fact, they have been great losers by us concerning it, as they were the only carriers made use of by the French Traders, but since our possessing Niagara, carriages were made use of at a much higher rate, and even a monopoly attempted there, but for my remonstrances against it.—My sole motive, for accepting of the Islands, which they so earnestly pressed on me, was to have it in my power humbly to offer them to His Majesty; one of them contains near 15000 acres and has much Grass land, which will be very useful to the Cattle at the Garrisons.

Pondiac is with some of the most obstinate as yet in the Miamis Country near the West End of Lake Erie, but he has sent to desire peace, and I believe is only apprehensive for his security and that of those with him, otherwise he would have attended the Congress; The Pottawatamies staid back on the same account, the Shawanese and Delawares about the River are, I apprehend, greatly alarmed at the fidelity of the Indians in our interest; Coll Boquet is preparing to go against them and the enterprise must be attended with many difficulties; I have just sent a party of Indians to accompany him—this is the State of these Indians at present.

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup> will doubtless approve of my giving my sentiments on the stability of the peace, I shall do so, in as few words as possible, without enlarging on the particulars I have formerly mentioned.—The Indians who are removed to a distance from our settlements, are so jealous of us, and so alarmed on being denied some favours, which they were used to, that they will hardly think a peace binding, unless it is followed by some gifts which interests them, in the observance of it; they apprehend we design to enslave them, and they consider our advancing into their country, as so many steps to effect it. They are very solicitous for Trade, and it was judged necessary to promise it to them, when all our Enemies were brought to reason; I therefore told them that the sooner they effected it, the better it would be for themselves, in short, Trade they will have, or have recourse to plundering, and the people in the provinces appear as eager for it, as they do; thousands subsist by it, who must be ruined without it, and fail of making their remittances to Europe.

To render this peace lasting, I know no methods better, than those I have had the honour in my last letters to lay before your Lord<sup>pp</sup>; if we conquer their prejudices by our generosity, they will lay aside their jealousies, and we may rest in security. This is much cheaper, than any other plan, and more certain of success; our extensive frontiers renders it necessary, if we will provide for their security; for our out Posts, Convoys Traders and frontiers Inhabitants, are at all times in the power of the Enemy, and from some one of them, they can always draw recourses for anoying the rest. The operations of last Campaign, demonstrated their own power to the Indians, beyond any other they ever knew; they saw themselves able to effect what was looked upon by many of our prejudiced Politicians here, as utterly impossible, notwithstanding all my remonstrances founded on many years experience. The Indians all know, we cannot be a match for them in the midst of an extensive, woody Country,

where, tho' we may at a large expence convey an army, we can uot continue it there, but must leave our small Posts at the end of the Campaign, liable either to be blockaded, surprised, or taken by Treachery. View all our attempts made to posess the interior Country, and your Lord<sup>PPs</sup> will find, we have met with the same spirit of opposition from the Indians, from whence I infer, that if we are determined to posess our Out Posts, Trade etc. securely, it can not be done for a Century by any other means, than that of purchasing the favour of the numerous Indian Inhabitants. To limit the out posts, and confine the commerce to those which are most considerable, will certainly be less hazardous, and expensive, as well as answer every purpose we want; the retaining Posts two or three hundred miles distant from each other, did not make us Masters of a Foot of ground about them, and instead of awing the Indians, were themselves awed by them. I can affirm these sentiments to be just, and what must be experienced, if not so already, and that any other representation must proceed from error or prejudice, and must prove destructive to the American Frontiers.

I am in daily expectation of the honour of your Lord<sup>PPs</sup> sentiments, on what I have formerly transmitted—and I remain with the most profound Respect—My Lords, Your Lord<sup>PPs</sup> etc.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

P. S. Lieut: Coll: William Eyre of the 44<sup>th</sup> Regiment and Chief Engineer in America, will have the honour to deliver your Lord<sup>PPs</sup> this, provided he goes as soon as expected to London, otherwise it is to go by the Pacquet.

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*Articles of Peace between Sir William Johnson and the Huron Indians.*

[Plantations General Papers, 8., No. 23.]

(Copy)

Articles of Peace, friendship and Alliance, Concluded by Sir William Johnson, Bar<sup>t</sup>, His Majesty's Sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Northern district of North America, Colonel of the Six United Nations, &ca, on behalf of his Brittanic Majesty, with the Huron Indians of the Detroit.

ARTICLE 1.

Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> doth agree with the Hurons that a firm and absolute peace shall take place, from the date of these presents, between the English and them, and that they be admitted into the chain of friendship and alliance with his Brittanic Majesty, to which end the Hurons are immediately to stop any attempts towards hostilities which might be meditated by any of their people, and they engage never to attempt disturbing the public tranquility hereafter, or to conceal such attempt of any others, but will use their utmost endeavours to preserve inviolable the peace they hereby enter into, and so hand it down to posterity.

ARTICLE 2<sup>d</sup>

That any English who may be Prisoners, or deserters, and any Negroes, Panis, or other Slaves amongst the Hurons, who are British property, shall be delivered up, within one month, to the Commandant of the Detroit, and that the Hurons use all possible endeavors to get those who are in the hands of the neighbouring Nations; engaging never to entertain any deserters,



fugitives, or slaves; but should any such fly to them for protection, they are to deliver them up to the next commanding officer.

ARTICLE 3<sup>d</sup>

That they will not from henceforth maintain any friendship with any of His Majesty's enemies, or maintain any intercourse with those who may promote war and troubles, but will oppose their designs, and treat them as common enemies, and that they will never listen to any idle stories of any white men or Indians who may spread false reports; but if any matter or grievance arises, they are, either through the channel of the Commandant of Detroit, or by personal application to Sir William Johnson, to represent their complaints.

ARTICLE 4<sup>th</sup>

That they acknowledge His Britannic Majesty's right to all the lands above their Village, on both sides the strait, to *Lake S' Clair*, in as full and ample manner as the same was ever claimed or enjoyed by the French.

ARTICLE 5<sup>th</sup>

That they do, to the Utmost, secure the strait or passage from Lake Erie to the Detroit, and do use their utmost endeavours to protect the navigation thereof, either with ships or boats, against any attempts of an enemy, as well as defend all persons who may have occasion to go to, or return from Detroit by Land or Water. And lastly that they do now, or at any other time, at the requisition of the Commandant of Detroit, or any other, His Majesty's Officers, furnish such a number of their Warriours as may appear necessary for the protection thereof, or the annoyance of the Enemy.

In Consequence of the perfect agreement of the Hurons to the foregoing Articles, Sir William Johnson doth, by virtue of the powers and authorities to him given by His Majesty, promise and declare that all hostilities on the part of His Majesty against the Hurons shall cease, that past offences shall be forgiven, and that the said Indians shall enjoy all their original rights and priviledges, as also be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade, agreeable to such regulations as His Majesty shall direct.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Niagara, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1764.

(Sd) W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON [L. S.]

The chiefs of the Hurons have, in testimony of their Accordance to the foregoing articles, Subscribed the marks of their respective tribes, the whole being first duly Explained to them.

ODINGQUANOORON al<sup>e</sup>

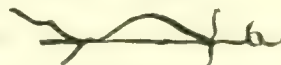
BABIE



CHOHAGAYTON



ARINGTATEHADE



TRYAGHTAH



*Articles of Peace between Sir William Johnson and the Genesee Indians.*

[Plantations General Papers, 8., No. 29.]

(Copy)

Treaty of Peace and alliance, between His Britanic Majesty, and the Chenussio Ind<sup>ns</sup> and other Enemy Senecas, concluded by Sir William Johnson Baronet, with the Chiefs of that Nation.

Sir William Johnson Baronet on behalf of His Britanic Majesty, and the Chiefs of all Chenussio on behalf of their People and the rest of the Enemy Senecas do agree to the following articles of peace :

ARTICLE 1<sup>st</sup>

The Chenussios solemnly engage that a lasting peace shall be maintained on their sides with the English, and that they will never suffer their people to commit hostilities on any of His Majesty's subjects or their property.

ARTICLE 2<sup>nd</sup>

The Covenant, or old agreement, between the English and them, and the preliminaries signed by their Deputies last April at Johnson Hall, shall be the basis of this Treaty; and therefore the Chenussios confirm all the said preliminaries, except, that regarding the delivering up the two Kanestio Murderers, one of them being dead, the other is pardoned on their acceding to the additional Articles.

ARTICLE 3<sup>rd</sup>

That, as the Delawares of Susquehana, who came for protection to Chenussio last spring, after their Castles were destroyed by Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Indian parties, are now suing for peace, thro' the Chenussios mediation; the Chenussios engage to deliver up at Oswego within three weeks, *Atawectsera* the Delaware King, and *Onnuseraqueta* their chief Warrior, with every prisoner, Deserter, Frenchman and Negro amongst them; then, and not before, the Delawares shall be treated with, without regard to those Delawares taken by the Friend Indians, who are at the Generals disposal, & without regard to those given to or adopted by the Friend Indians.

ARTICLE 4<sup>th</sup>

That the Chenussios deliver up at the same time Sherlock the Deserter, and the prisoners yet amongst them, so as they may accompany those fourteen already delivered up to Sir William Johnson; for the performance of all which, the Chenussios now deliver up *Souwarraghijonana* and *Arighwadaga*, two of their Chiefs as hostages.

ARTICLE 5<sup>th</sup>.

In addition to the grant made by the Chenussio Deputys to His Majesty at Johnson Hall, in April, of the Lands from Fort Niagara, to the upper end of the carrying place, beyond *Fort Schlosser* and four miles in breadth on each side of the River, the Chenussios now, surrender up all the lands from the upper end of the former Grant (and of the same breadth) to the Rapids of Lake Erie, to His Majesty, for His sole use, and that of the Garrisons, but not as private property, it being near some of their hunting grounds; so that all that Tract, of

the breadth before mentioned, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, shall become vested in the Crown, in manner as before mentioned, excepting the Islands between the great Falls and the Rapids, which the Chenussios bestow upon Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson as a proof of their regard and of their knowledge of the trouble he has had with them from time to time. All which the Chenussios hope will be acceptable to His Majesty, and that they may have some token of His favour.

In consequence of the foregoing, Sir William Johnson doth on the part of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>, Ratify and confirm all the articles subscribed to, last April, not excepted to herein, and promises that the same shall be strictly observed, as well with regard to the punishment of Offenders, as concerning the enjoyment of all their Rights, priviledges and possessions.

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms and subscribed by the Chiefs of the Senecas at Niagara the sixth day of August 1764.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON [L. S.]

W<sup>m</sup> Browning L<sup>t</sup> Coll: commanding at Niagara.

Ber<sup>d</sup>: Ratzer Lieut.

G Johnson Dep<sup>t</sup> Agent. for Indian Affairs.

SERREHOANA



TONISIGHQUAGUA



ONWENNANOAG



TAGANADY



GOGHQUA



TAGANUNTIE



KAGHNAWAIS



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., 29. ]

New York 20 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

I have the honor to transmit to your Lord<sup>pp</sup> printed copies of my speech to the Council and Assembly, the Council's address, and manuscript copies of the Assembly's address, and of



my answer. The address of the Assembly appeared so undutiful and indecent, that I think it incumbent on me to give your Lord<sup>ships</sup> a particular account of my conduct thereon.

As soon as I discovered the tenour of the Assembly's address, I endeavoured by every method in my power, to dissuade them from inserting suggestions, which I think highly disrespectful to the Legislature of Great Britain, for which there can be no foundation, and are inconsistent with that deference, to the Wisdom and Justice of the British Parliament, which they profess. Tho' I prevailed so far as to have the address reconsidered after it had been formed, I could obtain no material alterations. I then communicated a copy of the Address to the Gentlemen of the Council resolving to take their advice, as to what might be proper for me to do, before I received the Address; but they only being four at that time in Town, declined to give any advice till they had a fuller Board. Accordingly I told the Assembly, after they had presented their address to me, that I designed to have taken the advice of the Council before I gave them an answer; but as the Gentlemen present declined to give advice, till there was a fuller Board, I must delay my answer.

This was on Friday—next Monday before noon all the Gentlemen of the Council in the province, except Sir William Johnson who lives at a great distance, attended. Then it was unanimously agreed, that the dissolving the Assembly could serve no good purpose; seeing, I could not prevent the publishing the Address, for it was then actually printed in a public Newspaper; a dissolution would tend further to inflame the minds of the People—that they who deserved the public resentment, would not feel it by a dissolution; and as the Officers of Govern<sup>t</sup> are at this time without any support, they must suffer, who are not in blame; and therefore, since a proper resentment cannot at this time be shewn, they advised me to give as soft an answer as the case would admit. According, with their unanimous approbation, I gave the answer, of which the inclosed is a copy.

It is my duty to inform Your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, from whence this violent spirit arises; so far as I can judge from circumstances, and the characters of the Men who at this time lead in the Assembly. And I shall now do it, tho' with the risque of the effects, which the invenomed malice of avarice and Ambition may produce.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> have been informed of several extravagant Grants of Lands in this province; three of them contain, as the proprietors claim, above a milion of acres each, several others above 200000. All these were made without any previous Survey, as usual in other cases, and without mentioning any quantity of land intended to be granted. Tho' these grants contain a great part of the province, they are made on trifling acknowledgements. The far greater part of them still remain uncultivated, without any benefit to the community, and are likewise a discouragement to the settling & improving the lands in the neighbourhood of them, for from the uncertainty of their boundaries, the Patentees of these great Tracts are daily enlarging their pretensions, and by tedious & most expensive Law-suits, distress and ruin poor families who have taken out grants near them; of all which, I propose to send to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> particular proofs before winter.

Three of these great Tracts, have in their Grants, privilege each of sending a Representative in General Assembly, so that the Proprietors are become hereditary Members of that House. The owners of the other great Patents being Men of the greatest opulence in the several Counties, where these Tracts are, have sufficient influence to be perpetually elected for those Counties.

The General Assembly then of this Province, consists of the owners of these extravagant Grants, the Merchants of New York, the principal of them strongly connected with the owners of these great Tracts by Family Interest, and of common Farmers; which last are Men easily deluded, and led away with popular arguments of Liberty and Priviledges.

The proprietors of the great tracts, are not only freed from the quit rents which the other land holders in the province pay, but by their influence in the Assembly, are freed from every other public Tax on their Lands. While every owner of improved lands has every Horse, Cow, Ox, Hog ettc and every Acre of his land rated; Millions of Acres the property of private persons, contribute nothing to the public necessary expence.

The proprietors of these large Tracts having been lately informed, by their correspondents in England, that there is a design to Tax all the Lands equally, for defraying the public charge, they have taken the alarm, and by every artifice inflame the people's minds, with hopes thereby to deterr a British Parliament.

But if the owners of the Cultivated lands, who exceed the others in numbers, beyond any proportion, shall find that by an equal Taxation of all the Lands, they are to be freed from unreasonable Taxes on their Industry, your Lord<sup>PP</sup> may judge what effect the knowledge of this is likely to have on the minds of the People in general, when they consider things as they really are. At the same time I may assure your Lord<sup>PP</sup> that the People of this Prov<sup>ce</sup> before the present sessions, were far from entertaining the sentiments contained in the Assembly's address.

My sentiments on the subject of this letter are communicated with entire submission to your Lord<sup>PP</sup> Judgment by

My Lords

Your most obedient & faithful serv<sup>t</sup>

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*General Gage to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General Papers, S., No. 24. ]

New York. 21. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1764.

It's time to acquaint your Lord<sup>sh</sup> with what passed at the Congress, lately held at Niagara. Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson arrived at that Fort the beginning of July according to appointment, in order to treat with all the Indians, who should, agreeable to the notice given them, send Deputies to meet him there, to conclude peace. He was met by near two thousand Indians of different Tribes and Nations from the most distant parts; the majority of whom had not committed any hostilities, at least publicly, against us. These therefore only renewed their alliance, and made protestation of their pacific dispositions, agreeing to the reestablishm<sup>t</sup> of the Port of Michillimakinak, and promising to protect it as far as they are able, likewise, to get all the prisoners out of the Enemy's hands, and to procure some restitution for the Trader's losses. The Chenussios, who were to have been at the Congress to ratify the peace which they made with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson in the Spring, did not chuse to attend. Several Messages passed, when at length being threatened with a visit from the Troops, they made their appearance and delivered up a number of prisoners. They have made a kind of second Treaty, in which they introduce a Tribe of Delawares, who were



drove from the heads of the Susquehanna in the spring, and had put themselves under their protection. I transmit your Lord<sup>p</sup> a copy of this Treaty, as well as the copy of another Treaty concluded with the Hurons of Detroit. No Deputies came from the Ottawas under Pondiac; the Hurons of Sandusky or the Shawanese and Delawares, or some other Tribes who had been in arms. The Shawanese and Delawares, instead of Peace-makers, sent an insolent letter, which they had forced one of their prisoners to write for them. The very great number of Indians upon the carrying place of Niagara, made it unsafe for Coll: Bradstreet, to go forward with the Troops, till after their departure, and being detained there, he had the opportunity of hearing from Major Gladwin from Detroit, that the Hurons of Sanduski, as well as the Ottawas on the Miamic under Pondiac, had brought in their prisoners, and asked for peace; and that the Ponteatamies had done the same. On this acc<sup>t</sup> Coll: Bradstreet changed his design of attacking them. They have played this game before. They not sending their people to Niagara to make their peace, tho' notice had been given them, that Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson would hold a Congress there, and tho' they saw so many other Nations repair thither for that end, gives too much reason to suspect, that these overtures are not more sincere than their former ones; but Coll: Bradstreet will undoubtedly bring them to conclude a regular peace with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, according to their forms and customs, or will march against them.

Coll: Bradstreet embarked on Lake Erie about the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, having first secured the carrying place of Niagara as well as possible, and erected a post at the entrance of Lake Erie for the Security of the Vessels, and the conveniency of laying them up in winter, in a safe and commodious manner; he was accompanied by 250 Indians, of which near 100 belong to Canada. Letters have been received from him on the 14<sup>th</sup> Aug: from Presqu' Isle, where he met ten Indians, who pretended to have been sent thither by the Shawanese, Delawares ettc. of the Plains of Scioto, to sue for peace, and betrayed the Coll: into negociation, who was at too great a distance to be acquainted with the falsehood of their assertions, by assuring him, that they had recalled their Parties from our Frontiers, in order to make their peace. Their views were certainly only to ward off the blow, which threatened them on the approach of our Troops; for whilst they amused us with offers of peace on Lake Erie, they were committing murders on our borders. Our last accounts from Virginia and Pennsylvania contain horrid relations of murders to the 5<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>, particularly a bloody Massacre of a number of Children, with their Master, in a School House. The whole conduct of the Shawanese & Delawares shew, that their dispositions, are not pacific. We have after long struggles assembled and put in motion, two bodies of Troops, at a great expence to the Crown and the Provinces; they are now ready for Action, and the Season advanced; we have no time to be in doubts and uncertainties. Our Troops will therefore pursue steadily, their first orders, and oblige those Nations to give immediate satisfaction, for their treacherous & bloody murders, and send Deputies to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson to sue for peace, or will use their best endeavours to extirpate them. I trust that my letters will have reached Coll: Bradstreet time enough to undeceive him in the designs of these People. Coll: Bouquet, whom I conclude at Fort Pitt with all his force, is in a situation to be perfectly acquainted with their Treachery.—

I am with great regard and Esteem

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble Servant

(s<sup>d</sup>) THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, S., 89. (22.) ]

Johnson Hall. October 8<sup>th</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

A few days ago, I had the honour to receive Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of July last with the plan for the future management of Indian Affairs, which I consider as judicious, as the subject is important and necessary to the American Colonies.

I have carefully examined and canvassed every article of it, and in obedience to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> I herewith enclose you my sentiments, Article by Article thereon, to which I have annexed as exact an account as the time could possibly admit of, the annual quantity of goods necessary for the Trade of the Indians in my Department, with the duties I imagine such Trade will bear, the manner which occurs to me as best calculated and least burthensome for collecting the same, and an estimate of the annual expence of the several establishments, Presents, and contingencies of the Northern Depart<sup>ment</sup> of Indian Affairs.

I could heartily have wished it in my power to have clearly and particularly described the annual quantity of goods sold to the Indians, & peltry received from them; the first, for the reasons assigned in my remarks, cannot at present be ascertained, and the latter I apprehend, can not be justly known but by Inspecting the Custom House Books, for, as before the reduction of Canada we enjoyed but a moderate share of the Fur Trade, it is to be considered, that we were only beginning to establish ourselves in the sole possession of it, and the Ind<sup>ians</sup> but beginning to settle and apply themselves to hunting at the breaking out of hostilities, which unfortunately for this Country, put a period to commercial expectations, which, a more intimate acquaintance with the more distant nations, gave reason to hope for, and which, nothing else could have prevented; on due consideration of all which, your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will I presume, excuse my only being enabled to transmit an account of the value of goods, (as purchased at the cheapest rate here) necessary for an extensive Trade, with the number of Indians, which I am confident require them, and reside within my Department.—In this estimate, I have made the number of Hunters but ten thousand, which is much less than the number of Men in these several Nations, exclusive of the Sioux, with whom an advantageous Trade may soon be opened, and I have added the necessary goods for a like number of women, together with a suppositious sum for the children, without making an allowance for the consumption of the Old people etc, least I should advance Articles at too great an uncertainty, notwithstanding there are annually goods purchased by them, or for their use, and I have placed the quantity for each Man and Woman on an average, because the same Hunters will much exceed, so others will fall short of purchasing the quantity I have mentioned.

The reasons assigned in my remarks for the sale of Rum, appeared so convincing to me, that I could not avoid recommending it, and at the same time, with the utmost deference to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> sentiments, I have presumed to compute the quantity on an average; the like has been done with regard to silver trinkets, paint etc, because these are articles, which greatly depend on the disposition of each Indian; some purchasing more, others less, according to fancy. Paint, that is vermillion, is much esteemed, and has a great consumption amongst both sexes; silver being a durable article, tho' often lost and broken by them, I have allowed accordingly; the Amunition is calculated at a moderate rate for a Hunter, and Arms, are not

quite a third of the number of Men in the estimate; at which rate the consumption will nearest amount to, the rest of the Articles, being always annually required, are determined with more exactness. My reason for valuing the goods at the prices contained in the estimate, is, that the much greater part of the Traders purchase goods in the capitals of the Colonys, at the usual rates, of which they are calculated, the difference between the small remainder imported for the account of the Traders themselves, will be easily made up by the sums, which many others pay who purchase at a third hand. The occasion of my computing but 10000 Hunters is, that many Tribes within the Departm<sup>t</sup> particularly those amongst the settlements and in their neighbourhood, have greatly disused that practice, partly thro' their imitating the manners of the Inhabitants, but chiefly by reason, that Game begins to grow very scarce, and gradually abandons the Country as the plantations encrease, & settlements are made in the Woods, a circumstance, which can not happen in many Ages amongst the more remote Indians. Another reason for my fixing on that Number, is, that many of the Inhabitants of the Frontier Counties in these Colonies keep goods and liquor, which they sell to the Ind<sup>ns</sup> particularly such, as live at no great distance; I can at present recollect near 30 such houses at, and in the neighbourhood of the Mohawks River, within this County; and so soon as the Trade is again fully opened, they will encrease in all parts. These people sell at their own extravagant rates, blinding the Indians with one Article at a small price, whilst they take, what they please on another, and as they are subject to no inspection, neither is there any Law can be expected here to suppress them; I have in the annexed estimate, made a rough calculation of the duty on an average, which they might pay, supposing 200 such houses, throughout the Northern District, which I look upon as short of their Number. If that scheme should not be judged adviseable, and that your Lord<sup>ps</sup> will judge it best to suppress them by a Law, the consumption at some of the Posts will encrease, so that that duty will become payable by the Traders.

In my observations on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Article of the Plan, I have given my sentiments with regard to the boundary of the Districts. I shall only observe that I conceive, the Ohio from the Mississippi upwards, thence up the Catewaba River and our Easterly line, (which would be very short) to the great mountains, would I think make a good boundary, as none of the Northern Indians are at present beyond it.

I have stated my sentiments fully with regard to the posts, which should certainly be as few as possible. I am not acquainted with the number of Indians about Nova Scotia, or to what they most addict themselves, but by report, with regard to those of New England Govern<sup>ts</sup>, tho' there are many scattered Tribes, yet those of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire apply themselves chiefly to agriculture & fishing. In the Province of Main and Eastward towards Nova Scotia, are many Hunters, who can be conveniently supplied at Fort Halifax. Chicontami, will answer well also for all the Indians North of Quebeck, and those wanderers called by the Six Nations Karhagaghrooneys. i. e. people of the woods, Montreal or Sault St Louis near it will always have the Trade of the Neighbouring Nations, but as it is necessary to have one Trading place for those in that quarter, I take the liberty to point out Carillon now a post on the Ottawa River, about 30 miles above the Lac de deux Montaignes, as it will answer well, and I have presumed to make an establishment for it. I take Fort Cumberland mentioned in your Lord<sup>ps</sup> letter, at Bay Verte to be, Fort Edward Augustus (as it is here called) sometimes called Bay de Puans; it is a very good post for Trade with the Sakis, Foxes and their neighbours. Miamis I have taken the liberty to omit, because



it will create a saving, and that I apprehend the Twighties can be conveniently supplied at the Detroit, & those more south at Fort Pitt.

The Salaries of the Commissioners are calculated at the lowest rates, for which any Man of character and integrity properly qualified can be procured; I judged it necessary to proportion their Salaries to the importance of the Posts, they are to reside at, and the greatness of the Trade, I have likewise made the most reasonable establishments for the Interpreters and Smiths.

An augmentation to the Salaries of my three deputies Agents, by settling them at £300 sterl: each, appears to me very necessary to be recommended, and will doubtless be considered in that light by your Lord<sup>ships</sup> on consideration of the various expences, which they must incur from their offices, the necessary appearance, which in good policy they should make, and the disagreeable duties of their employment, the attendance upon Indians, and journeys amongst them, occupying the greatest part of their time, and denying them the recesses, which those in all other Stations enjoy. This is so much my case, that I am induced to remind your Lord<sup>ships</sup> of it, the rather as I have never taken the liberty to trouble your Lord<sup>ships</sup> or the Ministry, concerning my own Salary or situation, which naturally led me into a considerable tho' necessary train of expences to be paid out of my private fortune, whilst it denied me the liberty of acquiring property in common with the rest of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> subjects in America, & subjected me to several commands, without the customary or any other allowances.

I laid before Mr Pownall, sometime ago, a particular claim I have by virtue of an Indian deed of gift to Lands on the Mohawk River, which lands were so far from being solicited for by me, that I had never any thoughts of it, until I was addressed in public meeting by all the Indians of Conajohare, and told me, that as this land lay nearly adjoining to my own purchases, they begged my acceptance of it, to use their own words: "Whilst it is in our power to give you this proof of our friendship, which we fear, will not be long, as our White Brethren are getting all our Lands from us," they accordingly requested me to have a Deed drawn, which was signed by every Indian in the Village, but His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Proclam<sup>tion</sup> two years ago, putting a stop to my doing anything further therein, I most humbly request, that your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will take it into consideration, and provided you entertain that opinion of my endeavours, which I am always studious to deserve, that you will give some orders, that I may not lose the same, as I do assure your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, I have never yet possessed an Acre in America, but what I purchased from the White inhabitants, on which, I have settled during the War above 100 families, whilst others let their large Tracts lay waste. The Bounds of this Tract is described in my letter of April 1763. to Mr Pownall, and a rough calculation made of the quantity of acres therein contained.

The salaries I have proposed for Interpreters & smiths, have been not only regulated according to the distance as before mentioned, but also with an eye to the persons, who must be employed; for, an English Interpreter, who must find himself in all articles, at a high price at Fort Pitt, cannot be procured at a less rate, than a Frenchman resident at Illinois, La Baye etc, who is not liable (as an Inhabitant there) to any additional expence, notwithstanding expect at the rate of a Dollar a day.—As the Interpreters and Smiths for the Forts Halifax and Frederick, must probably come from New England, where those kind of persons are accustomed to lower prices, I have placed their salaries accordingly; but as the Commissaries in every quarter, must be English, I have in their salaries entirely considered the distance & dearness of their Stations, with the importance of the Trade thereat.



I have given my sentiments on the 19<sup>th</sup> article of Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s Plan, which I could wish the Northern Indians better disposed to come into something like what is recommended; I shall endeavour without giving them a jealousy, by reposing particular confidence in one Man, which they would be too apt to think was the case, if a choice was made of any individual amongst them.

I have stated the penalties and forfeitures of the Traders, as well as I could, proportioning their Recognizances to the quantity of goods they have to dispose of; and as to the manner of levying the duties, no other, than the mode proposed in my estimate occurs to me, unless that, of their paying it, at taking out the Lycence; either of these in my opinion, will answer better than that of a duty on exports or Imports, tho this I must entirely submit to Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, who may probably before this reaches England, be more exactly informed of the true quantity of goods, which probably exceeds my estimate.

I hope, what I now transmit, may appear in some degree satisfactory to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, as well, as that the proposed duties may be found reasonable, and such as the Indian Trade will bear; for I am well satisfied, that until the plan, which Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s have so judiciously prepared, can be put in execution, the Indians cannot have justice done them in Trade etc nor the Colonies enjoy a solid tranquility.

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s will doubtless honour me with His Majesty's Commands, whenever matters are settled, as it may enable me to make, the necessary provision for Officers, Presents etc without loss of time.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect—

My Lords,

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s most obedient and most devoted  
humble servant.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

P S. I have just received letters from the Army under Coll: Bradstreet. He is now at Sandusky to favour Coll: Bouquet's approach to the Shawanese and Delawares. The Piankashaws & their neighbours refused a passage thro' their Country to Capt<sup>a</sup> Morriss of the 17<sup>th</sup>, who with a small party of Indians, was sent with some orders to the Illinois by Coll: Bradstreet. The occasion of the Piankashaws refusal I attribute to the instigations of some Frenchmen, there, who, I am confidently assured by the Indians, are very busy amongst them, and make them large promises of presents etc; if the rest of the Nations adhere to their engagem<sup>ts</sup> agreeable to my expectations, the Shawanese and Delawares may be greatly distressed, and matters so settled during the Winter, that your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s Plan if soon settled, may take place time enough to prevent any troubles next year.

I beg leave to observe, that my answer might come much sooner to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s hands, but for my distant residence, 200 miles from New York, which creates, not only a delay in receiving your Commands, but also prevents me from being able to take the advantage of the first vessel that sails, in order to transmit my answers.

W. J.—

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, 8., 89, (22.) ]

Sentiments, Remarks, and additions humbly offered to the Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations, on their plan for the future management of Indian Affairs.

The first article, regarding the freedom of Trade, does not appear to require any addition.

Art: 2<sup>nd</sup>. The Six Nations, and their Confederates have not only claim to many parts South of Ohio, but many of their people are actually settled to the Southward of it, however, their claim not extending South of that part below the falls, the Ohio might make a good Boundary from the Mississippi upwards, to the Catawba River, and up the said River to its head, near the great Ridge, or Blue Mountains, at the back of Virginia. This Boundary is only recommended, on a supposition, that it will be more certainly determinable thereby, as none of the Six Nations, or their Dependents, live south of it.

Art: 3. The Trade throughout the Northern district cannot be carried on, with so much appearance of success, by any other way, than of that of the principal outposts, and in case the Trading Frontier Inhabitants, do not pay a duty, as is proposed in the scheme for duties, I humbly conceive, they should be suppressed. The Indians dont much regard the distance, and if they are allowed a Trade in their Villages, they are so situated, that the Traders will require very high prices on their goods, a circumstance infinitely more disagreeable to the Indians, than that of a long journey, which being performed by them with great facility, they cannot be brought to conceive the expences, Traders are at, for Pack horses, provisions Battoes, Servants and waste. Neither can the property of Traders be so secure, as at good posts; for which reason it is conceived, that the principal Posts only be appointed for that purpose; first, as they are the most secure; secondly, as they are generally commanded by officers of Rank and experience, which is a very important consideration; and thirdly, as it will make a saving of Officers in the Department; at the same time, that the Traders can, from their situation afford to sell at more reasonable rates. Oswego, Niagara and Fort Pitt are the principal Garrisons, the two former will conveniently supply the six Nations and Missassugas, about Lake Ontario, the latter will be sufficient for the Shawanese, Delawares, and all their neighbours. The other Posts are Stockadoed, but great places of Trade, such as Detroit, for the Hurons, Powtewatamies, Ottawas, Miamis &c. Michilimakinak, is very advantageously situated, for the Ottawas, & Chipeweighs in that neighbourhood, with their numerous Tribes at and about Lake Superior. La Baye Verte will have a great Trade, with the Sakis, puants, Foxes and Indians West of Lake Michigan. Fort Chartres, will not only have the Illinois Trade, but that of the Nations about the Wabache. Chicoutimi, seems well calculated for the Indians North of Quebec, but, no place being pointed out for the remains of the Seven Nations near Montreal, I have presumed to point out Carrillon, thirty miles up the Ottawa River, for that purpose; and as I am of opinion that the Miamis will be well answered at the Detroit I have taken the liberty to leave out that place in my estimate, as those at a great distance from that end of Lake Erie, will always go to the Illinois. And as for the Forts Frederik & Halifax, they have been old places of Trade, and well situated for that purpose. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that the foregoing will sufficiently answer the conveniency of all the Trading Nations.

Art: 4<sup>th</sup>, Nothing can be more necessary, than a repeal of the Colony Laws, on Indian Affairs, so as to put the Departments more immediately under the influence of the Crown; without which, a Superintendant could pursue one uniform system.

Art: 5<sup>th</sup>. The establishment of one Superintendant in each district appears clear from the foregoing.

Art: 6<sup>th</sup> Three Deputies, are absolutely necessary in the Northern District.

Art: 7<sup>th</sup>. A Commissary, Interpreter & Smith, are very necessary; the first should be well acquainted with the Genius and manners of the Nations he has transactions with, and the second well versed in the language, neither should the Smith be unacquainted with it.—

Article 8<sup>th</sup> The appointment of good Missionaries is highly requisite, they should be persons of an exemplary life, and should be disposed in such places, as shall most require their services.

Art: 9<sup>th</sup> The Commissaries etc, cannot effect the purposes of their appointment, unless under the immediate direction and order of the Superintendant in the manner directed by this Article.

Art: 10<sup>th</sup> That the Superintendant should have the Sole Management of Indian Affairs, is not only essential to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s interest, but absolutely necessary to the well discharging that Office, which would otherwise prove ineffectual from the different interests and systems of the several Colonies. It is humbly proposed, to render this article the more effectual, that *all private persons, societies or bodies Corporate, be prohibited from intermelling*, in like manner as *the Civil and Military*, it having often, and may again happen, that such persons may attempt it, from interested motives, on which occasion, they may create much confusion, either thro' ignorance, or from private prospects of advantage. I have seen so many instances of this nature, which have nearly involved us in a Rupture with some Nations, that I must beg leave to recommend this addition.

Art: 11<sup>th</sup> The Superintendants, should certainly on such occasions, as are mentioned in this article, conferr with the Governors, to which end they should be Councillors. It is only necessary to observe, that in the Northern Govern<sup>ts</sup> the Gov<sup>r</sup>'s residence, is so distant from the Indians, that it may at some time be impracticable for them to meet in person, from the immediate exigency of affairs.

Art: 12<sup>th</sup> It is highly necessary, that the Gov<sup>rs</sup> and Superintendants should communicate to each other any material occurrences relative to Indian Affairs, and it has been my constant practice so to do.

Art: 13<sup>th</sup> Whereby the Gov<sup>rs</sup> or Military Officers are restricted from stopping the Indian Trade without the consent of the Superintendant, is equally necessary.

Art: 14<sup>th</sup> The Superintendant or Deputies, should frequently visit the necessary posts etc, and the general meetings should be held at some convenient places, to be determined, according to the circumstances of affairs; they should be also accommodated with Boats, vessels, or Safeguards as occasion may require to prevent delays. The public presents should be annual; those to Individuals, according to circumstances

Art: 15<sup>th</sup> Members of the Council, and Justices of the peace in some of the Colonies, but it is expedient, that the Superintendant should have the additional powers mentioned in this Article. It appears likewise requisite, that he should be enabled by himself or Deputy, to take cognizance of matters falling immediately under his own inspection, as several things may fall under the eye of the Superintendant, to which the Commissary may be a Stranger, and it were to be wished, that some method could be fallen upon, to enable the Superintendant



assisted with the Gov<sup>r</sup> or some other person or persons of the Province concerned, to determine in a summary way, such disputes relative to claims or titles, as could not be speedily or satisfactorily determined at Common Law. Such differences, when they come to be litigated, frequently turning in favour of the White people, often thro' prejudice, but generally thro' the interested opposition of parties, which renders a course of Law equally tedious, uncertain and expensive, without any fund to support the same on the part of the Indians. After such a Trial as is humbly proposed, the party that thinks himself aggrieved may be at liberty to appeal to the King in Council, or otherwise.

Art: 16<sup>th</sup> The evidence of such Indians as are Christians, and shall produce a certificate of their Religious deportment and attendance on Divine Worship signed by a Missionary, might be taken in all causes to be tried by the Superintendant etc. Some of them I know, to have a just idea of the nature of an oath, but as these are, from their having been neglected, but few in number, I humbly conceive this Article should not extend to capital offences or Courts of Justice, unless in very particular cases, under great restrictions; and tho' they are all sensible of the nature of a falsehood, I apprehend the penalties in case of false evidence will not be well relished by them.

When I say this, I would be understood to mean the Six Nations and those in this Quarter and Westward, who consider themselves as a free people. As for these of New England etc, there are many of them under the Laws, and reconciled to them.

NOTE: The admitting of Indians evidence in all cases, is much wanted to detect many pieces of villany and fraud, but as the greatest part of such offences, particularly concerning Trade, must be on the information of the more distant of the Six Nations, and other Indians, who (as yet) know not the nature of an oath, their evidence seems to require the opinion of those learned in the Law.

Art: 17<sup>th</sup> It is certainly necessary that the Superintendant, should have power to bestow favours, and conferr honours on Indians, as shall appear requisite; Upon this, great part of his Intelligence, and influence in a great measure depends.

Art: 18<sup>th</sup> Regards the Southern Department.

Art: 19<sup>th</sup> The Northern Indians have, some three Tribes, such, as the Bear, Wolf and Turtle, some of the Nations have six or seven; to each of which are several Sachems, who tho' they may reside in one Village, are pretty equal, and interfere only with those of their own Tribe; and tho' sometimes one may preside over those of every Tribe in each Nation, yet, as this depends upon his merit, and the number of Warriors under his influence, which are seldom more, than his own relations. I have always thought proper, to indulge them in their choice, as they never fail to come for my approbation; and the extreeme jealousy which the Northern Indians entertain of one another, would render a particular choice of any one of them unserviceable, and make his Nation pay no regard to him. A Chief of every Tribe in a Nation to attend occasionally for the purposes in this article, would, I presume appear more satisfactory.

Art: 20. This Article, restricting the Military from interfering in Indian Affairs, & commanding them to assist the Civil Officers, appears highly necessary.

Art: 21<sup>st</sup> The Commissaries in the Department should by all means keep journals, and communicate their transactions to the Superintendant, whose business it is to transmit them to England.

Art: 22<sup>nd</sup> No objection can be made to the Superintendant, and Commissaries taking an Oath for the due execution of their Trust, and they should carry on no Trade, nor engage

themselves in purchases of Lands. For my own Part, I have not an acre, but what I formerly purchased from the White Inhabitants, neither have I ever made use of my Indian Grants, to prevent any malicious insinuations, altho unsolicited, I received many, which according to the Sentiments of the Indians, I could not refuse, without disgusting them. As these gifts have been attended with much expence, I have severely suffered by my neglecting to obtain patents for them.

Art: 23<sup>rd</sup> It is of the utmost consequence, that the Indian Trade be carried on, under the Direction and inspection of the Superintendant etc. as expressed in this Article.

Art: 24<sup>th</sup> It is highly necessary, that no person Trade, without a licence; and that such Licence shall be procured at the rate mentioned in this Article; but it is humbly submitted to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s consideration, whether the distance of the Governors in the Northern Department from the usual residence of the most of the Traders, will not make it difficult for some of the Traders to procure such Lycence.

Art: 25<sup>th</sup> The penalty of the Bond and sureties should, I humbly conceive, be proportioned to the value of the Goods intended for Trade, at the rate of one half their prime cost; as some Traders will carry ten times the Quantity of others.

Art: 26<sup>th</sup>. The terms, on which the Sureties are to be accepted, seem fully expressed.

Art: 27<sup>th</sup> The Lycensed Trader, should declare the Post, he intended to Trade at, and it is conceived he should not be permitted to Break Bulk, or sell to any Indians, before his arrival at it, to which end he should give on oath or otherwise an exact list of his goods, at the taking out the Lycence, when he should be furnished with a certificate thereof, which he should tender the Commissary, who would thence be enabled to see whether he had duly observed this Article.

Art: 28. No Licenses should be granted for more, than one year.

Art: 29. The Trader, or his servants only, who are mentioned in the Lycence, should be permitted to Trade, the whole of this Art: is fully expressed.

Art: 30. All Lycenses, should be entered in a Secretary's Office, or other Office of Record.

Art: 31<sup>st</sup> Persons Trading contrary to this Article, should forfeit their goods, pay a fine of ten p<sup>r</sup> cent their prime cost to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> and suffer six Months imprisonment.

Art: 32<sup>nd</sup> Traders should on their arrival at a post, produce their Lycense to the Commissarys, and provided the addition, proposed to the 27<sup>th</sup> Art: takes place, they should likewise produce the certificate mentioned in that addition.

Art: 33<sup>rd</sup> The Trade should be carried on by Tariffs, to be settled and established from time to time, according to the remoteness of each post, and the prices of European goods; in this manner I settled it hitherto with the approbation of the Commander in Chief in America, and to the general satisfaction of Traders and Indians.

Art: 34. The Commissaries should prescribe the limits for Traders, and an especial care taken that Trade, be carried on, in the most public manner.

Art: 35<sup>th</sup> The Traders should be at liberty to erect huts as expressed in this Article.

Art: 36<sup>th</sup> No Trader should traffick with the Indians, without the limits prescribed in this Art:

Art: 37<sup>th</sup> The principal Posts mentioned in Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s letter, and recommended in these remarks on Art 3<sup>rd</sup> are at present fortified and garrisoned. Michilemakinak is also establishing; The Fort at La Baye Verte is not possessed by a garrison, neither is Fort Chartres, or Chixoutimi; the Traders should certainly be allowed to retire into the garrison on any emergency.—



Art: 35<sup>th</sup> Rifled Barrelled Guns should certainly be prohibited; the Shawanese and Delawares, with many of their neighbours are become very fond of them, and use them with such dexterity, that they are capable of doing infinite damage, and as they are made in some of the frontier Towns, where the Indians will procure them at any price, I am of opinion, all white persons should be restricted on a very severe penalty from selling them to any Indians, or for their use. Swan shot is not much used by those, who use smooth bored arms, nor will it fitt Rifled guns. With regard to the sale of Rum, I must beg leave to offer my sentiments more fully. When the 'Trade in the Northern Departm<sup>t</sup>' was carried on, at all the small posts of remote situation, in the midst of numerous Tribes of Indians, it appeared of dangerous consequence, and as the Indians often attributed their irregularities to that Liquor, it was accordingly prohibited; but as the Trade is now to be carried on, at the principal Posts only, and under the Inspection of proper Officers, I am of opinion, that it will be found absolutely necessary, to permit the sale thereof, under certain restrictions, among others, that none be drank at the Trading Post, nor the Liquor given to the Indians till the moment of their Departure. The ill consequences of drunkenness might as often be attributed to the avariciousness of the Traders, as to any other cause, all which may be prevented by the proper Officers, without the least risque at the principal posts; and I am convinced on a close examination of particulars, that the Trade will never be so extensive without it, and that it is highly expedient for the following reasons. First, the extreme desire the Indians have for it, and the strong requests the several Nations made for the sale thereof, when lately at Niagara, which I was obliged to promise, should be complied with, and the same is approved by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. Secondly, that as the Indians value it above any thing else, they will not stick at giving such price for it, as will make good addition to the fund for the purposes of the Departm<sup>t</sup>. Thirdly, that without it, the Indians can purchase their cloathing with half the quantity of Skins, which will make them indolent, and lessen the Fur Trade. And lastly, that from what I find, the Indians will be universally discontented without it. If these reasons appear convincing to Your Lord<sup>sh</sup>ps, I am confident, it may be sold them under proper restrictions without any risque.

Art: 39. It hath been much practiced by the Trader to give the Indians large credit, by which they engaged their Custom the ensuing season, but I think the same, a very pernicious practice, liable to create disputes, to prevent which, this article is very fully couched.

Art: 40<sup>th</sup>. All disputes concerning weights and measures, should certainly be determined, by a standard in manner as expressed in this Article.

Art: 41<sup>st</sup> The restricting private persons, Societies, Corporations or Colonies from acquiring property in Indian lands, otherwise than is directed by this article, is very essential for the preventing disputes and abuses.

Art: 42<sup>nd</sup> The ascertaining and defining the precise and exact Boundaries of Indian Lands, is a very necessary, but a delicate point; I shall do every thing in my power towards effecting it when ordered; but I must beg leave to observe, that the Six Nations, Western Indians, etc, having never been conquered, either by the English or French, nor subject to the Laws, consider themselves as a free people. I am therefore induced to think it will require a good deal of caution to point out any boundary, that shall appear to circumscribe their limits too far. But, as there is a necessity for ascertaining them, I humbly propose that the same be done with strict regard, and with an addition to the line of sixty miles South of Lake Erie and Ontario. The addition necessary should be such, as would comprehend the Villages of



the Six Nations and others on and about the branches of the Susquehana, with the Nanticokes, Conoys ettc, and the Delawares and Shawanese who are settled on the Six Nations Lands; and that all the Lands without side that boundary, when settled, and within the provinces not already purchased, be paid for as the same shall be wanted, agreeable to what I proposed in a former letter. But upon the whole, I am confident, so soon as they find an agreeable alteration in Indian Affairs, and a free fair Trade, on the principles of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>'s plan, I shall then be better enabled to affix a boundary, or anything you will direct, with the perfect concurrence of the several Nations.

Art: 43<sup>rd</sup>. This Article regarding the manner of purchasing Lands for the use of the Crown, or proprietaries of Colonies, is very essential. I apprehend it would prove still more satisfactory to the Indians, if the Superintendant, either by himself or his Deputy be ordered to attend such meetings, and that a Map of the Tract be deposited in his Office for their inspection, which will enable him to satisfy them, in case any future dispute should arise concerning it, and would prevent the delay attending his procuring a copy from the distant Capitals of the Colonies.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[New-York Papers, (State Paper Office,) CLVIII.]

New York, Oct<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1764

My Lord,

In obedience to His Majesty's commands, signified to me by your Lordships letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of August I have endeavoured to inform myself of illicit Trade in this Province.

It was formerly from Holland & Hamburgh in Teas principally and Gunpowder, but since so many of his Majesty's Ships have been on the coast this trade is thought to be at an end, it cannot at least be continued if the Sea Officers do their duty in cruising on the Coast.

I suspect however that Tea in small quantities may be imported in small Vessells from the Dutch West India Islands & that it may be don by running into small creeks and Harbours, to which Ships of War cannot have access, by want of a sufficient depth of Water.

These places to the Southward of New York are on New Jersey shore between Sandy Hook & Delaware Bay, & in many parts of that Bay: & to the Northward of New York, in the Sound, between Long Island & the Main, where there are many Harbours, both on the Long Island Shore & the Main. The South shore of Long Island towards the Ocean is generally inaccessible

If his Majesty's Ships keep continually cruising between Sandy Hook & Cape Hinlopen it would be difficult even for small vessells coming from sea to escape them; and if they keep cruising in like manner, off the East End of Long Island & round Block Island, few vessells could escape them which go either into Rhode Island or into the Sound between Long Island and the Main.

The Custom house Officers in this Port appear to me to be very diligent.

The Hawke Sloop I am informed has not been at sea since her arrival in this Port above twelve months. She is now preparing to go out. Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy in the Coventry tells me

that he is now about purchasing a small sloop, a swift runner, which he designs to man in order to look into and examine from time to time the Creeks & small harbours within his Station between Sandy Hook & the Capes of Delaware.

Such small Vessells may be of great use by keeping near the shore while they can run into these Creeks or Harbours in case of bad weather.

Major Gladwin who commanded at Detroit during the late War with the Indians came a few days since from thence, is now going to England. He can inform Your Lordship of Many things which you may be desirous to know.

I am with great submission

My Lord Your most obedient

Right Honourable

& faithful Servant

Earl of Halifax

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, 8., 89. (22.) ]

New York 12<sup>th</sup> October 1764.

My Lords.

The most proper return I can make to the Honour Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> have done me, in consulting me on the plan for regulating the Trade with the Indians, is to deliver my sentiments without reserve on such parts of it, which I think require further explanation.

I am entirely ignorant of Indian Affairs in the Southern districts.

As the Indians near the Borders of the Southern and Northern Districts, may Trade sometimes in one district, and at other times in the other, & it must give them umbrage, to be restrained, it may be requisite to fix some boundary on the Land, for ascertaining the limits of their several Jurisdictions.—

All above Fort Pitt, on both sides of the Ohio, ought evidently to be in the Northern District, and all below on the West side of that River. It seems most proper to have the division line, on the East side of the Ohio at some distance below Fort Pitt.

The Posts which seem to me at present most requisite, are: Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Missilimakinak, Fort Pitt and Fort Chartres. The Indians are desirous of having a Post fixed at Missilimakinak, tho' some think it may be more safe to delay this, till after the others are well secured.

The King's new subjects in the Province of Quebec, often go to the upper Lakes by the Uttawa River, which falls into St Lawrence River above Montreal. In this Rout, they avoid all our Posts and their Traders, can not be prevented from going among the Indian Nations on the Upper Lakes and Trading with them. This I suppose your Lord<sup>ps</sup> will think impolitic to suffer, and will be injurious to the Trade of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s old subjects. It can only be prevented by fixing a Trading Post, with a Garrison, at the first Rapids, in going up, of the Uttawa River, and by not suffering the Traders to go further; but the Indians may come down the River to Trade there. The New subjects can not with reason complain of this, as they will have

the Trade of this Post to themselves, and have the Trade in common with His Majesty's other subjects at the other Posts.

I am informed by some who have travelled over that Country, that the easiest and speediest conveyance to Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, is from Fort Pitt down the Ohio. Others, from the long carriage by land to Fort Pitt, think a more easy passage, for Men, Goods and Provisions may be from Lake Erie, by the Miamis River near Detroit, in the spring season, while the Waters are high, and by the Ouabach. In case any of these Routs be thought more proper, than from New Orleans against the stream of the Mississippi, and more convenient for relieving the Garrison at Fort Chartres, it may be proper to have a post, where the Ouabach falls into the Ohio, and where the Ohio and Mississippi unite, or where the French lately had Posts or settlements on the Ohio, below Fort Pitt.

In order to lessen the great expence of carrying provisions to the distant Garrisons and Posts, some persons may be empowered to purchase of the Indians a quantity of Land at each Post, sufficient for a few Farmers to raise provisions, to be allowed a Carpenter and a Smith at a public expence, and a sufficient encouragement in the price of what they raise. At present, there are a sufficient number of new subjects, about 400 Men at Detroit, who have cultivated Farms, and raise wheat. In order to make them more industrious in farming, they may be prohibited to Trade with the Indians, or to keep goods or spirituous liquors in their houses for Trade.

That the Commissaries and other Officers, be not of the immediate appointment of the Superintendants, appears to me to be a wise precaution, to prevent a kind of Monopoly, which might be otherwise introduced by favour. Then great profits may be gained by favour of the Officers, every prudent check becomes necessary.—

Nothing in my opinion can be of more general advantage, or tend more to Civilize the Indians, than to establish an easy method of obtaining justice in every dispute, or cause of complaint. It will more effectually, than any thing, subdue that fierce spirit and passion for Revenge, which characterises the Indians.

Nothing more is requisite to make a good Judge among them, than to be a Man of Common sense, and great probity; but then, their powers and method of proceeding, ought to be distinctly and clearly described to them.

As the Indians come from a great distance, to Trade, and at all times lead an ambulatory Life in Hunting, any delay of Justice, is in effect a denial of justice as to them; therefore allowing of appeals, cannot be proper in controversies, between the Traders and Indians themselves. There is reason to suspect, that in Disputes between the Traders and Indians, when the judgment goes against the Trader he will on any pretence appeal; a mistake sometimes in judgment can not be of so much injury, as I apprehend may arise from appeals, but they may be safely allowed in controversies between the Traders themselves.

There is an absolute necessity of allowing Indian evidence; for, where evidence is only allowed on one side of the Question, it is impossible that Justice can be done; and yet, this is the practice in the Courts of Law, I believe, all over North America. Formerly, I conversed much with the Indians, and I always found as great a regard to veracity among them, as is usually found among Christians; tho' in war, every kind of Treachery and deceit with their Enemies, seems to be allowed. The Indians are ashamed when discovered in a lye. Where the evidences are contradictory, a Judge must determine from circumstances.

That the Trade be confined to certain Posts, and that no Trader be allowed to go among the Indians, or to sell goods to them any where else, is of great importance, not only to the



fair Trader, but likewise in preserving the public peace and tranquility. These Traders have generally been Men of low or bad characters; they have cheated or abused the Indians, thence quarrels and Murders, and in order to serve some sinister view, they spread false Reports and Stories, to the prejudice of the public peace. Not only penalties on the transgression of this Regulation, should be inflicted, but rewards given for the discovery.

There must however be one exception as to the Mohawks, and other Indians whose habitations are intermixed with the Christians. They must be suffered to buy at any shop they please. It seems requisite, that a Commissary be appointed particularly for deciding summarily, all disputes and complaints, which may happen with the Indians in these parts. The Common Justices of the peace in those parts, can not, in my opinion, be safely entrusted with such powers.

I am at a loss in forming a Judgment as to the prohibition of Rum and other spirituous liquors to be sold to the Indians; it is a valuable branch of Trade, and the Indians have, every where gained so strong an appetite to it, that the prohibition may give them great disgust, I have been well assured that the most distant nations refuse to Trade with out part in Rum; and as to the Indians, who live within our frontiers or near them, where the effects of drinking strong liquors are most pernicious and most frequent, I think it impracticable to prevent it; the Traders at least may be prohibited under severe penalties to allow any Indian to drink spirituous liquors, while they are at the Trading Posts, but the Indians may be allowed, to carry it to their own habitations; every Christian, where an Indian is drunk in his house, or who bargains with, or sells to an Indian while he is drunk, to be subject to severe pennalties.

I can not conceive, why Swan shott should be forbid, the Indians can make it from Bar Lead. In my opinion, the most effectual method to raise the duties on the Indian Trade, for defraying the expence of the regulation of that Trade, will be, paying it at the several posts, where the Furrs and Peltry are bought, in kind, at some certain rate. By this method, the duty will be paid, according to the value of the goods, and will be the easiest to the Merchant, as he does not pay, before he has made his profit, & frauds thereby more easily prevented. A certificate of the duties paid, to be carried with every quantity of Furs and Peltry, specifying the number and marks of each Pack or Bundle, and the contents of each subject to be inspected and examined at each post; the certificates at last to be lodged in the Custom House of the Port, from whence the goods are to be exported. The Goods paid as duties, to be sent, at least, once a year, to the Custom House, and there sold at public vandue.

I can discover no way of evading the duties in this method, but by the Traders hiring Ind<sup>ns</sup> to carry their goods by Land, and thereby avoiding the posts; this can only be done in small quantities, and rewards may be given for discovery. On this occasion, I must inform Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> that the Indians employed by the Traders, will not make any discovery. When the clandestine Trade was carried on between Albany & Canada, the Indians were the common carriers, and in no one instance, did they betray their trust or imbezel any one article, tho' sometimes they carried considerable quantities of money.

If the duties are paid on exportation, the consumption in the Colonies will be free of duty.

I understand that the Trade with the Ind<sup>ns</sup> to the Eastward of Boston, is in the hands of that Govern<sup>t</sup> and is under good regulations.

Having never been concerned in Trade, I can form no judgment of the propriety of settling a Tariff from time to time; but I suspect, it may be attended with great difficulties and disputes; it may give the Officers too much power of favowring on some emergencies.

As to that part of the plan, which respects the purchasing of Land from the Indians, I think it necessary to observe, that the regulations which have been established, and constantly followed in this province, for upwards of twenty years, appears to have been effectual and convenient, no complaints having been made by Indians, or others, on any purchases made by authority of this Gov<sup>nt</sup> since that time. By these regulations all lands purchased of the Indians, are previously to be surveyed by the King's surveyor General of Lands, or his Deputy, in the presence of some Indians deputed for that purpose, by the Nation from whom the purchase is made. Of late years the Deputy Surveyors are not only sworn, but give Bonds, to the Surveyor General, for the due and faithful execution of their work. By this means the employing of persons, who have not sufficient skill, or of whose integrity one can not be so well assured, is prevented, and the Surveyor Gen<sup>l</sup> is enabled, to compleat a general Map of the Province and to locate the several grants precisely, which cannot be done, if Surveyors, not under the Direction of the Surveyor General, be employed. The Surveyor General in this Province, makes a return of the Survey, upon every Indian purchase, into the Secretaries Office. Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> may be more fully informed of these Regulations, by the papers, which I had the honour to transmit to the Board of Trade, with my letter of March 1<sup>st</sup> 1762. and I doubt not you will think it improper to abridge in any manner, the Office of Surveyor General of Lands.

Since I had wrote so far, I have considered the Arguments, for not extending our Posts to Missilimakinak, or far into the Indian Country. The principal, is the expence—but where there is a real utility, the expence becomes necessary—Against which it is urged, that the Indians travel any distance without difficulty; the truth of this may be questioned, and it may not be prudent to collect many different Nations to one place at the same time; they may quarrel among themselves, when different Nations are at enmity with each other, or at other times they may form dangerous combinations; and lastly, it seems prudent to extend our knowledge and influence among the Indians, as far as possible, and to prevent any injurious influence from the West side of the Mississippi—

If I receive any further information, I shall not fail to communicate it—what I now write, is with the utmost submission by

My Lords.

Your most obedient and faithful servant.

CADWALDADER COLDEN



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantation General Papers, S., 89. (22.) ]

Johnson Hall. October 30. 1764.

My Lords,

The 8<sup>th</sup> of this instant I had the honour to write Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> fully on the subject of the plan for the future management of my Department, and therewith transmitted my sentiments on the same article, with an estimate of the amount of the Indian Trade, and of the expences necessary for my Departmant, all which, I hope Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> will receive in due time.



Since writing the before mentioned I find your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s orders concerning the Kayadarosseras Patent within this Province, have been received by the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>, and that on the same being laid before the House of Assembly, they have excused themselves from complying therewith, for reasons, which I could wish, were more substantial & better grounded.

As the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> will doubtless lay before Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s whatever may be farther necessary, relative to the bounds ettc of that Grant, it will, I presume, be needless for me to add any thing fresh on that head, but I think it my duty, to make such observations thereon as fall more immediately under my own knowledge, and appear necessary to remove any misrepresentations.

This exorbitant Grant, or pattend was obtained at a time, when the Indians were very easily imposed upon, and when little or no enquiry was made into the legality of a purchase, and an Indian deed with some (however obtained) was a sufficient ground for a patent, the cause of which is well known. It appears by the Indian Deed, that it was signed by only Two Tribes, whereas, they never consider any sale as just, which is not subscribed by every Tribe.

The consideration money tho' not equal in value to the price of the smallest Farm, was yet never paid, as it was to have been given in goods (according to custom) which were, as they, and all people unconcerned say, destroyed by fire at Schenectady.

The Indians alive at that time, many of whom, were living for several years after my arrival in this Country in 1738, repeatedly assured me, that no more was explained to those who signed the Deed, than a small piece of Land sufficient for three or four farms. From my first acquaintance with the Mohawks, they continued to make complaints, and to remonstrate against this Tract, and I as often assured them, that I had not the least doubt, that they should be redressed, on which subject I had the honour of writing to the Board at different times within these ten years past, which produced the order to Sir Charles Hardy, then Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, altho' the Assembly did nothing in consequence of it. Notwithstanding the Indians complaints from time to time, they appeared pretty well satisfied that the proprietors had laid aside their claim, and would never attempt any Title by it, till about the year 1754, when they heard more particularly that a Patent comprehending all the land, between the Mohawk & Hudsons River (except a few old pattendts of about one mile in depth each) was actually taken out many years before in consequence of the Deed. This, of course, greatly alarmed them, and accordingly, in my presence at a meeting at Albany in the month of July 1754. before the late Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> De Lancey, and the Council, of which I was a Member, they spoke very warmly on the subject; upon which, one of the Proprietories living in Albany, was sent for, who declared he was acquainted with the manner in which it was obtained, but produced an Indian Deed, signed by only two Tribes, containing different bounds, and a much smaller quantity, than they afterwards included in the Patent; on his being asked, what was the consideration, he answered, about £60 N. York currency, when he acknowledged, he had often heard was never given them; the amount being sent in goods to Schenectady, and there destroyed by fire. Justice was then solemnly promised to be done them, but party connections ettc prevented, and the Indians have since, repeatedly desired to know from me, whether the same was vacated, and given me infinite trouble to pacify them thereon from time to time, as by the records of Indian Affairs may more fully appear; I accordingly at their desire, again laid they same before Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s Board, as the Steps taken by Sir Charles Hardy with the Assembly, proved ineffectual. During all the before mentioned time, viz<sup>t</sup> from the date of the Patent in 1708 to the year 1754, no settlement whatsoever was made thereon, nor hath the same been ever surveyed, or any partition made thereof as yet, by the Patentees,



and this notorious neglect to the prejudice of the Colony (had the grant been equitable) can only be attributed to their consciousness of its iniquity, their apprehensions of the Indians resentment on any settlers, and the hopes they conceived, that the Mohawks would be dwindled away to a mere handful, on whom they might easily impose. Since the before mentioned time, some of the proprietaries, without knowing their own shares, have very lately encouraged some familys; who, according to the best information, do not exceed a dozen in Number, to settle on some parts of the Patent towards Fort Edward, and in the Neighbourhood of Saraghtoga Lake, but the Mohawk Hunters, having come across their hutts last year, warned them off, with which some have complied; on the report made by the Hunters to their Sachims, the whole of them came to me and even upbraided me, with not having procured them justice, at the same time making use of threats against the settlers, which with infinite difficulty, I persuaded them from putting into execution; soon after, and a few months ago, an advertisement was exhibited, and since continued in the New York Papers, for a partition of the patent; this again alarmed them afresh, & induced their Chiefs to come to me in a body demanding justice, the particulars of which conference I lately transmitted to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>, who laid the same before the Assembly, together with your Lord<sup>PPS</sup> orders thereon.

The arguments made use of, in the Report of the House thereon, are to weak and groundless to admit of any notice, and can only be justified, by the ignorance which they express of the affair, but least from want of a thorough knowledge thereof, some of them might tend to gloss over the iniquity of it; I think it necessary to obviate any which may not appear so trivial, where they are but little known.

Their argument, that it will arraign the conduct of former Governors etc. I look upon as nothing; that delicate regard to the characters of Commanders in Chief having been formerly little attended to, by the House.

The obscurity of many old Patents, is equally weak, nor should it preclude justice when so much more is taken up in the Patent, than is comprised in the Indian Deed. That the Indians are apt to deny the sales of their ancestors, as well as their own, is without foundation; I have often asked them to be particular with regard to all their grievances, on which occasions they have honestly confessed, that they allowed of all the other sales, which had hitherto come to their knowledge of any extent throughout this Province, notwithstanding many of them were far from being equitable; but that the fraud and enormity of Kayaderasseras, and the claim of the City of Albany to the Lands they, the Mohawks, reside on, could not be allowed of, without entirely ruining them; so that the House were guilty of a mistake in charging them with denying the sales of their ancestors, as well, as in supposing, they wanted a second payment, which I know, they would not accept of. If they were apt to require secont payments, or if they allowed of the legality of the Grant, they would doubtless before this period have often applied for the purchase money, as its amount was destroyed by fire. That it is a difficult matter *to discover a true owner of any Lands amongst Indians*, is a gross error, which must arise from the total ignorance of the matter or from a cause, which does not require explanation. Each Nation is perfectly well acquainted, with their exact original bounds, the same is again divided into due proportions for each Tribe, and afterwards subdivided into shares to each family, with all which they are most particularly acquainted, neither do they ever infringe upon one another, or invade their neighbours hunting grounds. The doing the Indians justice in this, can never effect any other lands in the Colony, they having no intention of complaint except those before mentioned, and the proprietaries have never been at at any expence, which can in the least, be conducive to the support of their pretensions.

The supposition, that the cause of its not being settled, was, from its being exposed to the incursions of the Enemy, if true, should not have barred the settlement in peaceable times, but this is a mistake, which, any just Map will remove. The settlements extending along the North side, and back from the Mohawk River, were infinitely better known, more exposed and more tempting to any Enemy, than any there could be in a number of years; my own lands which lye at a good distance from the River, and to the Northward of the greatest part of the Patent, have had above 100 families settled on them by me during the heat of the war, without molestation. As a further illustration of the fraud, and of Indians continued Claims to the lands, I have caused four of the oldest Farmers in this Country to be examined on oath, before a Justice of the peace, a copy of which I herewith enclose, and many more of the same nature can easily be procured if necessary.

I shall conclude this subject with a few remarks, on the necessity there appears to me for vacating this unreasonable Grant.

First: that the same was fraudulent, evidently appears from the difference of the quantity mentioned in the Indian Deed, from that described by the Patent.

Secondly: that the purchase money, scarce worth mentioning, was never paid to the Indians.

Thirdly: that it was privately transacted, with only a few Indians, contrary to the usual custom, & that it appears evident they have in lieu of a small patent, taken up the quantity of a large Country.

Fourthly: that in reason and justice, they have forfeited any title they might have had, to any part, for want of settlement, which they totally neglected during fifty years, to the great prejudice of the Colony.

Fifthly: That this Tract having been judged illegal and considered as forfeited, several Governors have for upwards of forty years, granted small Patents of about one mile in depth from the before mentioned Rivers, on fair purchases made by many industrious people, who have cultivated the same, and reside thereon, all which, should this grant be allowed of, must be taken away by virtue of its priority; and in fact I know of no property being secure for a course of 30 miles except a small Patent of mine on the Mohawk River, and two or three more, which were of older standing than that in question.

Sixthly: that from the time the Mohawks first heard of the unreasonable claims, of the Proprietaries they have never ceased remonstrating against the same, and have even last year in my presence gone so far as to lay their grievance before all the Six Nations in public meeting, who were greatly concerned at it, and strongly recommended it to me, to procure justice therein, observing, that they could expect little equity from us, if the Mohawks, a people, who had devoted themselves to the English, and lost such numbers in their service, could not obtain it.

This is alone a sufficient consideration in my opinion, for doing the Mohawks speedy justice, and I, the rather interest myself in it, as I am convinced from experience. that the just claims of the Indians will meet with too powerful an opposition in the Colony, as is evident from the proceedings of the Assembly during the Govern<sup>t</sup> of Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy, and at this time, all which I observed to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s in many of my former letters, on this subject.—Whilst His Maj<sup>y</sup> expresses a resolution worthy his dignity, to do the Indians strict Justice, and to remove all future cause of uneasiness & discontent, whilst your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s are zealously employed in preparing such a system, as can only effect his Royal intentions, and whilst my whole time is devoted to the execution of these purposes, and to pave the way to that state of tranquility, which is so much required, yet experience & truth obliges me to declare, that these necessary



measures, tho' they reflect honour on the promoters, must prove abortive in their main design, of removing the Indian doubts about property, which is the foundation of all other differences, so long as the patent is allowed to continue in force.—The Indians have been for so long promised redress on many subjects, that they will no longer rely but on actions, their lands are the tenderest point with them, and on this, they consider themselves as Indians all equally concerned, and will all agree in sentiments. The Mohawks, have very powerful connections, who will greedily devour their complaints, and easily believe that they have long apprehended, so that in vain will be all my endeavours, and in vain every assurance, that they may expect hereafter the utmost candour and justice, whilst an affair so remarkable and so well known at present thro'out the Six Nations etc. remains undecided, but when this grant is vacated, the news communicated to the Indians, and diffused thro'out the several Nations will operate stronger to effect the laudable purposes, now in agitation, than the labours of a year dedicated to this purpose, accompanied with the strongest promises, supported by the most judicious arguments; but I need say no more, on the necessity there is, for speedily vacating this Grant, and that of the Mohawk Flatts, as I am persuaded, your Lord<sup>ships</sup> are determined to take the necessary steps for that purpose.

I have just received from Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage a copy of a Treaty lately made at Detroit by Coll: Bradstreet with the Hurons and some Ottowaes, & Missisagaes; these people had subscribed to a Treaty with me at Niagara in August last, but by the present Treaty I find, they make expressions of subjection, which must either have arisen from the ignorance of the Interpreter, or from some other mistake; for I am well convinced, they never mean or intend, any thing like it, and that they can not be brought under our Laws, for some Centuries, neither have they any word which can convey the most distant idea of subjection, and should it be fully explained to them, and the nature of subordination punishment etc. defined, it might produce infinite harm, but could answer no purpose whatever; they likewise make a cession of all their Country, or rather the Country of the Six Nations, for they have none but what they hold from them, & notwithstanding their friends, the French endeavoured to render them as Independent as possible, thro' policy, they yet would never take upon themselves seriously an affair of that nature—I am impatient to hear the exact particulars of the whole transaction, and I dread its consequences, as I recollect that some attempts towards Sovereignty not long ago, was one of the principal causes of all our troubles, and as I can see no motive for proposing to them terms, which if they attended to them, they most assuredly never meant to observe, and 'tis out of our power to enforce, I am apt to think it may occasion a necessity for being sufficiently watchful over their motives, and employing the dilligence of the Officers in my Department, to which end I could wish that I was enabled to make these additional appointments immediately, as it consists at present but of three Deputies & 5. Interpreters.

I shall conclude with mentioning a circumstance which escaped me from the shortness of my time, when I last wrote your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, namely, that my Deputies should each be allowed a Man, or rather two persons properly qualified to go on business as occasion requires, their salaries might be £50 sterl: each p<sup>r</sup> year or else some contingent allowance for such matters as I am sensible must often occur; and that as I shall lose no time after I receive your Lord<sup>ships</sup> particular orders, in convening the several Nations in order to determine a boundary, agreeable to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> plan, I may be empowered to procure, or be furnished with a proper present for the Indians, on that occasion, to encourage them to make a proper cession, which once settled, I shall then lay before your Lord<sup>ship</sup> the sum necessary to content them in proportion to



such cession as they may make, which I shall endeavour to obtain with the strictest regard to His Majesty's interest,

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect  
My Lords.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> most obedient  
and most humble servant  
W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York Papers, (State Paper Office,) CLVIII. ]

New York Nov<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1764

My Lord,

For some time past the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Council in this province have complained of the want of a sufficient number to attend the Public Business. Some of them are frequently absent by the situation of their private Affairs. Sir William Johnson can seldom attend, his office of Superintendant of Indian Affairs requiring his presence in very distant parts. When a small number only attend the publick Affairs it lessens the influence of the Council with the people and often makes the Service disagreeable to them who do attend.

It is now about 20 years since George Clarke Esq<sup>r</sup> Secretary of the Province was first appointed of the Council, he has never been in the province since that time, tho his name has been continued ever since in the List, & it is not probable that he has now any thought of coming to this place. If so I do not imagine that he will be displeased to have another appointed in his place, especially if done with a saving of his rank in case of his coming to the Province.

It is certainly for his Majesty's honour & Interest that the principal officers of the Crown in this Province be of his Council. For that reason on the death of M<sup>r</sup> Chambers I took the liberty to recommend my oldest son Alexander Colden, Surveyor General of Lands in this Province (the Office I formerly held) to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. He has been conversant in publick Affairs & his appointment might have been of use to me by increasing that influence in the minds of the people which is requisite for every Governor. But as this seems not agreeable I am persuaded no objection can be made to the appointing Andrew Elliot Esq<sup>r</sup> Receiver General of His Majesty's Revenues & Collector of Customs in M<sup>r</sup> Clarke's place, in case he do not intend to come to this place. The Gentlemen preceding M<sup>r</sup> Elliot in Office have all of them been of the Council & it is expedient for His Majesty's Service that he be.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Halifax.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 64. ]

New York. 7. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

In my last of the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, I had the honour to transmit to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> a circumstantial account of what passed at the opening of the Sessions of Assembly, in the beginning of that Month, to which on this occasion I must beg leave to refer. Since that time, the Assembly have prepared Petitions to the King, and to the houses of Lords and Commons, the contents of which I do not know; and as they were kept secret from me, I did not think it requisite for me to inquire.

A great number of Bills have passed, few of them deserving your Lord<sup>ships</sup> notice, most of them being to continue Acts near expiring, and to provide, in the usual manner of late, for the annual support of the Officers of Govern<sup>t</sup>. As soon as the transcript of the Acts can be prepared, I shall make such remarks, as I think necessary for your Lord<sup>ships</sup> to take notice of.

At present it may be proper to inform your Lord<sup>ships</sup> that, on my recommendation by Message, an Act is passed, for finally determining the disputes between this Prov<sup>ce</sup> and Massachusetts Bay, respecting the Boundary between them. The material parts of it, in the words of the Act, which passed for determining the Boundary between this Province and N. Jersey, and which has received your Lord<sup>ships</sup> approbation. I have sent an Office copy of it to Gov<sup>r</sup> Bernard, with my request to lay the same before the Assembly of this Province, who are at this time sitting, that they may pass a similar act, as is done in New Jersey. Since which, there has not been time sufficient to receive an answer.

After the last term of the supreme Court of this Province had ended, I received a Petition of Appeal from the Attorney of Wadell Cunningham, who is absent in England (a copy of which is enclosed) together with a Bond of four of the principal Merch<sup>ts</sup> in this place, as security in case the Judgement of the supreme Court be affirmed.

The next day after I had received this Petition, I communicated to the Council His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> 32<sup>d</sup> instructions, requiring the Gov<sup>r</sup> or Commander in Chief for the time being, on application being made for that purpose, to permit and allow of appeals in all Civil Causes, from the Courts of Common Law, to the Gov<sup>r</sup> or Commander in Chief and the Council of this Province; and that the Gov<sup>r</sup> or Commander in Chief issue a writ, in the manner which has been usually accustomed, returnable before himself and the Council. At the same time I laid before the Council, the appeal offered to the Supreme Court, and the Bond for security, together with the Petition of M<sup>r</sup> Cunningham's Attorney. I am well assured that the facts related in the Petition are true; not any of them were contradicted, by Chief Justice Horsmanden and Justice Smith, two of the Judges on the Bench, when the appeal was made, and then present in Council. After which, I informed the Council, that I thought it incumbent on me to issue the writ prayed for.

I have ordered His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> 32<sup>nd</sup> Instruction, and all the papers which I laid before the Council, to be entered on the Minutes; and at the desire of the Council, I directed a copy of the Instruction to be made out for each of them.

As soon as the Council was up, M<sup>r</sup> Cunningham's Attorney applied for the writ; I answered I was ready to seal it, and on his saying, that none of M<sup>r</sup> Cunningham's Attorneys or Council at Law, would advise in drawing it, I told him to get it done by the best advice he could. As

he expected the execution on the Judgement at Common Law, would issue speedily he brought a writ of Inhibition to all the Officers of the Supreme Court, to stay proceeding on that cause, which I sealed. A day or two afterwards I sealed another writ, directing the Chief Justice to bring up the proceedings in that cause to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, returnable in 14 days, which will be the 14<sup>th</sup> inst:—

After the Inhibition had been served on the Officers of the Supreme Court, Mr Scott Attorney for the plaintiff in the Supreme Court, brought an execution to be sealed by the clerk of the Court, who refusing to seal it, a suit is commenced against him in the Supreme Court. So far I have given your Lord<sup>ships</sup> a circumstantial Account of the proceedings, as I can recollect them, without any consideration of the merits of the Cause.

It may be proper to inform your Lord<sup>ships</sup> that, this is the first appeal from the Common Law Courts, which has been made in this province, tho' writs of error from the Supreme Court have been formerly brought, and one is now depending before the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council. By writ of Error (as I am informed) the merits of the cause seldom appears, and where a general verdict is given, for the Plaintiff or Defendant, the merits can not appear, because nothing of the evidence given to the Jury, appears on the Record. The verdict is the sole foundation of the Judgement. On writ of Error, the regularity of the proceedings in the Inferior court, or in some point of Law, can only be corrected by the Gov<sup>r</sup> in Council; and afterwards by the King in his Privy Council. So that they can only Judge chicanery of the Lawyers in their proceedings, or untie some knotty points of Law; without knowing any thing of the merits of the case. But on an appeal, the whole cause and the evidence on w<sup>ch</sup> the verdict is given must appear, and the Judgem<sup>t</sup> is on, the merits.

I cannot doubt of this being his Majesty's intention in his Instruction to allow of appeals; tho' the Att. Gen<sup>l</sup> differs from me in his opinion and thinks, that a writ of Error is only meant.

I shall next inform your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, with the freedom which my duty requires, of the reasons why, in my opinion, so violent an opposition to appeals is made in this Province, while they are submitted to in the neighbouring Govern<sup>ts</sup>. It is the great, and I may say dangerous influence of the Proprietors of the large Tracts of Land in this Province. They know what must be the consequence, in suits depending between them and other the King's Tenants, or the consequence of Informations of Intrusion, which may be justly brought against them, etc, in case the merits of the cause be brought before the King and Council.

In a young Country, like this, where few Men have any acquired learning or knowledge, where the Judges and principal Lawyers are proprietors of extravagant grants of land, or strongly connected with them in Interest, or family alliances, it is possible, that a dangerous combination may subsist between the Bench and the Bar; not only greatly injurious to private property but likewise dangerous to His Majesty's prerogative & Authority, and his Rights in this Province, in case no appeals as to the merits of the cause be allowed to the King in his privy Council.

No Lawyer in this place will at this time assist the appellant, by appearing for him, or by giving advice, and I knew, all the Officers of the Govern<sup>t</sup> are intimidated. Means have been found to convey hints to me, that tho' I may think myself at present screened, it may be otherwise afterwards, and my family will certainly be exposed to resentment. From many circumstances I have reason to think that before the Administration came first into my hands, the profession of the Law was encouraged, and assisted in gaining this dangerous influence.



On the whole this matter appears to me of so great consequence to His Majesty's Authority, and of so general importance, that I am perswaded it will draw your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s immediate attention.

I flatter myself, that your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s will excuse my writing thus freely my sentiments, tho' I should Err, for it is done with the utmost submission by—My Lords.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful serv<sup>t</sup>

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Representation of the Lords of Trade to the King on certain proceedings of  
Massachusetts and New-York.*

[ New-York Entries, Q. 270. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty.

Francis Bernard Esq., your Majestys Governor of the Province of Massachusetts's Bay, having transmitted to us the printed Votes of the House of Representatives of that Province in their last Session of Assembly, containing amongst other things their Resolutions and proceedings upon several letters received from their Agent in Great Britain,<sup>1</sup> & also containing a letter to the said Agent from a Committee of the House of Representatives, which, contrary to the usual practice, was, without the concurrence of the Governor and Council, appointed to instruct him; in which letter the Acts and Resolutions of the Legislature of Great Britain are, we humbly conceive, treated with the most indecent disrespect, principles of the most dangerous nature and tendency openly avowed, and the Assemblies of other Colonies invited in most extraordinary manner to adopt the same opinions: We think it our duty humbly to lay these Votes before your Majesty, together with a book referred to therein, printed & published at Boston and since reprinted and published in London.

We likewise crave leave humbly to lay before your Majesty the Copy of an Address of the Assembly of New York to the Lieutenant Governor of that Province, and of his prudent and becoming answer thereto; in which address the said Assembly avow opinions and make declarations of the same dangerous tendency with those of the Assembly of the Massachusetts's Bay.

These proceedings which are in our judgment calculated to raise groundless suspicion & distrust in the minds of your Majesty's good subjects in the Colonies, and have the strongest tendency to subvert those principles of constitutional relation & dependance upon which the Colonies were originally established, certain matter of so high importance that we shall not presume to offer any opinion what may be proper to be done thereupon; submitting it to your Majesty to pursue such measures as your Majesty shall in your great wisdom and with the advice of your Council think most prudent and necessary.

Which is most humbly submitted

Whitehall  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 11. 1764

HILLSBOROUGH  
SOAME JENYNS

ED: BACON.  
BAMBER GASCOYNE  
J. DYSON.

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 66.]

New York. 13. Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764.

My Lords,

I had the honour to acquaint your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, by my letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month, on an appeal brought from the Supreme Court of this Province, to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, and of the violent opposition made against appeals in any case. As this Affair has, in the proceedings become more and more interesting, & appears to me of the greatest consequence to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Authority, in this Province, and to the Dependence of the Colonies on the Crown of Great Brittain; I have thought it my duty to transmit the whole proceedings to the Earl of Halifax, his Majesty's Secretary of State; for appeals from the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, are to the King in his privy Council. I expect they will be transmitted to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> from the Secretary of State's office.

While the cause is depending, a copy of the speech, which Chief Justice Horsmanden made in Council, when he gave his reasons for not obeying the writ of appeal, is printed, & privately handed about, with an inflammatory preface, containing several falsehoods, and suggestions of criminal prosecutions, in order to intimidate the Officers of the Crown in doing what they may think their duty upon this occasion. This I hope will excite your Lord<sup>ships</sup> attention, as it tends extremely to weaken the hands of Govern<sup>t</sup> already too weak in this Province. This printed Copy has been industriously kept from me; I sent my son to the printer for a copy, he said all the copies are delivered to John Morin Scott. Afterwards I sent my son, in company with another person, to M<sup>r</sup> Scot, to desire a copy; he said, that: as several other persons were concerned with him in that publication, he could not give a copy without their consent; but if they consented, he would send the Gov<sup>r</sup> a copy. Accordingly next day, he brought six copies, and said, that the impression was designed for England. However, I know several copies have been delivered out, which have been read by great numbers of persons; no Man so far as I know, either in public debate or private conversation, spoke the words printed in the preface in the Roman Character, or any words that could bear that sentiment.

To what highth of insolence some of the profession of the Law have arrived, will appear from the printed preface, to the Chief Justices speech in Council, on giving his reasons for refusing an appeal. I believe your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will think it criminal to threaten or to render odious to the People any Judge on matters which are then depending before him for Judgement. I have countenanced, as it was my duty to do, the appeal; and I have in my arguments in the open Court, declared it to be my opinion that, the King intended by his Instruction to bring up the whole proceedings, and the merits of the causes from the Courts below, and that I thought it a measure, highly necessary for the safety of the rights of the Crown, and liberty and properties of the subject, and entirely consistent with the Constitution of the Colonies. After this public declaration, the sentiments of the preface, will, by the readers in this place, be thought applicable to me; the last line of the preface is obliterated in all the copies I received from M<sup>r</sup> Scott.

M<sup>r</sup> Banyar, Clerk of the Council assures me, that, he gave no copies of any part of the proceedings before the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, to any person except to Chief Justice Horsmanden. That, at his desire, he made out three copies for him, two of them he attested; and that some

days afterwards, John Morrin Scott's Clerk desired him, from Mr Scott to attest that other third copy, delivered to the Chief Justice, which he did. That when it came to him, the paper was much sullied, and he now believes it had been made use of by the Printer, while he set his press. This copy could not have been procured without the Chief Justices consent, and from many circumstances I am fully perswaded that, the whole transaction is at least with his approbation.

On the whole of Chief Justice Horsmanden's conduct in this affair, it may be thought my duty to have suspended him from the execution of his Office, and from the Council, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, but in the present temper of the Gentlemen of the Council, when I can not expect to have their concurrence, I think it more prudent to refer it absolutely to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> Judgement. In case of my death Mr Horsmanden succeeds to the Administration of Govern<sup>t</sup>. The packetts go regularly every month, so that I think no great prejudice can happen to his Majesty's service, by this delay, tho' I too clearly perceive in the present situation of Affairs, a Gov<sup>r</sup> cannot perform the duties of his Office, while he is so far from having the assistance of the Courts of Justice, that appeals are made, by the Chief Justice, to the people, in order to excite popular dissatisfaction and tumults. It is no wonder these people think they can intimidate a Gov<sup>r</sup>, while they are so foolish as to think they can, by the Assemblies address to me, intimidate the King's Ministers and a British Parliament. I am confident however, that, the disinterested people of this province, entertain no such sentiments; and they are beyond comparison the greatest number.

I have been well apprised of the opposition and resentment, of the whole profession of the Law on this occasion; for if no appeal can be made on the merits of any case, and the ultimate determination be confined to the Courts of this Province, they become uncontrollable, and their power must be to the last degree dangerous to the King's authority, and the rights and liberty of his subjects.

Hitherto I have stood well in the eyes of the People in general, the strictest examination into my conduct, while the Administration of Govern<sup>t</sup> has been in my hands, will give no uneasiness to my mind. While I refused formerly to appoint the Judges during their good behaviour, in obedience to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Instructions, the Lawyers set up a weekly paper, in order to instill the worst opinion of me, on the minds of the people; they failed then in their purpose, and I hope they will have no better success now. However, I think it my duty, in Justice to myself and my family, to request your Lord<sup>ships</sup> protection in performing my duty against such powerful resentment, as that of the whole profession of the Law in any Country must be.

Notwithstanding of all the efforts that can be made, I am confident they can have no effect, with the people in this Province, when we have Judges of integrity and ability, free from family or other Connections. It would add greatly to the freedom of their Judgement, in popular cases especially, to be freed from the dependance which may arise, from their support depending on the annual pleasure of an Assembly. They have likewise given, one hundred and fifty pounds yearly for three years past, to the Attorney General for extraordinary services, and made the same payable to him by their Treasurer, without warrant. These things must create an undue influence on the Officers of the Crown.

In case the public affairs should require the Assembly to meet, as the profession of the Law have great influence on the Members, I expect to meet with uneasiness from them, and perhaps endeavours may be used, to disturb the public affairs of Govern<sup>t</sup>. This I think appears to be



intended by some expressions towards the close of the printed preface to the Chief Justices speech. I must therefore pray your Lord<sup>ships</sup> to let me know your sentiments as soon as can be properly done.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will see the entries on the Council Books, relating to this appeal, in the last pages of the minutes of Council, sent to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> office in the Box with the Acts of Assembly etc (of which a list is put up in the Box). Herewith, I enclose a narrative of some proceedings, which do not appear on the minutes—an abstract from my letter to the Secretary of State, containing chiefly the substance of my arguments in Council upon this occasion, and a printed copy of Chief Justice Horsmanden's harrangue.

Whatever my sentiments be on any occasion they are always offered with entire submission by

My Lords

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[New-York Papers (State Paper Office) CLVIII.]

New York 13<sup>th</sup> December 1764

My Lord,

In my letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of last month I informed the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations of a Dispute which had arisen in this Province, relating to His Majesty's 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction to his Governor of this Province, whereby the Governor or Commander in Chief is Directed in all civil causes on application being made to him for that purpose to permit and allow of appeals from any of the Courts of Common Law unto the Governor and Council &c. The Governor is directed for that purpose to issue a Writ in the manner that has been usually accustomed, returnable before the Governor and Council, with further appeal from the Governor and Council to the King in his Privy Council in case either party think themselves aggrieved.

As this Dispute since that time has become very interesting and in my opinion greatly affects his Majesty's Prerogative and Rights in this Province as well as the property of his subjects and may likewise affect the Dependence of the Colonies on the Crown of Great Britain, I think it my Duty to transmit to your Lordship without delay the reasons of my conduct in this affair, together with an authentic copy of the Proceedings in Council to this time on this matter and to give your Lordship a more circumstantial account of it then appears on the Minutes of Council.

I transmit this to your Lordship rather than to the Board of Trade because appeals are made immediately to the King in his Privy Council, and I have by the former Packett informed the Board of Trade and Plantations as far as I then could. I have another reason for informing your Lordship of the steps hitherto taken in this Matter. I am told that some persons design to make interest with some members of Parliament in this Dispute with the Crown; and that Chief Justice Horsmanden's Speech in giving his reasons for not allowing of appeals is printed in this place with an inflammatory preface and distributed privatly, while

the matter is still depending before the Governor and Council. This may make it more necessary that your Lordship may be speedily and truly informed.

I am no Lawyer and therefore I can only state the Dispute before the Council relating to his Majesty's 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction, in the light in which I understand it. It is this, Whether it be intended that the whole merits of the case should appear before the Governor and Council, and afterwards before the King in his Privy Council, or only the errors in the proceedings. In the first case a Writ of Appeal issues: in the other a Writ of Error.

I could not doubt that an appeal by which the whole merits might appear was intended. For according to the methods of proceeding in the Common Law Courts, nothing in most Cases appears on the Record, as the foundation of the Judgements but the Verdict of the Jury. No part of the evidence on which that Verdict is given does appear. The Judgement therefore cannot be reversed in the common method of Error, tho the Verdict on which it is founded be ever so iniquitous, because no Error can appear on the Record. Every man who has been conversant in the Common Law Courts of this Province will allow that many iniquitous Verdicts have been given in it. On the other hand suppose some special pleadings or Exceptions be taken, and afterwards on the evidence a just and true Verdict be given, the Judgment on this verdict may be set aside in error. In both Cases where the Verdict is bad, and no Error in the Proceedings, and where the Verdict is good, but some slip or mistake has happen'd in the proceedings, new suits, beneficial to the lawyers, are encouraged, while both parties are willing and have money to contend: but where one party is poor and the other Rich, they oppress the Poor, and suppress justice.

It can not enter into my thoughts that the King intended by his 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction to enquire only into the Chicanery of the Lawyers, without having it in his power to judge of the merits of the cause in all cases.

From the violent efforts made at this time by the whole body of the profession of the Law, their view appears to me to be to make the Common Law Courts in effect the ultimate Resort of Justice in this Province which without doubt must give them an enormous and dangerous power in it.

In a new country like this where the people are almost universally ignorant; and few people, and they generally in the profession of the Law, have a liberal education, and where the most considerable families who enjoy the principal Offices of trust, are strongly connected by mutual relations or similar interest, It is possible and from the Proceedings at this time it is become probable that the bench and the bar may combine to bring all causes to a general verdict, where the King's prerogative, or his Rights, are affected. In such case the Prerogative and Rights of the Crown must depend on the integrity and knowledge of the Jury, and must be finally concluded thereby; for according to the doctrine which now prevails there can be no appeal from a verdict. It is said indeed that the Judges may give a new trial, where the Verdict appears to be contrary to evidence, but this remedy depends upon the will of the Judge, for in case he refuse no error in his refusing can be assigned where the Evidence on which the verdict is given cannot appear.

It is not easy to beleive what liberties are sometimes allowed the Attornies to perplex the Witnesses on one side, and afterwards to perplex the Jury. To remedy this in all the Governments to the Eastward of this I am inform'd that the evidence is taken down in writing in open Court when either of the parties require it is delivered to the Jury and made part of the Record. In this manner the Jury can with more certainty deliberate on the evidence than



when they trust to their memory, after a long perplexed hearing of 12 hours and either party have a right to appeal to a Superior Court on the whole merits without depending on the will of the Judge to give a new trial. If a like method were established all over the Colonies it would in my opinion tend greatly to the security of Property in General, of his Majesty's just and necessary Prerogative, and of the dependance of the Colonies on their mother Country.

The Arguments against Appeals, are all taken from what the King cannot do by his Prerogative in England, and conclude that the King can do nothing in the Colonies which he cannot in England. If this were true it must be subversive of every Government in the Colonies where all of them depend on the King's Charter, or on his Commission to his Governor, are all different in their forms of proceedings in their Legislature, and in administering Justice from what is established in England and different from each other. The Supreme Court of New York has all the Powers in the first instance of the King's bench, Common Pleas & Exchequer. It may be well doubted whether the King could establish such a Court in England, and yet the whole justice in common Law in this Province depends on that Court, which has no other authority but the Prerogative of the Crown to establish such Courts in the Colonies as the King shall think necessary for the Administration of Justice, as certainly by his Prerogative he may since the executive power is in the Crown, and in this sense the King is said to be the fountain of Justice. The Courts of Justice in the Colonies cannot be the object of the ancient or common law of England, because they did not then exist, and the Prerogative cannot be limited in these new countries by usage and custom. It is certain in fact that Justice is obtained in the several Colonies, according to the Common law of England, in Courts whoes modes of proceeding and executive powers are very different and different from any Court of Common law in England: and therefore I am humbly of opinion that the King may give such executive powers to the Courts of Justice in the Colonies as he shall think most conducive for obtaining of Justice, & that this may be done without the least prejudice to the Common Law. An error runs thro' all the Arguments against Appeals in not distinguishing between the Law and the manner of executing the Law.

I make no doubt of Your Lordship's excusing me in writing my own Sentiments, on a matter which I think of so great consequence. I shall therefore take the liberty to make some Remarks on the harangue which Chief Justice Horsmanden made on giving his reasons for not obeying the writs of Appeal. In answer to his argument from the words of the Instruction by which the Governor is directed to issue a writ in the manner which has been usually accustom'd, I am of opinion that the meaning must be in the manner which has been usually accustom'd in cases of Appeal, not in the manner which has been usually accustom'd in this Place, for the accustom'd manner in this sense may be erroneous. In the first appeal, as it is said this is, there could be no accustom'd manner in this place, nor could there be any accustom'd manner on the first writ of Error, for the time when a writ of Error was first brought in this place can be assign'd.

The next Argument of Cheif Justice Horsmanden is from the enormous expence which must be occasion'd by Appeals in case they be allowed. I readily allow that the expence of Law Suits in this Province are enormous, and tend to the suppression of Justice where one party is poor and the other rich. The Bills of Cost taxed by the Judges have been by great numbers complained of as a grievance which could not have happen'd without their connivance. In an Ejectment where there were no Special pleadings or exceptions of any kind, Chief Justice Horsmanden not long since taxed the Costs on one side at Three Hundred and fourteen pounds,



some Shillings and Pence, and in many instances the Costs have equall'd the value in Question. When Mr Prat was appointed Chief Justice of this Province he was surprised at the general Complaint made to him of the excessive expence in obtaining Justice, the like not to be found in any other of the Colonies on the Continent. He said that in twenty years in which he had practiced in the Massachusetts Bay, he did not remember of any Bill of Costs which exceeded twenty pounds New York Currency: tho in their Courts the Evidence, when either Party required it, was taken in writing; Had he lived he would have remedied this great grievance, but since his death it remains without redress. He had no family or other private connections in this Province, tho many prejudices were at first infused into the peoples minds against him as a stranger, yet his death was afterwards generally thought a public loss.

As to the objection which Mr Horsmanden makes of the necessity of Interrogatories, Cross Interrogatories, Examinations and Cross Examinations &c for which no Officers are appointed it is easily removed by the evidence being put on writing in the Court below from whence the appeal is made. Or if Witnesses are to be examined before the Council it may be done vivâ voce in open Court, & put in writing by the Clerk of the Council who is a standing officer, or if any other officer be wanted the Governor has sufficient Authority to appoint such.

Chief Justice Horsmanden insists that in case of allowing appeals on the Merits, the Council would be obliged to sit every day to determine them. This was certainly designed to amuse the ignorant. The Supreme Court of this Province sits not quite six weeks in the whole year. Suppose an appeal were made on every cause (an absurd supposition) as the cause is brought to issue before it come to the Governor & Council, it can not take up so much time before them as it did in the Supreme Court.

His objections relating to the Introduction of Perjury are likewise removed by taking the Evidence in writeing in the Courts below; and this objection is as strong against a new tryal, the only remedy which he allows against an iniquitious verdict; and against new tryals on Ejectments in this province which frequently happen.

As to the form of the Writ I had no part in it, but that of putting the Seal to it. The Gentlemen of the Law when I have objected to the absurdity of some writs told me they had a right to have them sealed, & they took them at their own peril, but that I could not without injustice refuse the Seal. On these occasions I have often thought that Lawyers have introduced misteries & absurdities into the Law Forms, that mankind in general who are not lawyers, may not in such cases have the use of their own reason in judging of them. I neither could nor did advise as to the form of the Writs, whatever error there may be in them, the party who took them out has this excuse to make that no lawyer in this place would advise him in forming the Writs.

It is become necessary for me to observe to Your Lordships that the Chief Justice in his Speech has strongly intimated that the proceedings in bringing the appeal are highly criminal, and to confirm this insinuation John Morin Scot, an Attorney has commenced a suit against this Deputy Secretary, who is Clerk of the Supreme Court, for not sealing the Execution in this case, after he had been served with the writ to stay proceedings. The same person in open Court before the Council, addressing himself to me, said, it is highly criminal for any person to issue a writ in any case where he has not jurisdiction. He owns himself to be the Author of the inflammatory preface to the printed Copy of Mr Horsmanden's speech, which is given out to many persons and read by numbers in this place; a copy of which I think it necessary to send Your Lordship. The last line of the Preface is struck out in all the copies

which I received from him. These things make the stronger impression as they had found means before that time to make me understand that my administration may be very short, that I must remain in this Province, that I have a numerous family in it, and that I and they must expect to feel the resentment (& perhaps the Malice) of a powerful body of men.

As I have not one single person of knowledge in the Law to assist me I may have err'd in judgment but I am confident it will appear that I have acted on Principles of Equity & Justice, and with a sense of my Duty as Trustee for the King in this Province, in preserving, to the utmost of my power, the Kings Prerogative & just authority and likewise in securing the Properties of his Subjects in this Province by all the Legal means which the Crown has established. With these Sentiments I rest secure in the King's protection at all times, against any Malice or Resentment how great soever.

Notwithstanding of the present opposition to appeals I am fully perswaded that with judges of integrity and ability, free from all Family or interested connections and the officers of the Crown doing their Duty appeals will be submitted to & the people become pleased with them. But it may be requisite that any ambiguity in the Instruction be removed, directions for the method of Proceeding be given, and that it be extended particularly to all Cases in which the title or right to Lands are in question, or the Prerogative or Rights of the Crown are affected. If the aid of Parliament should be thought necessary it appears a matter of such importance to require it.

Allow me, My Lord, to observe in the last place that a Delay in determining this matter will in this place be interpreted as a tacit withdrawing of the Instruction.

Yesterday the Council met, at which time the judges William Smith and Robert Livingston gave their reasons why they refused to admit an appeal. The other judge David Jones by his letter to me answered that he was not in court at the time, and had no part in the refusing or admitting.

The Council directed an order to him to give his opinion on the legality of appeals and then adjourned this matter for 14 days to receive his opinion.

I have now endeavoured to inform Your Lordship to the best of my ability & it is done with the utmost submission by, My Lord,

Your most obedient & faithfull Servant

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl Halifax.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General, XXV., K 2. ]

Johnson Hall, Dec<sup>br</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1764

My Lords,

Since my letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, at which time I transmitted my sentiments on the Plan for Indian affairs &c<sup>a</sup> I have had the honour of writeing to your Lordships on the 3<sup>d</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> concerning the iniquitous grant in this Province called *Kayadarusseras*, & transmitted some papers necessary for illustrateing the fraud thereof, but there being at present, fresh matter for your Lordships information by the return of the two armys who marched against the Enemy,



I cannot avoid laying the same before you, as I would rather acquire y<sup>e</sup> character of a most constant correspondent, than at any time neglect laying before your Lordships w<sup>t</sup> it is my duty to communicate.

There is doubtless an Acc<sup>t</sup> transmitted to His Majesty's Ministers of the Proceedings of both the Expeditions which, it is not my business to enlarge upon, or explain, I shall therefore chiefly confine myself to the effects they will have upon the Several Indian Nations within my Department.

Your Lordships will perceive from the procedure of Coll. Bradstreet's Army, that at first setting out of the Troops from Niagra, they were met at *Lance aux Feuilles* on Lake Erie by Ten Indians, with whom he too readily treated (contrary to y<sup>e</sup> advice and inclinations of our Indians) whereby they imposed on our Troops and prevented their Action, for altho they agreed to deliver up within a certain time all prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> at Sandosky, as well as to stop all Hostilities, yet, they never observed to perform either. Coll. Bradstreet next endeavoured to send a party to the Illinois, whom the Twightwees would not suffer to pass thro their country, & were about to put the officer to death. On the arrival of the Army at y<sup>e</sup> Detroit the Commanding Officer entered into a solemn treaty of peace with some Ottawaes, and Chippewaes several of whom had before treated with me at Niagra. In this last treaty these Indians are said to acknowledge subjection, dominion &c<sup>a</sup> but Pondiac is not included.—On the Coll<sup>'s</sup> return to Sandosky he proposed proceeding against the Shawanese & Delawares, but it is reported that it was found impracticable, & that the Indians appeared averse to it, but the fact is, that the Indians who were prevented from knocking the Impostors on the Head at *Lance aux feuilles*, & greatly concerned at y<sup>e</sup> commanding Officer's manner of treating with them, had resolved not to interest themselves any farther (so warmly) in the issue of the Campaign, and therefore declared at Sandosky that they would readily march with the Army, but would not of themselves go in partys against an Enemy whom the Coll. had treated with, and was not disposed to attack w<sup>th</sup> his Troops. The result of this Expedition is, that after loosing near one half of the great boats, the Troops are returned in a most shattered scituation, many have perished in the Woods, and above forty are now daily fed by the Senecas, 'till they become able to march, neither are all my Officers or Indians yet come in, haveing been turned a drift without any provision on Lake Erie, together with several hundred of the troops. These are a few general Heads which can all be enlarged upon, & fully proved by the best Authority.

On the other hand Coll. Bouquet under all the disadvantages of a tedious & hazardous land march, with an Army little more than half that of the other has penetrated into the heart of the Country of the Delawares & Shawanese, obtained above 200 English Captives from amongst them, with 14 hostages for their comeing here, and entering into a peace before me in due form &c<sup>a</sup> & I daily expect their chiefs for that purpose.

Haveing just run over some of the most material circumstances of the Expeditions, it remains that I should lay before your Lordships the state of the Indians at present, & the effect these occurrences will have upon them.—For although an Account of the Campaign has been sent to England it is my duty to describe the scituation of affairs as they really are, & as they regard my Department.

In the first place give me leave to observe to your Lordships how our late Military operations are considered by the Freind Indians, & what effect they will have upon our Enemies.

As to the first Coll. Bradstreet made choice of 300 Indians out of the number I brought to Niagra, in these were comprised near 100 Caghnawagaes & other Canada Indians, whose



presence was judged highly necessary and of whose fidelity I can have no doubt from the very good behaviour of these People since the reduction of Canada, I therefore earnestly wished that they might return home prejudiced in favour of the English Conduct & satisfied with the treatment they would receive, as it was y<sup>e</sup> first time, they ever had an opportunity of joining His Majesty's Troops, and I can affirm no men of any Denomination expressed a greater desire to go against the Shawanese & Delawares in particular, which were the Nations I had in an especial manner pointed out as our most inveterate Enemys, but to my infinite mortification, I find that not only these Caghnawagaes but all the rest of the Indians, My own officers, & all those of the Troops whom I have since conversed with, are returned in y<sup>e</sup> utmost chagrin at their own treatment, & the transactions of y<sup>e</sup> campaign, what they all report may be in some degree foreign to the affairs of my Department, and as I was never inclined to do any person an ill office, I willingly suppress them, but I am convinced I cannot do so with regard to what relates to the Indian Interest, without being guilty of a notorious neglect, & being accessary to any troubles which may hereafter proceed from the misconduct of one of the Armys, therefore I cannot avoid expressing the great uneasiness of all our Indians at the late Transactions, they say that those Impostors who met the army at L'Ance Aux Feuilles only desired to know of the Commanding Officer whether he was coming upon Peace or War to their Country, that the latter was every whit as agreeable as the former, To which he answer'd that he was glad they were so peaceably disposed, as he was himself of that Disposition, & then contrary to the inclination of our Indians whom he never consulted made a treaty with them telling them after all was over in general terms that the Shawanese & Delawares were become his Freinds. —That this was the real proceeding at that place can be proved by all the Indians who were present, as well as Ind<sup>n</sup> Officers who understood the language of these Impostors, and the Inconsistency thereof occasioned our Indians to resolve not to take upon themselves any thing for the rest of the campaign, as these were the People they flattered themselves they should have marched against, that having appointed a certain day for the Enemy to bring in their Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> to Sandosky he proceeded to Detroit & on his return from thence some time after he ascended Sandosky River where he encamped waiting their arrival, but suddenly on the report of an Enemys approach decamped & retired with the utmost precipitation to y<sup>e</sup> Lake leaving the Indians behind who haveing waited till long after the appointed time, retired, & joined the Army greatly disgusted that he had slipped so good an opportunity of marching to the plains which were not four days march for an Indian, nor above six for the Troops.

That afterwards the Commanding Officer asked them to proceed against the Enemy, to which they answered, that it was very extraordinary for him to require them to proceed alone against a people that he had treated with contrary to their advice & was afraid to go ag<sup>t</sup> himself, but that they would readily accompany him, & the Army & then do every thing he desired, but that he laid aside the attempt, Altho had he only gone two days march it would have thrown the Enemy into the utmost confusion & greatly favoured Coll. Boquet as well as releived the Frontiers, who daily suffered from the Enemy's Scalping Partys notwithstanding the Treaty. That all this has been misrepresented, and put on another footing can be fully proved by those who understood the words which *really* passed between the Coll. & the Indians. —That a Treaty was huddled up with some of the Nations at Detroit, on which occasion not a syllable was mentioned concerning Subjection or Dominion. —That the Commanding Officer pardonned Minny Chain & Godfroy the two notorious villains so often represented by Major Gladwin, as Principals in the late War, & solely confided in them &

some other Frenchmen, by one of whose means the boats were cast away, as by his advice the Army halted at an open beach when there was a fine river within two miles of them, that the whole of the Transactions being in French were never explained to our Indians, neither did they know any thing that past from time to time, except of those languages with which they happened to be acquainted, that the Commanding Officer has likewise taken upon him to grant several Tracts of Land about Detroit & Lake Erie, as well to some of the Officers, as to some French Inhabitants, & lastly that they the Indians with their Officers were set to shift for themselves on Lake Erie without an ounce of provisions & destitute of every thing, neither was any order left at Niagra for supplying them & the Commanding Officer did it there for y<sup>e</sup> good of the service at his own risque by the desire of my Officers.— These are a few of their general subjects of Complaint, on which the six Nations have sent me Messengers to acquaint me that they are all comeing here, and I leave your Lordships to judge, after what has passed whether we can readily expect their assistance on any future occasion, for besides that our errors (to give them no worse name) have made us look less in the Indians eyes than ever, they are greatly disgusted at the ill treatment of their own people, alarmed at the specious words of Subjection & Dominion, & astonished at the granting of lands within their rights, which is really an unaccountable transaction. In a word it is evidently necessary that these matters be cleared up to their satisfaction, and notwithstanding the success of Coll. Bouquet will be much noticed by the Indians of Ohio, & have a good effect upon them, yet the conduct of affairs in the other Quarter will require y<sup>e</sup> application of an immediate remedy. Matters thus circumstanced with regard to our Freinds, it remains to show, how affairs stand between us and the Nations who have been at War with us, which I shall introduce with the following remarks.

Your Lordships will please to observe that for many months before the March of Coll. Bradstreet's Army, severall of the Western Nations had expressed a Desire for Peace, & had ceased to commit hostilities, that even Pondiac inclined that way but did not chuse to venture his person by comeing in to any of the Posts, this was the state affairs when I treated with the Indians at Niagra, in which Number were 1500 of the Western Nations, a Number infinitely more considerable than those who were treated with since at Detroit, many of whom were the same people, particularly y<sup>e</sup> *Hurons & Chippawaes*, In the mean time it now appears from the verry best authority, and can be proved by the oath of several reputable persons Prisoners at the Illinois & amongst the Indians, as also from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> of the Indians themselves, that not only many French Traders but also French Officers came amongst the Indians as they said fully authorised to assure them that the French King was determined to support them to the utmost, & not only invited them to the Illinois where they were plentifully supplied with ammunition, & other necessarys but also sent canoes at different times up the Illinois River to the Miamis, & others as well as up the Ohio to the Shawanese and Delawares, as by Major Smalmaus Acc<sup>t</sup> & several others (then Prisoners) transmitted me by Coll. Bouquet, & one of my officers who accompanied him will appear. That in an especial manner the French promoted the interest of Pondiac, whose influence is now become so considerable as Gent<sup>l</sup> Gage observes in a late letter to me that it extends even to the Mouth of the Mississippi, & has been ye principal occasion of our not as yet gaining possession of the Illinois, which the French as well as Indians are interested in preventing.—This Pondiac is not included in the late Treaty at Detroit, & is at the Head of a great number of Indians privately supported by the French, an officer of whom, was about three months ago in the Miamis Castle, at the Sioto Plains, Muskingum & several other places.—The Western Indians who it seems ridicule



the whole Expedition, as they must before this have heard of the Grants of the Lands in that Country, and the assertion that they acknowledged themselves to be subjects &c<sup>a</sup> to all intents & purposes, their jealousy will be inflamed to such a pitch by the interested French on the one side, & the Influence of Pondiac on the other, that we have great reason to apprehend a renewal of hostilities, or at least that they & the Twightwees will strenuously oppose our possessing the Illinois, which can never be accomplished without their consent, & indeed it is not to be wondered that they should be concerned at our occupying that Country, when we consider that the French (be their motive what it will) loaded them with favours, and continue to do so, accompanied with all outward marks of esteem, & an address peculiarly adapted to their manners, which infallibly gains upon all Indians, who judge by externals only, & in all their acquaintance with us upon the Frontiers have never found any thing like it, but on the contrary, harsh treatment, angry words, and in short every thing which can be thought of to inspire them with a dislike for our manners, & a jealousy of our views, I have seen so much of these matters, and I am so well convinced of the utter aversion our people have for them in general, & of the imprudence with which they constantly express it, that I absolutely despair of ever seeing tranquility established until your Lordships plan is fully settled, so as I may have proper persons to reside at y<sup>e</sup> Posts, whose business it shall be to remove their prejudices, and whose interest it becomes to obtain their esteem & friendship.

The importance of speedily possessing the Illinois and thereby securing a considerable branch of Trade, as well as cutting off the channel by which our enemys have been & will always be supplied, is a matter I have very much at heart, and what I think may be effected this Winter by land by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan in case matters can be so far settled with the Shawanese, Twightwees & Pondiac as to engage the latter with some chiefs of the before mentioned Nations to accompany him with a garrison, the expence attending this will be large, but the end to be obtained is too considerable to be neglected, I have accordingly recommended it to the consideration of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, & shall on the arrival of the Shawanese, Delawares &c. here, do all in my power to pave the way for effecting it, I shall also make such a peace with them as will be most for the credit and advantage of the Crown, & the security of the Trade & Frontiers, & tie them down to such conditions, as Indians will most probably observe.

The Expences I have been at by acting as a Military Officer without any allowance on that Head, the losses I have sustained by the neglect of my own concerns, as well with regard to business, as to the several Tracts which I have paid large sums for, but never possessed, & the inconceivable trouble & Expence I am involved in by my Department have induced me at last to think of addressing a Memorial to His Majesty, and I flatter myself if your Lordships are satisfied with the zeal I have shewn in my office, that you will be pleased to honour me with your interest on this occasion, which shall always be considered with the utmost gratitude, by

My Lords

Your Lordships most Devoted &

Most Obedient Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords of Trade



*Colonel Bradstreet's thoughts on Indian Affairs.*

[ Plantations General Papers, S., 89. ( 22 ). ]

The Nations or Tribes of Savages surrounding the Great Lakes, that have any knowledge of the English, are at this time in a disposition to live well with them, respect them, and beg for Trade and vessels in every Lake, hoping thereby, that Merchandize will be cheaper amongst them. They still love the French, who keep it up from the Mississippi and Illinois, by extending Trade to all Nations they can, and sending Emissaries to propagate such Tales as turn most to their advantage, and prejudice to the English. These Savages are numerous, proud, delight in, and practice War, from a Political view, knowing, that such, as neglect keeping up that spirit, must degenerate into effeminacy, and become the prey of such as do not.

To insure a lasting peace, gain their affections, and wean them from the French, strict justice, moderation, fair Trade, with keeping them from frequent intercourse with each other, and a respectable force at Detroit, is the way to obtain it, unless their whole dependance for the necessaries of life depended upon the English, which will never be the case, as long as the French can come up the Mississippi in safety, land, and extend their Trade on our side with impunity; the preventing of which will in the execution be found difficult, as the interest of the Savages, is to encourage and protect it, and it is said to the French East India Company that do it.

It is absolutely necessary to make choice for the establishing posts, for the security of Trade of such places as may be most convenient for the Savages of each Lake to carry on their Trade with ease to themselves; by which, with their natural laziness, will seldom go to their neighbours; and without this indulgence, they will never be contented, nor conspiracies warded off.

At these posts, Men of Sense, moderation and Spirit, should command; and each detachment for the small ones, should not be less, than one hundred good Men. Niagara and Detroit should be more respectable; the former cannot do with less than three posts upon the communication, of fifty Men each, and the latter must have as many to make good the Navigation to Lake Huron, the streights being too difficult for Vessels, so that Boats must be employed for that service, and the Officer at Detroit should always have it in his power to detach from his Garrison Three Hundred good Men, besides Militia, to chastize any Nation or Band of Savages, the instant they deserve it; for, by taking immediate satisfaction, they will respect, and fear us, and thereby prevent a General War. Niagara should have one Batallion, and Detroit near Two, upon the present Establishment.

The Posts necessary for Lake Ontario are already fixed, except Frontenac instead of Fort William Augustus, the latter being useless, the navigation for Vessels to it dangerous, and attended with great delays, and the former, an excellent harbour, from whence you are soon into the Lake.

For Lake Erie, Detroit is sufficient.

For Lake Huron, Detroit and Michilimickinack.

For Lake Michigan, Michilimickinack, the Bay and St Josephs

For Lake Superior, Falls of St Mary's, with two other Posts at the most convenient places, the Inhabitants being in that quarter numerous, particularly to the Westward of it.

These Posts of Michilimackinac, the Bay, St Joseph's the Falls of St Mary's with the two others upon the Banks of Lake Superior, will take one Battalion, which makes four from Niagara Westward.

All Posts upon the Banks of the Lakes, from Niagara upwards, to be under the controul of the Officer commanding at Detroit, and should Govern<sup>r</sup> judge it improper to establish a Civil Govern<sup>t</sup> there, and not encourage the Colony, still some Court of justice is necessary, to the end, Offenders, Inhabitants, Indians, Indian Traders & others, might be brought to justice, and punished by a Law that might prevent litigious suits, and satisfy the Savages, that the strictest justice is done them at all times.

The Savages have a contemptible opinion of all Indian Traders; it is therefore necessary the Officers commanding at the Posts should not Trade, but inspect into the Trade, prevent abuse, and bring offenders to that justice the Law may require, by this, they will be respected, and beloved by the Savages, and have it in their power to be of great use, when the Assistance of the latter may be wanted against His Majesty's Enemies.

The Officers at all Posts, where the Savages frequent, should be enabled to treat particulars, such as Chiefs and well affected, with a little Rum, Pipes & Tobacco, with provisions in cases of necessity; they having been accustomed to much more from the French, & expect it from us; the expence is a trifle, but the want of that Civility may be severely felt. For Niagara and all Trading Posts above it, an allowance of Twenty Pounds sterling a year, except Detroit, which should have more; thirty pounds annually, will be sufficient.

The goods to be furnished the Savages, should be, if possible, as good as those they had from the French before the reduction of Canada, sold to them at the same prices, or in that proportion, if not so good, and the same prices given for their skins and Peltry, and to enable us to carry on this Trade to more advantage, and grater safety, than the French did, no transportation to be suffered upon the Lakes, but in vessels, and Govern<sup>r</sup> to furnish and keep up these vessels, the Trader paying freight for his goods at the Rate of one half what it would cost him, if transported in Boats. This would overpay the expence of the Vessels for Trade, and those necessary for the public service, and prevent drunken or evil minded Indians, killing and plundering the Traders, which cannot be avoided at times, if the transportation was carried on in Boats. The number of Vessels necessary for the Trade cannot be fixed but by time; but the sooner there are two or three in the Lakes Huron and Michigan, with two in Lake Superior, the more pleasing it will be to the Savages, as they will see, no time is lost to put the Trade on an advantageous footing for them. The execution of this is certainly of great importance towards fixing the Savages in our favour.

The Savages should not be debarred spirituous Liquors; it is their darling passion; nay, they love it so much, they will sacrifice their all, at times, to obtain it, and will never live at peace with us without it; but the quantity each Trader should be permitted to take, should be limited in the proportion of the goods he takes, and might extend to fifteen pounds per one hundred pounds of goods, paying a duty of two shillings sterl: for every gallon, which it can very well bear, considering the enormous prices they sell it at.

The Savages are subtle, and the French intriguing; it therefore becomes dangerous to suffer the former to hoard up a large stock of Arms and Amunition, but this can not be prevented, should every Trader have it in his power to carry with him what quantities he may judge proper; upon these considerations, and that the profits arising from the sale and Returns, would go a great way towards defraying the public expence for the protection of the



Trade, would it not be best in the hands of Govern<sup>t</sup> under the care of a Commissary, subject to the inspection of the Commanding Officer of each Post, with Instruct<sup>ns</sup> as to the quantities to be disposed of annually? The honour of Govern<sup>t</sup> will require these articles should be good, and the prices should be fixed—and—

Here I must take notice, that from the Govern<sup>t</sup> of Pennsylvania all the Shawanese and Delawar Indians are furnished with rifled barrel Guns, of an excellent kind, and that the upper Nations are getting into them fast, by which, they will be much less dependent upon us, on account of the great saving of powder, this Gun taking much less, and the shot much more certain, than any other gun, and in their way of carrying on war, by far more prejudicial to us, than any other sort. It is submitted if it would not be a public benefit to stop the making and vending of any more of them in the Colonies, nor suffer any to be imported.

Should Govern<sup>t</sup> Judge proper to take the supplying all savages with arms and amunition into their hands—For the upper Lakes, a public Magazine will be necessary at Detroit, under proper Officers, to receive and send forward to all the Posts, as likewise to receive the remittances back, and the Commissaries of the Posts to account annually with those of Detroit, subject to the inspection of the Gov<sup>r</sup> or Officer commanding there. Should New York be thought a proper channel for the conveyance up the Country, a Commissary will be necessary there, and one at Albany; but if, on the contrary, Canada should be thought best, Quebec and Montreal are proper places for Officers for this service.

Of all the Savages upon the continent, the most knowing, the most intriguing, the less useful, and the greatest Villains, are those most conversant with the Europeans, and deserve most the attention of Govern<sup>t</sup> by way of correction, and these are the Six Nations, Shawanese and Delawares; they are well acquainted with the defenceless state of the Inhabitants, who live on the Frontiers, and think they will ever have it in their power to distress and plunder them, and never cease raising the jealousy of the Upper Nations against us, by propagating amongst them such stories, as make them believe the English have nothing so much at heart as the extirpation of all Savages. The apparent design of the Six Nations, is to keep us at war with all Savages. but themselves, that they may be employed as mediators between us and them, at a continuation of expence, too often and too heavily felt, the sweets of which, they will never forget, nor lose sight of, if they can possibly avoid it. That of the Shawanese and Delawares is to live, on killing, captivating and plundering the people inhabiting the Frontiers; long experience having shown them they grow richer, and live better thereby, than by hunting wild Beasts.

This campaign has fully oiyened the eyes of the Upper Nations of Indians; they are now sensible, they are made use of as the dupes and Tools of these detestable and diabolical set, the Six Nations, Shawanese and Delawares, and it would require but little address and expence (the Posts and Trade properly fixed) to engage them to cut them off the face of the earth, and they deserve it, or to keep the Six Nations in such subjection, as would put an end to our being any longer a kind of Tributary to them; and their real interest call upon them to destroy, or drive the Shawanese and Delawares out of the Country they now posses on account of hunting. This they know, and would soon put either into execution, if assured, His Maj<sup>ty</sup> would not suffer any other Savages to live there. Happy will it be, when Savages can be punished by Savages, the good effects of which the French can tell. That we can punish them, is beyond doubt, whenever wisdom, secrecy and Dispatch is the case; in these quarters, with good Troops in numbers proportionate to the service they are employed upon.



The Pass of Niagara is of great importance, and will always be an expence to Govern<sup>t</sup>. The principal part of the Trade, if the transportation is carried on in vessels, will pass that way, and from its proximity to the Jeneseo Indians, a part of the Six Nations and the greatest Savage Enemies we have, it will be difficult, if not impracticable, for some time to come, for private persons to keep up boats and carriages so well, but that the Trade will meet with delays; it would therefore be more safe and permanent in the hands of Govern<sup>t</sup> who only can make transportation certain, and by the Traders paying a reasonable price for the carriage of their goods etc. there will be no stop, and the public service carried on there without expence.

This campaign upon the Lakes, has also opened the hearts of the Six Nations, and a black one; it will appear for us, by General Gage having sent the papers respecting them to His Majesty's Ministers, to which I hope he has tacked the immense expence they have been at to Govern<sup>t</sup> this year, exclusive of provisions, which is an immense expence also. It will also be seen by those papers, that the Upper Nations of Indians know, that we are fully acquainted with the tricks, the Six Nations play us, and I believe they do expect to hear, that that part of them, called Jeneseo Indians, get their Deserts soon.

The French accustomed the Savages of the upper Lakes and Rivers, to send Traders with goods to winter amongst them, for which permit the Trader paid a certain price each time; I believe the Indians will expect it will be so again; should Govern<sup>t</sup> think proper to grant it them, the Trader can very well pay thirty pounds sterl: for each large Canoe so permitted to go into the interior parts of the Country, which will make a considerable sum annually; the passes to be given at Detroit only, to prevent fraud.

I am assured by persons lately from the Illinois, that exclusively of the French Garrisons there, the Inhabitants are six hundred fighting Men, have one thousand Negroes well accustomed to the use of small arms, averse to our taking possession of the Country, and have painted us out in such colours to the numerous Savages near them, that they, the latter, will certainly endeavour to prevent the Troops getting there by the Mississippi, even should the Indians near the Sea allow them to pass, which they think they will not, unless well paid for it, which will not answer, what may perhaps be expected. They add that it is their opinion also, that all attempts to get possession of the Illinois, with less than three thousand Men, will fail, and that those Troops should go down the Ohio River, and that the Expedition carried on with such secrecy, that they may enter the Mississippi ninety miles below Fort Chartres, before the Inhabitants can have intelligence of it, and time to apprize all the Savages. I am convinced, the only way to establish ourselves amongst the Savages, with respect and safety, is to begin, by coming upon them by ways unfrequented, undiscovered, and with such Force, as shall make such an impression as shall be lasting; and if a body of Troops should be sent to take possession of the Illinois, those Troops should visit all the principal Nations of Indians upon the Banks of the Missisipi as near the sea as they live, & endeavour to enter into an alliance with all they can, and purchase their aid to make war upon those that remain stubborn, to bring them to reason, and open a free passage upon the River. The shortest way to carry this into execution is by Fort Pitt, provided the Troops are not to come from Canada; but if any comes from thence, the best way is by Niagara to Presqu' Isle upon Lake Erie.

The Colony of Detroit grows fast, and the Inhabitants have great influence over the Savages; the removing them would occasion a general War with the Indians, and to leave them as they

now are, will take a great length of time before they become proper English subjects; it is therefore humbly submitted, if it would not be best to permit and encourage British subjects to settle there, as the increase of the latter would be so great in a few years, that they must soon become one people by marriages etc. The spirit of settling the King's subjects, there shows itself fully by a memorial of Sixty Officers serving in the upper Lakes this Campaign, praying his Majesty would be graciously pleased to permit them to settle six hundred and thirty nine families, at their own expence, with such marks of the King's Royal favour, as his Maj<sup>ty</sup> may think proper.

Albany Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1764. Copy of which I sent to General Gage.

Upon receiving General Gage's orders, to continue the War against the Shawanese and Delawares, I demanded the assistance of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s new subjects, the Ottawas, Shepewas etc, and sent four Detachments of them out, one returned, having drawn blood by taking one scalp, which is sufficient to oblige all the Nations to prosecute the War. Happy will it be, if this is improved, and it certainly is in our own hands now.—

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[Plantations General, XXV.]

Johnson Hall Jan<sup>ry</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> 1765

My Lords

The last letter which I had the honour of writeing to your Lordships was of the 26<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>br</sup> concerning the issue of the late Expeditions since which I am sorry to hear that all the Hostages the Delawares excepted delivered up to Coll. Bouquet have made their escape, which has an unfavourable appearance, especially with regard to the Shawanese whose sincerity I verry much doubted of, as they have been all along supported by the French at the Illinois &c. & were never hearty in their engagements.—What the issue of this will be cannot as yet be known, but I am verry apprehensive it may have bad consequences, as these hostages would hardly have left the Army unless their People designed to renew Hostilities & expected to find a support. The Delawares are I hear on the way to treat with me, but I need not to expect the Shawanese &c. after this late affair. I shall however neglect nothing which may prevent their behaviour from influenceing their neighbours, to which end the Additional Officers intended for the Department are verry much wanting, and in fact there is no doing without them, as Proclamations are issued throughout y<sup>e</sup> sev<sup>l</sup> Governments for opening the Indian Trade, which will in about two months more be carried on as formerly, and doubtless with the same frauds & impositions unless under the check of the persons proposed.

A few Days ago died at New York of the Gout M<sup>r</sup> Marsh Secretary for Indian Affairs, & clerk of the City & County of Albany, the first of which offices his bad state of health prevented his attending to and the second the People of this Government took care to keep from him till a few months ago, so that the entrys in the Records have been cheifly made by M<sup>r</sup> Johnson one of my Deputys. The Governour and myself are of opinion that the two offices should be seperated for the future, as that of a secretary has for several years past required



the constant attendance of a person versed in Indian Affairs. The Gov<sup>r</sup> will therefore take upon him to nominate a Clerk for the City & County of Albany till his Majesty's pleasure is known, and with regard to y<sup>e</sup> office of Secretary I must beg leave to recommend to y<sup>r</sup> Lordships M<sup>r</sup> *Richard Shuckburgh* formerly Surgeon to the New York Independant Companys who was promised the Secretaryship some years ago, and for some time since acted for me in that capacity, He is a Gentleman of a liberal Education and from his long residence in these parts has acquired a knowledge of the Indian Customs & Forms, without which a Secretary can never discharge that Duty as he ought, and therefore I flatter myself your Lordships will be pleased to obtain a Commission for him for that office alone, as I presume you will agree with the Governour & me that the two offices are verry distinct in their Nature and require to be seperated, & I cannot help observeing to your Lordships that the present Sallary for the Secretary is too small an allowance for any person who will discharge that office in the manner it requires.

I have not lately mentioned any thing concerning the want of a Surgeon to attend such Indians as deserve it, & have met with accidents, I had one allowed me in the year 1756, but not since, I am persuaded it would be highly pleasing to the Indians, & have a verry good effect upon 'em, such a person besides his attending the Mohawks, & those who come upon business here, could accompany me or my Deputys on the Tours into the Indian Country where his presence would be sometimes absolutely necessary, as well, on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Indians who will accompany me, as for the cure of accidents which seldom fail to happen, where many Indians are assembled w<sup>h</sup> I am certain would be giving them a verry strong proof of our freindship, and could not fail endearing us to them, as their own skill extends but to the use of a few simples, which they apply in all cases with verry uncertain effect since the introduction of spiritous liquors &c<sup>a</sup> there are several young men regularly bred now in this country, who are out of employment since the reduction of the Troops, so that it will be no difficult task to find one properly qualified who would accept of such a place for £70 or 80 Sterling p<sup>r</sup> annum & a chest of Medicines.—

I have the honour to be

with the utmost Esteem & Respect

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

& Most Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
the Lords of Trade

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 70.]

New York 22 January 1765.

My Lords,

I wrote so largely in my preceeding letters on the subject of His Majestys 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction for allowing of appeals from the Courts of Common Law to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, and from



thence to the King in his privy Council, that I have just reason to be affraid of being thought troublesome. But as it is agreed on all hands, that never a question of greater importance was agitated in this Prov<sup>ce</sup>, I flatter myself, your Lord<sup>ps</sup> will be pleased with receiving all the information I can give you relating to this matter. After promising, that I am every day more and more convinced that the opposition to appeals arises solely from the proprietors of the great pattents in this Province, united with the Lawyers, and by their deluding the people with false and imaginary jealousies.

Herewith are inclosed the Minutes of Council posterior to those I sent by the last packett, and in them every thing is entered which has been urged against allowing of appeals.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of this month the Council come to the following resolution, as entered in the minutes: viz<sup>t</sup>

“ His honour the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> required the opinion of the Council on the following question.

“ Whether by the 32<sup>nd</sup> Instruction the King has directed his Gov<sup>r</sup> to permit and allow appeals in all Civil causes, from the Courts of Common Law within this Prov<sup>ce</sup> and whether his Maj<sup>ty</sup> has by the same Instruction directed his Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council to hear and determine such appeals.”

“ Whereupon the Council declared, that as the King's Judges and the most able Council in the Law in the Province, have given their opinion, that no other than an appeal on error can lay this Instruction—they are unanimously of opinion, no other appeal, than on error is the intention or meaning of the Crown by this instruction, and that they cannot take cognizance of any other appeal—”

“ His honour the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> declared his dissent to the said opinion, and signified he would give his reasons to his Majesty's Ministers.”

Which I am now to do by shewing your Lord<sup>ps</sup> why I could not join in thinking that the Instruction means a removal only of the proceedings and judgement of the Court, as is done by writ of Error, and not of the whole merits of the cause and evidence. For:

On the supposition, that appeal means a writ of Error, the subject is by this instruction restrained, in all causes where the value is below £300 sterl: from that relief, which the subject in England by Law has a right to in all causes above 40 shillings value; which in such case, would be unjust and contrary to Law. The Crown therefore could not intend, that the Supreme Court in New York, shall have a final and irreversable power, to a far greater extent, than the Court of King's Bench in England.

If appeal and appellat mean the same as writ of error and plaintiff in error, the Jurisdiction would not provide for security to be given, because on writs of error it is provided by Act of Parliament.

If the Instruction was designed to direct a writ of error to be issued, execution would not likewise be ordered to be suspended; for a writ of error does itself suspend execution.

In England, Judgement on Errors in proceedings or points of Law, assends from Judges of lower Rank to those of higher reputation. If the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council here, are only to judge upon the proceedings and points of Law, the correcting of the errors of the Judges and Attorneys, learned in the Law, must be by Men who have little or no knowledge in the Law, and less skill in the practice of Courts. And yet these Men may be very proper Judges on the merits of a cause.

If the practice of the Courts at Westminster be made the Law in the Colonies, upon what practice there can the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council be made Judges of the Errors of the Supream Court of New York? Or what writ can issue at New York to inhibit the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council or to

carry the case from hence to the King in privy Council? The Instruction directs no writ for this purpose.

I am clearly of opinion that no Man who reads this Instruction with attention, and without prejudice compares every part of it with the other parts, can doubt that an appeal is intended the merits of the cause, and to remove the whole cause and evidence, from an inferior to a superior Judicatory. In any other sence, the several parts of the Instruction become inconsistent. The meaning of the word Appeal is still further put out of doubt by the subsequent 33<sup>rd</sup> Instruction viz: "You are likewise to permit appeals unto us in Council in all "cases of Fines imposed for Misdemeanors etc." in wh<sup>ch</sup> cases the appeal must extend to the whole merits, otherwise, no judgement can be made whether the fine be excessive or not. This the Gentlemen of the Council are obliged to admit.—The words, "you are likewise to "permit" shews that the intention is the same in the preceeding Instruction. If the words of an instruction be allowed to be wrested and turned to serve a purpose, it may be of no use to give any.

When I consider the reason, why in all probability this Instruction is given, every doubt is removed. His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Authority and the Rights of this Crown are secured to him by his Courts of Justice. He does not think it safe to place this great trust in his Courts of Justice in the Colonies, in the last resort, and therefore has reserved an appeal to himself in his privy Council. How wisely this precaution has been taken too evidently appears by the present opposition, in which the Judges act a principal part; they not only pervert the meaning of the Instruction, but in their public harrangues endeavour to inflame the minds of the People, by false and truely wicked suggestions, in order to render His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s instructions, and his Gov<sup>r</sup> in supporting the King's Authority and the rights of his Crown, odious to his people. How consistent this is with that great regard which they pretend to have for their oaths, your Lord<sup>sh</sup>ps may judge, from their harrangues inserted in the Minutes, which are printed and dispersed among the people here; and how safely the authority and rights of the Crown may, in the last resort, be trusted with such Men. I say in the last resort, for if no appeal on the merits be allowed, they become Judges in the last resort. Had the Judges been well satisfied of the Justice of their own opinions, they never would have taken the method of supporting themselves by inflaming the minds of the populace; a method, the least justifiable in them of any Men, and which can only suit a desperate cause.

My Lords. The refusing appeals from the Court of Common Law, is no less dangerous to the rights of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects, than to the Rights of the Crown. The present state of our Courts of Common Law are well described, by the State, which Chief Justice Hales gives of the County Courts in England, when the property of the people in England was determined in those Courts, and for that reason I cannot better describe the present state of Justice in this Province, than in his words in his History of the Common Law. viz' "All the business "of any moment was carried by Factions and parties, for the Freeholder being generally the "Judges, and conversing one among another, and being as it were the Chief Judges, not only "of the Fact but of the Law; every Man that had a suit there, sped according as he could "make parties, and Men of great power and interest in the County did easily overbear others "in their own causes, or in such where they were interested, either by relation of Kindred, "Tenure, service, dependance or application"—

Similar causes in all ages produce similar effects, and such effects must be expected while Men have the means in their power of gratifying their avarice or ambition. Factions formed



by Men of Interest, large Estates and family connections, must be of much more force and consequence in any Colony, than they could at any time have been in the Counties in England. The Counties in England had no Legislative power; were immediately under the inspection of the King's Ministers, and under the correction of the Superior Courts & of the Parliament. It is true, the King appoints all the Officers of Govern<sup>t</sup>, but while they (from the Gov<sup>r</sup> to the meanest Officer in the Govern<sup>t</sup>) depend on the Assembly for their daily bread, they must very unwillingly quarrel with such powerfull Factions. Indeed when the Judges and the profession of the Law are connected in family and similar interests, with others of great influence, and power in the Govern<sup>t</sup>, who unite in opposing a Gov<sup>r</sup>, his authority will be despised because he wants the necessary means of putting it in execution. The Mischiefs which Chief Justice Hales complains of in the execution of Justice in the Counties of England, were easily remedied by application to the Courts at Westminster, and by the circuit courts, for every Man who suspected too powerful an interest against him in the County, removed his cause into one or other of these Courts; Judges are not allowed to go into the Counties where they have Estates or family connections. But in the Colonies, neither the Crown nor the subject can have such security and relief against interested Judges and an overbearing Faction; their only security and relief is by appeal.

It is true that the appointing Judges, who have no family connections, must in a great measure remedy these evils, but if the profession of the Law keep united as they are now, the abilities of an upright Judge will not be sufficient to restrain the Lawyers, without the security of an appeal to a Court where they can have no undue influence. The Lawyers influence every branch of our Govern<sup>t</sup>, a domination as destructive of Justice as the domination of Priests was of the Gospel; both of them founded on delusion. Independent Judges, disinterested and free from family connections, with the right of appealing to a Court which can not be biassed by any of our parties, will effectually destroy this domination, and secure the rights of the King and his Subjects.

Now My Lords, I must beg leave to add something in excuse for my own conduct in this affair, for not having put in execution the authority with which the King has entrusted me, and which it may be thought I ought on this occasion to have exerted; but what can a Man do, who has no hands?—Mr Kemp the Att: Gen<sup>l</sup> absolutely refused to assist me. When application was first made to me for allowance of appeal, I sent for him and desired him to advise me what was proper for me to do in this case. He absolutely declined to give me a direct answer, tho' I several times repeated my question and at last put it in writing and gave it him. What he did afterwards appears on the minutes of Council.

The Judges in place of giving the reasons of their judgements in private and simply, as I expected, surprised me by harranguing to a large audience, to make his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> instructions appear illegal and arbitrary, and to render his Governour odious in the eyes of the people for supporting the true intention of the Instruction, and for publicly affirming that it is really calculated for the benefit of the subject in this Province. I thought at first that Chief Justice Horsmanden had gone further than any other of the Judges were willing to follow him; but to what lengths Justice Livingston has gone will best appear from his harangue, wh<sup>ch</sup> he industriously intruded on the last day of the hearing, without being desired to speak on this occasion. It requires no comment, I only beg, your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will peruse it. He is heir to one of the greatest Landed Estates, dispersed in several parts of the Province, and involved in disputes with the poor industrious Farmers, who have settled and improved the adjoining Lands.



The Gentlemen of the greatest influence in the Council, I knew from the beginning were averse to the allowing an Appeal; but I did not suspect that they would have encouraged the method of clamour to carry their purposes, till it was too late. I could not imagine that his Majesty's Council would adopt measures so unbecoming their character, and which are never taken but by a daring faction, in opposition to the Administration. After the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council had taken the form of a Court, and were surrounded by the Lawyers, every Member of the Council thought, he had an equal right with the Gov<sup>r</sup> to direct the method of proceedings: they all united in every step, which served to promote their purpose. To make the Council unanimously agree with the Judges, was in a measure pursued with the greatest earnestness, as the only method to preserve the Judges. Great numbers, they think, must screen Individuals.

While the Council kept the matter depending above eight weeks, in order to give the Judges severally an opportunity to harrangue the audience, I attempted to inform myself by books, since I could have no assistance from the Attorney General, and communicated to the Council some arguments which had weight with me, and which I was in hopes might likewise have weight with them. They urged me to give them a copy of the Memorandums I had made, which I several times declined to do, suspecting it would be put into the Lawyers hands and such use made of it as afterwards was. But at last I consented and sent it to them with a letter, a copy of which is inclosed. A fortnight afterwards, to which time the meeting of the Council was delayed at their desire, they surprised me with their answer to my Memorandums, as entered on the minutes, and at the end of it gave a final Judgement.—I complained of the ill use had been made of my confidence, and of the indecency of making the Gov<sup>r</sup> and themselves as it were opposite parties in the debate, and of their forming a judgement privately among themselves without the knowledge of the Gov<sup>r</sup> & publishing it as the judgement of the Court; they were so sensible of their error in the last matter, as to alter the concluding clause. As it is now to be before proper Judges, I shall forbear to make any further remarks on this part of the Conduct of the Council.

As to the popular clamour it is really in my humble opinion, little to be minded. The grand Engine by which the Judges and Lawyers endeavour to inflame the minds of the people, easily misled by sounds, is by boldly suggesting, that our Constitution is to be altered by the King's 32<sup>nd</sup> instruc<sup>tn</sup> and trial by Juries taken away. This is maintained in every Debate and publication, yet is inconsistent with truth. No one case can be shewn wherein a trial by Jury can be prevented in pursuance of this Instruction; nor is it probable that there will be an appeal in one cause of a hundred that are tryed in the Supream Court here. It is true, there seems to be a remedy against an iniquitous verdict, And what honest Men would not wish to have such a remedy. If I be rightly informed, as I believe I am, iniquitous verdicts, have been frequent in this Colony, and Chiefly owing to the artifices of the Lawyers in sometimes leading the witnesses and Jury, and at other times by perplexing them, without any proper check from the Bench. In all appeals before, Men of common honesty, great regard will be had to the verdict of twelve Men on their oaths, unless the verdict appear evidently false.

I know numbers of gentlemen that are perswaded, Justice cannot be preserved in the present state of our Courts, unless we have disinterested and independent Judges, and a subject have a right to appeal. People after the present torrent has subsided, will discover that they have no other security in their property against a powerful interested Faction. Certain it is, the Merchants in England, and persons there, who have property in the Colonies, cannot otherwise be secure.

Whatever may be the foundation of the Judges sentiments, they can never be justified in the method they have taken to inforce their own opinions, while my conduct they know, may in so short time, be subjected to the enquiry of His Majesty's Ministers, where they may regularly have relief, and I am subject to the highest censure. Indeed they have had no way to avoid this reflection but by a still higher offence, by suggestions of the arbitrary dispositions of the Lords of the Privy Council, without regard to truth, justice or decency.—

If your Lord<sup>ps</sup> shall think it proper that Chief Justice Horsmanden, Justice Livingston and M<sup>r</sup> Kemp the Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> be removed from their offices, and other fit persons, free from all connections in the Prov<sup>ce</sup> be appointed in their room with sufficient salaries to free them from the undue influence of the Assembly, I make no doubt, every thing will soon become quiet and people in general will think themselves happy in the change.

An Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> of sufficient knowledge in the Law is more necessary for His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> service in this Province, than has been hitherto imagined. A Gov<sup>r</sup> must often be at a loss for want of such to advise him.

Before the latter part of M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey's Administration, there were only three Judges of the Supream Court. He added a fourth, to oblige the speaker of the Assembly, who had been very usefull to him. It will be more easy to find sufficient salaries for three than for Four. The present Justices of the Supream Court, are, Daniel Horsmanden, Chief Justice, David Jones, William Smith and Robert R. Livingston.

Nothing, My Lords, but a thorough conviction of the necessity of appeals for securing the rights of the Crown, and a due administration of Justice, could have induced me, to stand singly in the gap against such a violent torrent, in a country where my family must continue to be exposed to the malice of a powerful faction, swayed by avaricious views which in my former letter I have explained. My conviction principally arises from the knowledge I have of the Administration of Justice in this Province, & of the Men in whose hands it is placed; against whom without an appeal to a superior Judicatory, even an Act of Parliam<sup>t</sup> may not be a sufficient security.

Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> cannot avoid seeing my present situation, and that my confidence can only be in His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> protection while I perform my duty with your Lord<sup>ps</sup> approbation of my conduct. And your Lord<sup>ps</sup> must likewise perceive how much it concerns me in the Administration to know your sentiments as soon as may be.

I am with entire submission

My Lords,

Your most obedient & faithful servant

CADWALDADER COLDEN



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York Papers (State Paper Office) CLVIII. ]

New York, 23<sup>d</sup> January 1765

My Lord,

In the letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of last month which I had honour to write to your Lordship, I presum'd the importance of the subject would excuse the trouble I gave you. I shall not now



presume so much on your patience, haveing at this time given all the information, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, I can on the subject of Appeals to the King in his Privy Council, so warmly disputed in this province. I shall only beg to leave to mention some things which I humbly conceive may deserve your Lordships more immediate attention.

His Majesty's Authority and the Rights of his Crown are secured to him by his Courts of Justice. The King does not think it safe to place this great trust finally in the Courts of Justice in the Colonies, & therefore has reserv'd an appeal to himself in his Privy Council. How wisely this precaution has been taken too evidently appears by the present opposition to it. Had the Judges of our Supream Court & the Gentlemen of the Council candidly given their opinions with becoming submission to the King in his Privy Council, I should have made no complaint, whatever their opinion had been. But when Men in whom the King places the greatest confidence in this Province attempt to support their opinion by measures which no man fully convinced of the Justice and Legallity of his opinion would ever take, they give just reason to beleive that they are influenced by sinister views and bad purposes and are not willing to submit to the proper judges finally to determine the same, especially if the measures taken to support themselves are only fitted for the purposes of a desperate faction in opposing the legal administration of Government & tending to sedition

The judges under pretence of delivering the reason of their conduct openly harangue a numerous audience with design to render the plain and obvious meaning of his Majesty's 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction odious to the people, by representing it as evasive of the Law and destructive of the Constitution: and by vile suggestions that the Governor who supports the Instruction, & the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council who have the final determination of appeals are men capable of overturning the Law & constitution, and willing to reduce his Majesty's subjects of this Province to a state of slavery.

However incredible what I now say may be thought I humbly conceive it will evidently appear by the Papers enter'd on the Minutes of Council, by the printed papers which I inclosed to your Lordships with my preceding letter & by Justice Livingston's harangue, an attested copy of which I now enclose, and which I doubt not is likewise designed for the Press. Justice Livingston is largely interested in the great Land Patents.

This wicked Design is put beyond question by printing the Judges harangues, while the matter was depending before the Governor and Council for their judgement, & still depends before his Majesty in his Privy Council for their final determination.

These publications have had their designed effect of inflaming the minds of the people of this City, but clamours artfully raised soon subside, as I am confident this will with people in general. They have formerly succeeded in one or two instances by such artifices, in giving apprehensions to the King's Ministers of inconveniencies and dangers for which there was no real grounds, and they hope to do so now.

The Attorney General is the proper person to assist and advise the Governor in every case relating to law proceedings. Mr Kemp the present attorney General absolutely refused to advise or assist in the support of his Majesty's Instruction, which laid me under unexpected difficulties.

From the knowledge I have of the men & of the manner of proceeding in our Courts of Justice I am, with entire submission, of opinion that all factious attempts for the future will be effectually discouraged, if his Majesty shall think proper to remove Chief Justice Horsmanden & Justice Livingston, who have chose to distinguish themselves on this occasion,



& appoint a proper person to be Chief Justice, free from all interested connections, & supported according to the Dignity and importance of his office. It seems farther requisit for this purpose that an Attorney General be appointed capable of supporting the King's Authority & Rights of his Crown and to advise the Governor in all cases when the advice of a Lawyer is requisite, and that he likewise be made independant. When this shall be done, and the present torrent of Delusion has subsided, which cannot last long, I make no doubt people in general will be sensible of the great benefit they will receive by the right of appealing on the merits of the cause. Many are very sensible of the present precarious state of their Property under the dangerous and formidable influence of the Profession of the Law which extends to every branch of government. When a cause is carried to his Majesty's Privy Council the lawyers in this place can have no improper influence & of this both they and their clients will become sensible.

So long as I can remember we have not had an Attorney General fit for his office. This defect has encouraged some men to become bold in factious attempts: and from this the Proprietors of the large land pattents have gain'd their great power. An able Attorney General properly supported could have restrained them effectually.

Inclosed, My Lord, is a Copy of the final Resolution of the Council in relation to appeals.

If my situation in this province be considered, after the Administration of Government shall be in other hands, & of my family at all times expos'd to the malice of a number of men, the the Proprietors of the great pattents, virulent in their resentments & of great influence by their riches and family connections, I am perswaded it will be allowed me that nothing but a sense of my duty and of the real interest of the Country where my Residence is fixed, could have prevailed on me to have acted singly and without assistance the part I have done. The same sense and conviction of my Duty gives me full confidence that I shall on all events remain safe under his Majesty's Protection.

In all my public actions I have had in view to be worthy your Lordships regard, and to preserve the honour of being, My Lord,

Your most obedient

and faithfull Servant

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Halifax.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 49. ]

New York, 27 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1765.

My Lords,

The Packet being detained by Ice and bad weather after the Mail was closed, I have an opportunity of Informing your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, that by letters which I have received from Sir William Johnson, he thinks it of the greatest consequence in preserving the peace with the Indians, that the regulations of the Trade with them be transmitted as early as possible next spring, as the manner of opening the General Trade may have great influence on the minds of the

Indians. I entirely agree with him in the same opinion. I shall add, that as private interest will probably give much trouble to those who shall be intrusted with the conduct of this Trade, it seems extremely necessary, that the directions be as precise as possible, with discretional power as to unforeseen emergencies, as to these, experience will be the best instructor.

From what I can learn Coll: Bouquet has performed every thing that was expected of him; but as to the expedition by way of Niagara, I can form no idea from any information which I have received. By an account which I have from Sir William Johnson since I wrote my last, Coll: Vaughan who commands at Niagara, is under difficulties by his not having sufficient directions in case of an unexpected emergency which has happened; but of this, I expect, My Lords, you will have a particular account from Sir William Johnson.

Mr Mash who was appointed Secretary by the King for Indian Affairs and Clerk of the City and County of Albany died about a fortnight since. The uniting of these two offices was obtained only by private interest, and at that time, they might have been executed by the same person, while all the Indian affairs were transacted at Albany, but now that the Ind<sup>n</sup> affairs are conducted at various and distant parts and never at Albany, it is impracticable for the same person to execute both Offices. I have therefore appointed Stephen De Lancey my Grandson Clerk of the City and County of Albany, hoping that it will not be disagreeable to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>. If it be not, and the King appoint no other my appointment is sufficient. Before I did this, I sent on purpose to advise with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, who agrees with me on the propriety of separating the two offices, and designs to recommend M<sup>r</sup> Shukburgh to the Office of Secretary for Indian Affairs.

Since my last I have had opportunity to converse with persons disinterested in relation to the opposition against appeals to the King in his privy Council; and from them I have reason to think, that the artifices to raise a general discontent, have not the success that was expected. It is too evident that the view of the Party in opposition to Appeals, is to raise a public clamour, in hopes thereby to make His Majesty's Ministers think it prudent to yield to them. In this, they place their hope, but, My Lords, I am confident, that by appointing a proper Chief Justice and able Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup>, with a sufficient support for each of them, all opposition will cease. At the same time I humbly conceive it requisite, that Justice Livingston, who has distinguished himself on this occasion, be removed from his office, as no cause of any consequence can come before him, in which, or in similar cases, he or the Livingstone family are not interested. Allow me to add that public clamour raised by artifice, as they tend to sedition, may become more dangerous in the Colonies, than they can be in Brittain.

Whatever I presume to propose is done with the utmost submission by

My Lords,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*Secretary Ellis to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ Plantations General, (S. P. O.) No. 251. ]

War Office, 7 February 1765.

My Lord,

I have the honor to return to your Lordship the several papers, which I received from Mr Lovel Stanhope by your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s order, and which had been transmitted from George Johnstone Esq<sup>re</sup> Governor of West Florida.

Yesterday I had the honor to lay them before His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, and to receive his orders thereupon, and as I understand your Lord<sup>p</sup> wish that I should communicate to you the orders, which I should be commanded to send to General Gage, with direction to him to signify them to the Commanding Officers, in the several Govern<sup>ts</sup>, in order to prevent the like misunderstandings for the future, I trouble your Lord<sup>p</sup> with the particulars of them.

His Majestys intention is that, according to his Commission granted for that purpose, the orders of his Commander in Chief and under him, of the Brigadiers General commanding in the Northern and Southern departments, in all Military matters, shall be Supreme, and must be obeyed by the Troops, as such, in all the Civil Govern<sup>ts</sup> of America.

That in cases where no specific orders have been given by the Commander in Chief, or by the Brigadiers General Commanding in the district, the Civil Gov<sup>r</sup> in Council, and where no Council, shall subsist, the Civil Gov<sup>r</sup> may, for the benefit of his Govern<sup>t</sup>, give orders for the marching of Troops, the disposition of them, for making and marching Detachments, escorts, and such purely Military services, within his Govern<sup>t</sup>, to the Commanding Officer of the Troops, who is to give the proper orders for carrying the same into execution; provided they are not contradictory to or incompatible with any orders he may have received from the Commander in Chief, or the Brigadier General of the district, and the Commanding Officer is, from time to time, duly to report, with all convenient expedition, to the Commander in Chief or to the Brigadier General such orders, which he shall have so received from the Civil Governor.

That the Civil Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Prov<sup>ce</sup> shall give the word in all places, where he shall be within his Province, except when the Commander in Chief or Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> shall be in the same place.

That the return of the State and condition of the Troops, Magazines and Fortifications, shall be made to the Gov<sup>r</sup> as well as to the Commander in Chief and Brigadier General.

That the Civil Gov<sup>r</sup> is not to interfere with the detail of the Military Regimental duty and discipline, the Reports concerning which are to be made to the Commanding Officer, who is to make his General Report to the Civil Governor.

When the Commander in Chief or Brigadier General shall be present, all Military orders are to be issued by them only.

I have the honor to be

My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient<sup>d</sup> and  
most humble servant.

W: ELLIS<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WELBORE ELLIS was the son of the Right Rev. W. Ellis, Bishop of Kildare, and was born in the year 1713. He entered Parliament early, and filled several high offices. He represented Weymouth in the 11th Parliament, and in 1761 was elected for the borough of Aylesbury, whilst Joint Vice Treasurer for Ireland. He became Secretary of War in December, 1762, and was, many years afterwards, Secretary of State for the Colonies. He retired from public life in 1783, and was created Baron Mendip in 1794. His Lordship died in 1802, at the age of eighty-nine years. *Chatham Correspondence*.—Ed.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.), CLVIII. ]

New York Febr<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1765

My Lord,

I have the honor of Your Lordship's letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of December. It gives me great encouragement in my duty, to have my obedience to his Majesty's commands so favourably received.

I have, I am affrayd, trespassed too much on Your Lordship's patience by the long letters which I thought my duty required me to write to you on the subject of appeals to the King in his Privy Council. Few matters in my humble opinion of greater importance in the Colonies require the attention of his Majesty's Ministers. I now write to the Plantation Board what further information I can give them on that subject.

The dangerous influence which the Profession of the Law has obtained in this Province more than in any other part of his Majesty's Dominions is a principal cause of disputing appeals to the King, but as that influence likewise extends to every part of the Administration I humbly conceive that it is become a matter of State which may deserve Your Lordship's particular attention.

After M<sup>r</sup> De Lancey had by cajoling M<sup>r</sup> Clinton received the Commission of Chief Justice dureing good behaviour, the Profession of the Law entered into an Association the effects of which I beleive Your Lordship had formerly opportunity of observing some striking instances. They proposed nothing less to themselves than to obtain the direction of all the measures of Government, by makeing themselves absolutely necessary to every Governor in assisting him while he complied with their measures & by distressing him when he did otherwise. For this purpose every method was taken to agrandise the power of the Assembly, where the profession of the law must allwise have great influence over the members, & to lessen the Authority & influence of the Governor. In a Country like this, where few men, except in the profession of the Law, have any kind of literature, where the most opulent families, in our own memory, have arisen from the lowest rank of the people, such an association must have more influence than can be easily imagined. By means of their profession they become generally acquainted with mens private affairs & necessities, every man who knows their influence in the Courts of Justice is desirous of their favor & affrayd of their resentment. Their power is greatly strengthened by enlarging the powers of the popular side of government & by depreciating the powers of the Crown.

The Proprietors of the great tracts of Land in this Province have united strongly with the lawyers, as the surest support of their enormous & iniquitous claims & thereby this faction is become the more formidable and dangerous to good Government.

M<sup>r</sup> Prat, who had no family or private connections in this province while he was Chief Justice discovered the dangerous influence of this faction in the Administration of Justice, as well as otherwise, and resolved with the assistance of Government to have crushed it; but he was prevented by death. Many who have either felt or perceived the bad effects of the domination of lawyers lament the loss of such a judge.

All Associations are dangerous to good Government, more so in distant dominions, & Associations of lawyers the most dangerous of any next to Military.

Were the people freed from the dread of this Domination of the Lawyers I flatter myself with giving general joy to the People of this Province. I never received the least opposition in my administration except when I opposed the views of this faction. I am confident their views may be intirely defeated by the means I humbly proposed in my præceding letter, with the concurrent assistance of his Majesty's Ministers when it becomes necessary.

Mr Cunningham's attorney has entered his appeal from the judgement of the Council, delivered in security for paying damages & cost in case the judgement of the Supreme Court be affirmed & pray'd suspension of the Execution till the King's judgement in his Privy Council be obtained. The Resolution of the Council therein is inclosed.

It is my continued endeavour by an assiduous performance of my duty to preserve the honour of being, My Lord,

Your most obedient

Righ honourable  
Earl of Halifax

& faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 73. ]

New York 22 Feby 1765

My Lords,

As it is my duty to give your Lord<sup>ships</sup> all the Information I can on the subject of appeals, wh<sup>ch</sup> has been so publicly disputed in this Province, I presume you will not be displeased with my adding from time to time, such further information as comes to my knowledge. It is improbable that I, without assistance, could be fully informed of many things, pertinent to the subject.

In King Charles the 2<sup>nd</sup>'s Grant of this Prov<sup>ce</sup> to his Brother the Duke of York, appeals to the King are reserved in the following words: "And saveing & reserving to us, our Heirs & successors, the receiving, hearing and determining of the appeal and appeals of all or any person or persons of in or belonging to the territories or Islands aforesaid, or in touching any judgement or sentence to be there made or given"—And in all the Commissions to the Commissions<sup>1</sup> to the Governours of this Prov<sup>ce</sup> from the Revolution to the year 1708, when Lord Lovelace was appointed Gov<sup>r</sup>, a like reservation is inserted; but in Lord Lovelace's Commission the reserving of appeals is omitted, and inserted in the Kings Instructions to him; and has continued ever since in the Instructions only. So that the right of appealing appears to be an essential part of the original Institution of this Govern<sup>t</sup>, and continued by express words ever since. It can not enter my imagination, that, so long continued an Act of the King's Authority in all the Colonies, can be illegal. And it seems to me inconsistent with the rules of Justice, that there should be no relief against the verdict of a Jury, but what depends on the will of the Judge, in giving a new trial, or by attain<sup>t</sup>. The first seem to be a power merely assumed by the Judges, and often ineffectual, the other in its nature almost impracticable, and for that reason in disuse.

<sup>1</sup> Sic.—Ed.

Since my last, I am informed, that the Gentlemen in opposition to Appeals, have prevailed on several persons in this Town, to write to their correspondents in London, and transmit the papers printed in this place, in order to have a public appearance there against appeals. I cannot say what success they may have with their correspondents, but if they have with Merchants or any person in England, having property in this Colony, it must be from their not being well apprised of their own interest.

The success in this Town, in opposition to appeals is not to be wondered at, where the proprietors of the great Tracts of Land, and the principal Lawyers, strongly connected with them, mix with every company, and use every artifice to promote their purposes. But it is otherwise in the Country where the Planters or Farmers, have severely felt the effects of the Domination of the great proprietors, and of the Lawyers. Notwithstanding of this artificial clamour, I am confident that if His Majesty resolve to support the right of appealing, and shall appoint the Officers necessary for that purpose in this Province, as I have mentioned in my former letters, it will be quietly submitted to, and people in general will think themselves more secure in their property, with the right of appealing than without it; the proprietors of the great Tracts, in their iniquitous claims, and the overbearing Lawyers only expected.<sup>1</sup>

I think it proper further to observe that so far as I remember, there has not been six causes brought before the Council either on appeal, or in error, in forty years, and in that time only one cause carried by appeal to the King in his privy Council, while Mr Clarke was Lt Gov<sup>r</sup>, in which case the judgem<sup>t</sup> of the Supreme Court was neither reversed nor affirm'd as in error, but a new judgement, on the merits of the cause, was given different from that of the supreme Court.

Mr Cunningham's Attorney has entered his appeal from the Judgement of the Council, delivered in security for paying damages and costs in case the judgement of the Supreme Court be affirm'd, and prayed suspension of the execution 'till the King's Judgement in his privy Council be obtained. The Resolution of the Council thereon is inclosed.

I am with great Respect and submission

My Lords.

Your most obedient and faithful serv<sup>t</sup>

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 292. ]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York.

Sir.

The Earl of Ilchester, Lord Holland and Mr Upton have presented to us a Memorial in behalf of themselves and others associated with them, who have obtained orders from His Majesty for grants of land in New York, setting forth that they have been greatly disappointed in their intention of carrying their plan of settlement into immediate and effectual execution,

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* excepted. — Ed.



by it's having been, as they conceive, untruly represented to them that all the lands upon the Mohawk's River between the Canada and Conojchary Creeks where they proposed to take up their grants, were already patented, and by having been advised in consequence thereof to take up their lands between Ticonderoga and Crown Point where they find it will be impossible for them to fulfill the terms of settlement upon which the said lands are to be held.

As the disappointment of the views of persons in a situation of so great ability to carry a plan of settlement into execution is no less prejudicial to the public than it is injurious to them, it is our duty to desire that the greatest attention may be paid to the orders of his Majesty in favour of these respectable proprietors, and that you will give them all the assistance in your power towards locating their lands in those parts of the Province either upon the Mohawk River in the situation above described, or upon any other beneficial lands upon Hudson's River, between New York and Albany, which their Agents may be informed and which you upon strict enquiry shall discover not to have been legally patented and improved by other persons; and to the end that the said Agents may have the fullest information, you are to permit them to inspect the records of all grants and patents, and to give them all other assistance and information in your power. So we bid you heartily farewell, and are, Sir

Your very loving friends

HILLSBOROUGH.

ED: ELIOT.

GEO: RICE.

6 March 1765.

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*Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[New-York Entries, Q., 277.]

To Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York.

Sir

Complaint having been made to the House of Lords that two Mohawk Indians named Hermannus and Joseph who had been brought from New York by a Jew named Myers, were exhibited to public shew at a tavern in London, and their Lordships baving thought proper to interpose their authority to prevent so scandalous a proceeding, we herewith inclose to you their Lordships Resolutions thereupon, and His Majesty having in his great goodness, ordered proper care to be taken of these Indians, and that their passage back to New York should be defrayed at the public expence; we have received His Majesty's commands to acquaint you therewith and to direct you upon the arrival of these Indians at New York, for which place they embark this day on board the Friendship Cap<sup>t</sup> Frost, to give all proper attention to them and to take the necessary steps for their speedy & convenient return to their Nation, appointing a proper person to conduct them, and to deliver the inclosed letter to Sir William Johnson. So we bid you heartily farewell, and are, Sir

Your very loving friends

HILLSBOROUGH.

SOAME JENYNS.

ED: BACON.

GEO: RICE.

Whitehall

March 16. 1765.

*Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General Entries, XLV., (M.) p. 457. ]

To Sir William Johnson Baronet Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern District of America.

Sir,

Complaint having been made to the House of Lords, that two Mohawk Indians named Hermanus and Joseph, who had been brought from New York by a Jew named Mejors were exhibited to publick shew at a Tavern in London; and their Lordships having thought proper to interpose their Authority to prevent so scandalous a proceeding; We herewith inclose to you their Lordships Resolutions thereupon; and His Majesty having in his great goodness ordered proper Care to be taken of these Indians and that their passage back to New York should be defrayed at the Publick expence; We have received His Majestys Commands to acquaint you therewith and to direct you upon the arrival of these Indians who embark this day for New York on board the Friendship Captain Frost, to take such measures as you shall think most likely to impress upon the minds of the Mohawks a just Sense of this instance of His tender Regard to their honor and interests. So we bid you heartily farewell, and are.

Sir

Your very loving Friends

HILLSBOROUGH  
SOAME JENYNS  
ED: BACON  
GEO. RICE

Whitehall

March 16. 1765

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 76. ]

New York 14 April 1765

My Lords,

In my preceeding letters of the 7<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> Decemb<sup>r</sup>, 22<sup>d</sup> January and 22<sup>d</sup> February, I have given your Lord<sup>ps</sup> all the Information I can of the dispute in this place relating to His Majesty's 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction. Since which all public affairs have gone on quietly in their usual manner.

Some causes were brought before the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council by writs of Error. These were dismissed without any alteration, after I had entered my reasons for dismissing of them, on the minutes of Council. A copy of the reasons is inclosed.

As soon as the Declamations of the Judges were published in the weekly paper, which I transmitted in my last, the same writers set up a weekly paper called the *Sentinell*, with design to prejudice me with the people personally. I would suffer no kind of answer to be published, and it has produced the effects in the minds of the people which I expected, greatly to the prejudice of the writers. These Men are not in the esteem of the people and can never

become popular but only occasionally, by some clamour artificially raised, which must soon subside of itself.

After the declamations and proceedings in Council had been dispersed through the Province in weekly papers, they were collected into one pamphlet, and the whole edition sent to England. It seem a very extraordinary proceeding in the Officers of the Crown, that while a dispute is before the proper and legal Judges, they should appeal to the people, without waiting for the proper determination of the same. They refuse an appeal to the King, and at the same time appeal to the people.

I am extreemly averse to give your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s so much trouble as I have done, but when you consider the measures taken in this place in opposition, I hope you will perceive that it was not in my power to prevent it.

In this as in every thing else, I am with the greatest submission

My Lords

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> faithful servant —

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Halifax.*

[ New-York Papers, (State Paper Office.), CLVIII. ]

New York, April 27<sup>th</sup> 1765

My Lord.

I have the honor of two letters from Your Lordship both of the 9<sup>th</sup> of February.

I have communicated to the Merchants that relating to the seizure of their vessels by the French King's Officers, to evince to them the attention the King has to the interest & Security of his mercantile subjects, by the Remonstrances his Majesty had ordered his Ambassador to make for their releif, even before they could at this distance, apply by their prayers for redress.

The other a circular letter relating to some misunderstanding between the Civil Governors & the Commanding Officers of his Majesty's troops. The Commander in Chief generally reside in this place, & I have been so happy as never to have had the least misunderstanding with any of them.

I have the great pleasure to inform Your Lordship that this government continues in perfect tranquillity, notwithstanding of the continued efforts of a Faction to raise discontent in the minds of the people & Disorder in consequence of it. The most effectual method in their Opinion for obtaining their ends. A few of the Profession of the Law continue to publish most licencious abusive weekly papers. I have restrained every return or reply to them. They have produced the contrary effect of what the authors designed but what I expected. While by malicious calumny the authors endeavour to asperse the characters of others they have sunk their own reputation.

No illicite trade has been discovered of late. His Majesty's ships are præparing to go out.

If I receive the honour of your Lordship's approbation I shall think myself very happy.

I am with entire submission, My Lord,

Your most obedient & faithfull Servant

Right honourable Earl of Halifax

CADWALLADER COLDEN.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, No. 25. ]

Johnson Hall, May 24, 1765

My Lords

I have the honour to enclose your Lordships a Copy of my late Proceedings with 900 Indians of the different Nations at this Place in which is a copy of the Treaty of Peace subscribed to by the Deputys from y<sup>e</sup> Delawares of Ohio, who came here in consequence of the transactions with Coll. Bouquet.

In my letters of Dec<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> January last I laid before your Lordships the state of the matters to that Period, and recommended several things of a more particular nature to Lieut. Coll. Eyre cheif Engineer who was unfortunately drowned on the Coast of England.

Since that time I made it my business to sound the Indians inclinations more narrowly & to know whether they were not really tired of the War, and what could be the true motives which prevented the Shawanese from sending Deputys to me agreeable to their engagements w<sup>th</sup> Coll. Boquet. The enquirys I made enabled me to conclude, that partly the fears of that Nation, but cheifly their intercourse with & promises from the French of Mississipi had withheld them and that the Western Nations appeared verry unsettled neither was there all that cordiality which I could have wished in the conduct of the Senecas. The *Potawatamis* of *S<sup>t</sup> Joseph* killed two of the Garrison of *Detroit*, but were afterwards induced to make some submission for it, to the Commanding Officer, & assigned a verry idle pretence for so doing, at the same time a report gained ground daily amongst the Indians, that the French were to make a general effort shortly for regaining the country, & many presents & belts were actually given to some of the Nations as a proof of it by some French men in the garb & under the character of Officers, & however ridiculous it appears, the Indians were with the utmost difficulty undeceived, and the Western Nation still entertain that notion. The General being of opinion that we might obtain possession of the Illinois by a journey from Fort Pitt, M<sup>r</sup> Croghan one of my Deputys was sent to that Fort in order to assemble the Neighbouring Indians, & induce them to send some of their cheifs with him & a Regular Officer sent by the Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage in order to pave the way for the march of a Garrison to the Illinois, which I hope M<sup>r</sup> Croghan has by this time effected. At the same time I sent to the Seneca's to desire they would forthwith fulfill their engagements entered into last year by oblidging the Delawares of Susquahana to come here & bring with them all the Prisoners, Deserters, Frenchmen & Negroes yet in their hands, y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Deputys from Ohio having been already with me in consequence of their engagements w<sup>th</sup> Coll. Bouquet, The Senecas at length came accompanied by the Delawares of Susquahana, & the Chiefs of the Six Nations am<sup>ts</sup> in the whole to more than 900, from my transactions, with whom, I have now transmitted a copy of all the principal matters by which your Lordships will perceive that the Delawares of Ohio have agreed to all the Terms I proposed, & that altho those of Susquahana did not bring in all the Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> as required, they have nevertheless left me their two Cheifs & Ringleaders, & the Seneca's two others one of whom is the most leading man throughout all the Northern Nations as hostages that everry thing shall be complied with within 40 days, & I have sent an Interpreter accompanied by six Whitemen & some Indians to collect all the Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup>.

As I could not have met with a more favourable oportunity for knowing the sentiments of the Six Nations with regard to the Boundary recommended in your Lordships Plan, I

accordingly conferred with them upon that subject, but not being yet fully empowered, I only proposed it as a matter verry essential to their own Interest, and what had appeared best for preventing future Disputes, their determination upon that subject will appear by the Enclosures, as also to what length they are concerned in the affair of *Kayaderusseras* Patent, from the Complaints of the Mohawks to them.—The latter had a conference with me several weeks ago upon that subject, on which occasion they acquainted me that they had warned two familys lately settled thereon to remove, who returned them for answer, that they would not, nor were they apprehensive they could be obliged to do so, as a number of Persons of Power in New York were concernet therein, & would make good their Possession, & (according to the silly independ<sup>t</sup> stile often used here) should the King order them off they would nevertheless remain. The Mohawks were so much exasperated thereat, that I had no small difficulty to prevent them from making use of force, and they then declared they found themselves under a necessity of interesting the rest of the Six Nations in the affair, of this, I acquainted the L<sup>t</sup> Governour of New York by letter which produced an Order of Council that the Patent should be proceeded ag<sup>st</sup> by *scire facias* which however did not content the Mohawks, who declare that they thought themselves trilled with, and as I could not positively assure them that the Patent would be thereby vacated, they made a formal complaint to the rest of the Confederacy, w<sup>h</sup> occasioned them to address me thereon as in the enclosures.—

Nothing has yet been done in this matter, as the late Orders from the Lords of the Treasury to y<sup>e</sup> General, makes it in some degree doubtfull whether I should take upon me the expence of the suit in the name of the Crown, especially as I know it may have a verry uncertain issue, because so many persons are interested in it, & particularly the principal Lawyers of this Province, whose influence & authority in this Country can be fully shewn, amongst whom I shall not scruple to affirm are some of the most selfish and interested persons in His Majesty's Dominions, Another thing of equal weight with me, is the consequence in case thro the causes aforesaid, or some nicetys I am not aware of, but which doubtless would be found, grounded on the Doctrine that, "A Patent is good in Law," the suit should go against the Indians, I am persuaded such an event would prove dangerous, for as not only y<sup>e</sup> Indians, but every body who knows any thing of the matter (the Proprietors and their freinds excepted) know the whole to have been a notorious fraud, it will disperse a gen<sup>l</sup> Discontent throughout all the 6 Nations, the effects of which I am but too well acquainted with, for these Nations are all, in an especial manner interested in the affair, as the Lower Mohawks have so little lands left, that they must either be thrown upon them or the Government for a subsistence, this Tract being so enormous that it includes all their best hunting grounds.—One thing necessary to remark is, that the Proprietaries altho they speak of the length of time since the Grant was obtained, as a disadvantage to them in that they cannot obtain their proper proofs at so distant a period, yet it is their cheif support, as y<sup>e</sup> allegations against it must be in some measure defective, & this they well know by letting their title rest, & never so much as surveying or partioning<sup>1</sup> it in 57 years, so that the Indians thought no more about it, for some years, or until the Proprietaries began to stir in it.—The Oneidaes whose suspicion has been particularly raised by the late conduct with regard to this Patent, have desired to know whether any such claims lye dormant ag<sup>t</sup> their lands, in short it is become a general matter of concern, & your Lordships will perceive that it has created many difficultys with regard to the boundary, & is likely to produce

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*—Ed.



more.—Some of those in our Capitals who rule all the rest cannot feel for the distresses, in which their transactions with the Indians may involve the Frontiers, & whatsoever Lands they have in these parts cannot be injured by a Rupture w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, because the present Proprietaries generally let them lye untenanted, as some of them pay little or no Quit Rents, and as their titles would not bear an enquiry during the lives of the present generation, I do not merely give this as a bare opinion, I affirm it, & can prove it to be true, and I know many grants some of them of no long standing, which are as yet utterly unknown, not only to the Indians, but to the Country People in general, & which may hereafter create much disturbance, & some of these in the Country of the *Oneidas*, with w<sup>h</sup> I could have acquainted them, when they enquired about it, had I judged it prudent;—it requires but small skill to account for this formerly the Land jobbers no sooner heard of a good Tract of land, but they immediately set about engaging two or three Indians to set their Mark to a Deed which a little liquor & a small present soon effected, altho nothing but mere accident, or the settling the lands could ever disclose the Transaction, As the subscribing Indians knowing the jealousy of their Nation on so tender a subject have seldom dared to divulge it, the liquor & avarice procured their private consent, and I have known some Indians put to death, and others obliged to fly their country merely on that acc<sup>t</sup>—In short my Lords was an Enquiry made into the transactions of the Land Jobbers & former Managers of Indian Affairs, we should not be at a loss to account for the Indians' Jealousy & Defection, but rather be astonished that one Individual amongst so resentfull a people should remain in our Interest, but they who have acted these parts, are united by the strong ties of party & interest so as not to be shaken by any power here, and they will always make use of the influence of their freinds & agents at home to misrepresent any man who has firmness enough to oppose them;—Your Lordships may naturally conclude that I cannot escape their Malice as I have been obliged to give notice from time to time to your Board of every complaint w<sup>h</sup> appeared to me just, and which unredressed might prove dangerous, & this has been my constant conduct in every Province within my District, at the same time I have accommodated many affairs of a more trifling nature, & which could not in their consequences much affect the public tranquillity, I presumed I did my duty in both cases, and whilst your Lordships are of the same opinion I shall continue to do so, tho I incur much more of their hatred.

The Mention of a bad title is alarming, and the affair of Kayaderusseras has drawn upon me a load of scurrility & detraction, but I comfort myself it proceeds from those who always did, and always will, traduce every officer of the Crown, that is not of their Party, it would have been a Miracle had I escaped their lashes after the freedom they have used with Great Brittain, I, who have so greatly mismanaged Indian Affairs which were so happily conducted under the auspicious Government of the *Albany Commissioners*, & they have retailed the very words they so falsely made use of amongst their scurrilous productions 12 years ago.—Your Lordships Plan, of which they had early intelligence has greatly affected them, they fear the system is now established which will put a period to the powers of corruption, & therefore they propose one of their own on the principles of y<sup>e</sup> old management *A Bull feast at Albany & a little Rum* they affirm will do every thing & that they should have the Management to the Northward with Agents dispersed thro the Country, that then all would go well, & I should not have it in my power to impose upon the Government, (with whom they chuse to have no dealings) or make a Mystery of Indian Affairs w<sup>h</sup> I must own it has always been to them—Regular Troops are not necessary no Coward in the three Kingdoms dare suspect their Loyalty,



& they can be of no use but to check the Provinces, they add that "then the Indians will consume like a March snow & no Enquiry be made concerning lands patented & sold 60 years ago."—here they discover what touches them, & I will readily allow the justice of their last remark, for iniquity would then have its free scope without the knowledge or controul of the government, & the Indians would soon be obliged to redress themselves, & thereby convince the public of the success of such *salutary* measures. I think I have culled some of the choicest flowers from their late productions & I hope they will give y<sup>r</sup> Lordships some idea of the treatment I meet with as an addition to the continued drudging of my department.—I cannot leave the subject without remarking on the absurdity of those opinions which are founded on a want of due knowledge of the antient & present state of the Indians.

The Indians of the Six Nations after the Arrival of the English, haveing conceived a desire for many articles they introduced amongst them & thereby finding them of use to their necessitys or rather superfluities cultivated an acquaintance with them and lived in tollerable freindship with this Province for some time to which they were the rather inclined as they were then strangers to bribery, & at enmity with the French who had espoused y<sup>e</sup> cause of their enemys supplied them with arms, & openly acted against them, this enmity encreased in proportion as the desire of y<sup>e</sup> French for subduing these people who were a bar to their first projected schemes, however we find the Indians as far back as the commencement of y<sup>e</sup> verry confused Manuscript Records in my possession, repeatedly upbraiding this Province for their negligence, their avarice, and want of assisting them at a time when it was certainly in their power to destroy the Infant Colony of Canada, altho supported by many nations, & this is likewise confessed by the writings of the Managers of these times, the French after repeated losses, discovering that the six nations were not to be subdued, but that they could without much difficulty effect their purposes (which I have good authority to shew were of early stand<sup>g</sup>) by favours & kindness, on a sudden changed their conduct in the reign of Queen Anne, having first brought over many of their people to settle in Canada, & ever since by the most endearing kindnesses, & by a vast profusion of favours have secured them to their Interest, & whilst they aggravated our frauds & designs they covered those committed by themselves under a load of gifts which obliterated the Malpractices of Individuals amongst them, & enabled them to establish themselves wherever they pleased without fomenting the Indian Jealousy.—The able Agents they made use of, & their unanimous, indefatigable zeal, for securing the Indian Interest were so much superior to any thing we had ever attempted & to the feeble transactions of the interested and trading Commissioners of Albany, that the latter became universally dispised by the Indians who daily withdrew from our Interest & conceived the most disadvantageous sentiments of our integrity & abilities. In this state of Indian Affairs I was called to the management of these people, as my scituation & opinion that it might become one day of service to the Public, had induced me to cultivate a particular intimacy w<sup>th</sup> those people, to accommodate myself to their manners, & even to their dress on many occasions. How I discharged this trust will best appear from the transactions of the War commenced in 1744 in which I was busily concerned, The steps I had then taken alarmed y<sup>e</sup> jealousy of y<sup>e</sup> French, rewards were offered for me, and I narrowly escaped assassanation on more than one occasion, the French encreased their munificence to the Indians, whose example not being at all followed at New York I resigned the management of affairs on the ensuing peace, as I did not chuse to continue in the name of an office, which I was not empowered to discharge as its nature required, the Albany Commissioners (Men

concerned in the clandestine trade to Canada & frequently upbraided for it by the Indians) did then reassume their seats at that Board, & by their conduct so exasperated the Indians that several Cheifs went to New York 1753, where, after a severe speech to the Gov<sup>r</sup> Council & Assembly they broke the covenant chain of freindship & withdrew in a rage, the consequences of which were then so much dreaded that I was by the Gov<sup>r</sup> Council & House of Assembly, the two latter then my Enemys earnestly entreated to effect a reconciliation with the Indians, as the only person equal to that task, as will appear by the Minutes of Council & resolves of the House, A Commission being made out for me I proceeded to *Onondaga* & brought about the much wished for Reconciliation, but declined having any farther to say to Indian affairs, altho the Indians afterwards refused to meet the Governour & Commissioners till I was sent for, at the arrival of General Braddock I received his Commission with reluctance, at y<sup>e</sup> same time assuring him that affairs had been so ill conducted, and y<sup>e</sup> Indians so estranged from our Interest, that I could not take upon me to hope for success, however indefatigable labour & (I hope I may say without vanity) personal interest enabled me to exceed my own expectations, and my conduct since if fully & truly known, would I beleive testify that I have not been an unprofitable servant, 'twas then that the Indians began to give public signs of their avaritious disposition, the French had long taught them it, & the desire of some persons to carry a greater number of Indians into the feild in 1755 than those who accompanied me, induced them to employ every Agent at a high salary who had the least interest w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, and to grant the latter Cap<sup>ts</sup> & Lieu<sup>ts</sup> Commissions (of w<sup>h</sup> I have a number now by me) with sterling pay to induce them to desert me, but to little purpose, for tho many of them received the Commissions accompanied with large sums of money, they did not comply with the end proposed, but served with me, & this has not only furnished them with severe complaints against the English, as they were not afterwards all paid what had been promised, but has established a spirit of pride & avarice which I have found it ever since impossible to subdue, whilst our extensive connections since the Reduction of Canada with so many powerfull nations long accustomed to partake largely of the French bounty has of course increased the expence, & rendered it in no small degree necessary for the preservation of our Frontiers, Out posts & Trade.

Thus, my Lords, I have given as breif a detail, as I could of the rise & progress of the Indian Expences, to which I was the rather induced as what I have said on that subject, & in y<sup>e</sup> former part of my letter may serve as an answer to y<sup>e</sup> little reflections & insinuations of the malicious or interested, who taking advantage of my distance from the Court, & ignorance of their representations may presume to traduce a Character with which they otherwise dared not to concern themselves.

I most humbly beg your Lordships pardon for engrossing so much of your time on a subject which may be considered as of a private nature, I heartily wish I may never have occasion to enlarge upon it, but in common justice to myself I could not be totally silent when attacked by a sett of persons whose views of party & private interests would blast the happiness of a country which they have neither conduct nor resolution to defend.

Since writing the foregoing I have received a packet from Detroit informing me that in March last the *Miamis* took a Soldier of that Garrison prisoner at a few miles distance from the Fort, that the Commanding Officer endeavoured to encourage some of the Chippewaes & Ottawaes to obtain satisfaction, & procured a French man in whom he could best confide with a party to proceed & demand the Prisoner, as well as enquire how that Nation came to act in



such a manner, this party was way laid & made prisoners by the *Miamis* at some distance from their town, and but for the regard these Indians have for all French men, they would have been probably put to Death, however the Indians contented themselves with plundering them of their cloathing, arms &c<sup>a</sup> & severely reprimanding the Frenchman for going on any business for the English, telling him that his nation w<sup>d</sup> shortly punish him, that the French were coming with two great armys against the English, & that their (the Indians) taking y<sup>e</sup> Prisoner was only as a prelude to what they would shortly do, this occasioned the several courts of Enquiry since held at Detroit, of which I enclose your Lordships copys, as they will the better enable you to judge how far these Indians are imposed upon, & set up by the French in their towns, of which I could send your Lordships many more evidences from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> & examinations of sundry persons of veracity, by all which it may appear that either the Governour of New Orleans, and Commd<sup>t</sup> of the Illinois secretly promote, or at least wink at this conduct of the French, which I fear will, be practiced by the latter so long as they remain in the Ind<sup>n</sup> towns & I cannot see how we can remove them, 'till we stand superior in y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>n</sup> esteem. Several French Familys, of the worst sort, live at y<sup>e</sup> *Miamis*, several at *Wawiaghtanon*, & in short at all the places where they formerly had posts, or trading houses, and such is the ignorance, or credulity of the Indians, that altho they may find themselves repeatedly deceived, such reports will still gain credit, from their blind partiality for the French. The possession of the Illinois would in some measure tho' not absolutely check their villainy.

I hope M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is now far advanced on his way thither, the last acc<sup>t</sup> I had from him mentioned his being at Fort Pitt, where he had assembled some Indians for the purpose mentioned in the former part of my letter, but an unlucky accident has I fear greatly retarded him. Some Merchants at Philadelphia desirous I presume to get y<sup>e</sup> first of the Trade of the Illinois had sent forward a quantity of goods, which as they inform me, was to have been stored at Fort Pitt until the Illinois was in our possession, & that they should have permission to trade there, these goods were sent forward in company with the present which followed M<sup>r</sup> Croghan for the Indians in that Quarter, which coming to the ears of some of the Frontier Inhabitants of Pensilvania &c<sup>a</sup> who were greatly irritated at their losses during the war, & resolved to prevent any goods passing to the Indian Country, they assembled in a riotous manner waylaid the convoy, destroyed great part of the goods, and killed some of the horses, & amongst the rest the greatest part of M<sup>r</sup> Croghans present, this affair has made a great noise, some people affirm that the Merchants sent their goods on M<sup>r</sup> Croghans encouragement, neither had they any pass, the Merchants declare to me, that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had nothing to do in the affair, only told them that the Indians at Illinois would expect a Trade to be opened with them as soon as possession was taken.

The L<sup>d</sup> Governour of Pensilvania went to y<sup>e</sup> Frontiers to enquire into the affair, and I hope shortly to know the real circumstances of the case, & that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will be able to clear himself from the imputations I have mentioned, w<sup>h</sup> from my long knowledge of him I have reason to expect.—*Pondiac* that verry active chief of the Ottawaes being now at y<sup>e</sup> Illinois will be a farther disappointment, as M<sup>r</sup> Croghan purposed sending for him, & tampering with him at Fort Pitt before he pursued his journey, however as the Indians came in verry readily on M<sup>r</sup> Croghan's invitation, the scheme will probably succeed unless thro the influence & artifices of the French at the Illinois, thro which should it fail, I realy know not well how we can obtain possession of that verry important country, unless by the success of some future pacifick measures from hence for I have reason to think from the nature of the Navigation and length



of the voyage by *Mississipi*, that no force which can be spared for that purpose can possibly effect it, if opposed by the united force of the Indians in that quarter.—I have reason to hope that the private steps I have taken with the Delawares & six Nations & some belts of importance which I am confident they will make the proper use of, will at least keep matters quiet with y<sup>e</sup> Western Indians for some time, or until I am enabled to have proper Agents amongst them. *Gaustrax* one of the Seneca Hostages now here, who is in fact a man that has an almost universal influence after frankly declaring all the motives which led him to engage in the War, has declared that he is now determined to give credit to my assurances that all abuses will be rectified, & he will in consequence thereof second my proceedings with some Belts from himself which will undoubtedly have great weight if they arrive in time amongst the other Nations. Indeed I judge it verry necessary that I should meet with the Western Indians this summer to cement our Alliances, but I cannot do this without having a verry considerable present for them, & I apprehend the late orders from the Lords of the Treasury to the Gen<sup>l</sup> will not admit of incurring that Expende.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Murray Gov<sup>r</sup> of Quebec has acquainted me that by his Instructions, he is directed to appoint a person for the management of Indian Affairs within his Government, I hope I shall shortly receive your Lordships orders respecting that as well as the other affairs of my Department for until they are settled it is not in my power to fall upon such measures as may best secure the tranquility of this country which your Lordships plan seems so well calculated to effect.

I hope at the same time to hear concerning *Kayadarusseras*, that in case nothing is done against it in England, I may know whether I can take upon me to incur the expence of a suit here on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Crown, & that at so great an uncertainty, 'till then I shall not undertake it without the approbation or advice of y<sup>e</sup> General.

I presume at the same time I shall have some orders regarding the affair of a boundary which appears so judiciously calculated for the preventing of future disputes. I flatter myself I shall be able to effect it to His Majesty's satisfaction, & that of the Colonies interested, to that end I beleive it will be thought necessary that the Governours, or Commiss<sup>rs</sup> from the Governments should be present to see that every thing is conducted for their Interest, and I hope your Lordships will approve of the steps I have already taken to sound the Indians on that subject, & pave the way for effecting that important point with their perfect concurrence, a valuable present will doubtless be judged necessary on that occasion, and it is submitted to your Lordships whether the large Tracts w<sup>b</sup> they will yield up, should be at once purchased for the use of the Crown, or whether the lands comprehended within the line, & which are not already purchased by the Colonies, should remain in right of the soil to the Indians, to be disposed of, from time to time by them at His Majesty's pleasure, these matters once fixed will I expect put a period to the amount of the Indian acc<sup>t</sup> & that by an establishment which whenever made, shall to the utmost of my abilities be carried into execution in such a manner as to evince it's importance & utility.

I ought to apologize more than once for y<sup>e</sup> length of this letter, the several subjects I judged it necessary to write upon would not admit of greater brevity, and I hope my future Correspondence will not require my being so circumstantial, I rely therefore on your Lordships

pardon & favourable construction of what is here offered, and with a due sense of all past obligations joined to the most cordial sentiments of Esteem, I beg leave to subscribe myself

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient  
& most humble servant

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords of Trade.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

*Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, 25, ( K. 4. ) ]

At a Conference with the Six Nations and Delawares at Johnson Hall April 29<sup>th</sup> and May 22, 1765.\*

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Baronet		Capt <sup>n</sup> Johnston
Daniel Clause Esq <sup>r</sup>	} Deputy Agents	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Hend <sup>k</sup> Wemp
Guy Johnson Esq <sup>r</sup>		Mr Barnt Wemp
Cap <sup>n</sup> Hend <sup>k</sup> Fry	} Justices	Mr Kirtland
John Butler Esq <sup>r</sup>		Mr Arthur &c &c.

Interpreters Henry Montour Mr Perthuis David Owens for the Delawares

Thomas King stood up and went through the Ceremony of Condolence with the Six Nations in the Name of Sir William Johnson with 3 strings of Wampum, which ended, Sir William addressed the Indians.

Bretheren of the Six Nations—

What I have to say at this time relates solely to the Delawares, and the Senecas who were as I am informed the Occasion that the Treaty with the Delawares has been protracted to this time.

It was thought necessary that those Delawares who fled to the Senecas at Chenussio, should make proper submission and join in the Treaty with those from Ohio, but some of you Senecas have detained them, The Deputys from Ohio have been here for above Two months waiting for the Delawares from Chenussio, who have continually put us off with foolish lying excuses, they throwing the blame on you and you on them, and now that they are arrived have brought no Prisoners with them, though I sent both the Senecas and them a Message to inform them that they had no business to come without bringing all y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners, Deserters, Frenchmen & Negroes which were in that Country, and this, you Seneca's gave me hostages for at Niagara, that they should be delivered up imediately (together with the Squash Cutter and Long Coat) after my return from thence.

Now pray what can be the end of their coming at all, I hope you don't imagine the English will be so weak as to give up the people in their hands, till they see all their own Flesh and

\* N. B. As the Delaware Dep<sup>y</sup>s, and also many of the Six Nations were at Johnson Hall, long before the 29th of April, there were many conferences previous to that Day, but which were not necessary to be inserted.



Blood, if you do you will find yourselves much mistaken; I desire therefore to know what you have to say for yourselves, in not delivering up the Squash Cutter, Long Coat and all our People last year as you solemnly engaged to do in the presence of all the Six Nations, Coghawageys &c<sup>a</sup> and why the latter are not now come, but I caution you not to think of imposing upon me, or go about to tell me any of your ridiculous old storys such as that they ran away, or could not walk for want of shoes, or could not be assembled, or that you heard bad news at home, or on the road, because I know all such excuses are falsehoods and wont take with me. I expect your answer to this before I proceed further. A Belt

Gastarax Chief of the Chenussios then spoke and return'd Sir William many thanks for this performing the Ceremoney of Condolence agreeable to their Custom, After which with 3 Strings Wampum he returned the Compliment on behalf of their and the other Nations adding that as Sir William's throat must be sore with calling the Six Nations so long, they cleared it, and removed the pain, in hope he would speak freely and freindly to his Bretheren now met. 3 Strings

Then added that as one of their Chief men was sick, they must defer giving Sir William an answer till to-morrow.

Sir William after the Council broke up took Killbuck and four other chiefs of the Delawares into his Study, and spoke a great deal to them conserning their wicked and foolish behaviour of late, and assured them of Chenussio that nothing would save them now, but their complying with every thing he should require, at the same time insisted upon their acting independent of the Senecas, who had hitherto made use of them as their Tools.

Eod<sup>m</sup> Die P M. The Onondagas &c<sup>a</sup> acquainted Sir William by a Messenger, that they intended speaking to the Senecas, and Delawares, and would be glad he was present, being agreed to, they met in the Council Room, when the Onondaga Speaker *Tyawarent* spoke as follows

Bretheren of the Senecas, and Delawares. We are here met to the number of \* four nations in the presence of Sir William Johnson, to the End that he may see and be convinced of our unwearied endeavours to bring you to give a direct and just answer, such as may be deemed full and depended upon, that our Wives and our Children may live in peace, and be no longer involved in numberless distresses.—You have been for a long time in a bad road, it is therefore high time that you return back into that of our Ancestors, who always employed themselves in good affairs, and continually told us that they were never the authors, of bloodshed & death. For this reason we are overjoyed that you are now come, after having been so long called upon.—You very well know the promise made by you at *Niagara* to Sir William Johnson, your Engagement then was reasonable, and did not require too much of you.—You had therfore best to blot out all the past, and act a better part for the future than you have hitherto done, and this is most strongly recommended to you in the names of the Onondagaes, Cajyugas, Oneidas and Mohawks.

\* These were the Onondajas, Mohocks, Cayugas and Oneidas who independt of the rest, took upon them to give an Exhortation to the Senecas and Delawares.



At a Conference April 30<sup>th</sup> P. M.

PRESENT — as before

The Speaker of the Delawares addressed the Chenussios as follows.

Uncles,

As we are resolved to do every thing for the best, We likewise expect that you will do so too, and that you will not refuse our request. You know you made us Women and therefore as such we expect that Men will not refuse what we earnestly desire. We are determined to act for the future better, and to walk in the Road of our Ancestors, We wish you may do the same, and as it is strongly recommended to us to give up all the English in our hands, We expect that you will give up all their Flesh & Blood who are amongst you, as we are resolved to do with those in our possession.

The Seneca Speaker answered.

Nephews,

We have attended to all you said, and taken due notice of every word. We are glad to hear you now speak about delivering up the Flesh and Blood of the English, and we readily agree to do so on our parts, We wish you may be sincere in what you say, it was your own faults that these people were not delivered up last year, You then refused to do so, and said the English would put you to death if you came down, and you have still refused it on every occasion though often desired by us; For our parts we hope it will now be done, but we fear that you are not sincere and don't intend it, and that you will act the part of Women by changing your minds.—Some of our Chiefs being now indisposed We hope all to meet to morrow and to enter properly upon Business.

Sir William then told them that he was sorry to see them come so little prepared—that they had detained him from Business great part of the day and now had nothing to say but trifling and disputing amongst themselves, that he was sorry to see the Five Nations obliged to wait the pleasure of a few Sachems but expected they would be better prepared to morrow.

At a Conference May 1<sup>st</sup>

PRESENT — as before

Gaustrac a chief of the Senecas spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagy

We are now all assembled here to make answer to what you have desired, but first the Delawares are to speak with you, as they are extremely desirous to perform the Ceremonies usual on these Occasions.

Then Onussaraquita a Delaware chief stood up on behalf of the Long Coat and that Nation & said

Brother,

It is a long time since you shook me by the Head to bring me to my senses, I must confess we were out of our senses, but we are now resolved to follow your advice & have resolved to

act no more foolishly. We therefore now take the Ax out of your head with which we struck you, as you have now brought us to our senses.

A Belt 8 Rows

Brother, Hearken now to what I have to say, I now with this belt cover over the Wound which I gave you, and from whence I have taken out the Axe.

A Belt 10 Rows.

Brother, Hearken to your Brother the Long Coat, who now levels the Graves of your People, covering them with earth and smoothing them over.

3 Strings.

Brother, We do as a proof of our Sincerity by this belt gather the bones of all your People who were killed, and we take up a large Pine Tree by the Roots, under which we bury them, covering them over with a great Rock so that none of your Posterity may see them.

A Belt 9 Rows

Brother, We now as a proof of our good intentions do with this Belt clear the sky, and make the Sun shine bright so as that we may hereafter see nothing but fine clear weather.

A Belt 6 Rows

Brother, With this Belt I wash and cleanse your inside with the best and clearest water, purging you from all uncleanness

A Belt 7 Rows

Brother, We beg you will believe we are now sincere, and that we now take hold of the Chain of Friendship with you, We likewise stretch out our hands to the place from whence we came and fetch the two Drops of your Blood (i. e. Children) remaining amongst us. And we leave the Long Coat with his family as Hostages to shew you our good intentions.

A Belt 7 Rows

Brother, Having finished what I had to say on behalf of the Long Coat, I now assure you on the part of myself as the Chief Warrior that we take hold likewise of the Covenant Chain of Friendship, and will do all we can in promoting peace together with the Long Coat to which we are greatly prompted by your Bretheren of Allegany who will doubtless be much pleased with our Transactions.

A Belt 5 Rows

Then Gaastrax the Seneca Chief stood up and said,

Brother the Delawares having finished I am now to address you on behalf of our Nation to assure you of their good Disposition, and that they were always disposed to do whatever you desired at your request it was they agreed to the siege of Niagara and assisted in the Reduction thereof, at your request they allowed of building the Fort at the Rapids, and made a large Cession of land to the King last year, You have now desired to know why the Prisoners did not come down agreeable to promise, Brother we assure you we intended to keep our word with you, but we are only just this day beginning to talk upon these Matters, in the Course of this Congress we shall inform you farther and make every thing easy, Our People were in great want at Home and the Prisoners scattered about in distant places, they have been given in to replace several persons and are considered as Children in our familys at home who must part with them with great reluctance, but we are resolved as a proof of our sincerity to go without delay and fetch them to you every one, & will leave hostages with you till our return

A Belt 8 Rows

Bretheren of the Five Nations, I have attended to what you have said upon this Belt to us, You may be assured we think of nothing but peace, and to that end will deliver up all the English People as is recommended to us, and will send Messengers to collect them immediately, and as the Delawares have agreed to leave hostages for the performance of their promise I

agree to stay here as an hostage on behalf of my Nation for the like purpose, but should the Messengers not be able to succeed in getting the Prisoners, I shall then beg Sir William Johnson's permission to go myself accompanied with M<sup>r</sup> Perthuis the Interpreter when I doubt not of obtaining them all.

Return'd the Belt given by y<sup>e</sup> 4 Nat<sup>s</sup>

To which Sir William answered

Bretheren of the several Nations I have attended to every thing which was said by you and the Delawares and shall take the same into Consideration, had you come earlier to the Conference as I expected I might have answer'd you to day, but it being now late, I shall consider on an answer which I shall deliver to you to morrow.

Then the Speaker of Onondaga addressed the several Nations as follows

Bretheren, We have heard what you said to our Brother the Gora\* and we are extremely well satisfied with it as well as to hear that you are to leave hostages as Security for the performance of your promise, We therefore return you thanks for the part you have acted.

At a Conference with all the before mention'd Indians May 2<sup>d</sup>

PRESENT—

Sir William Johnson Baronet

John Johnson Esq<sup>r</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Arthur

Daniel Clause Esq<sup>r</sup> } Deputy

M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland

Guy Johnson Esq<sup>r</sup> } Agents

M<sup>r</sup> Kreiser

Butler, Perthuis, Montour Interpreters.

Sir William addressed them as follows.

Bretheren of the Five Nations

I now meet you in order to answer what was yesterday said by the Senecas and Delawares, As I have already spoken very fully and warmly on the subject, and have been answered with large promises which I hope are sincere it now remains that I answer what they yesterday said upon the subject, and first, I shall speak to the Delawares.

Chiefs and Warriors of the Delawares, You yesterday went through the Ceremony of Condolence, took the axe out of our Head, I never before heard that Women caried an Axe, I always heard their business was to pound corn, I shou'd be glad to know who gave you the Axe, You then buried our Bones promiseing to deliver up our prisoners and to leave hostages till they were restored.—This you may think was doing a great deal, but I must tell you, 'twas very little, 'twas nothing when I consider the Crueltys and Barbaritys you have so lately been guilty of, and did we require any Compensation adequate to our losses, your whole nation will not be able to answer it—I know all your Customs, I know it is usual to return the ceremony of Condolence, but your late conduct does not intitle you to receive the Ceremony of Condolence for losses you have brought upon yourselves by causelessly commencing hostilitys in a time of profound peace, the most that you can possibly expect is that your past conduct be forgotten, and I now tell you by this Belt, that in case you faithfully and expeditiously perform the promises now made, that you agree to what I shall farther

\* *Gora*, implies a person in authority under His Majesty, the Governors are addressed with that title, & the Indians always make use of it to Sir Wm. Johnson.



propose, and live honestly and peaceably for the future, all past affairs shall be buried and forgotten, and you must think yourselves solely indebted for this to the Mercy and Grace of the King of England.

A Belt.

You say you now take hold of the Covenant Chain, I caution you to take particular care to hold fast by it, for if you ever let it slip, I can't answer for your ever getting it again, and you may feel the want of it when it's too late. You say you'll leave the *Long Coat* as a hostage till you bring back our people, I must tell you that I shall by no means accept of one Man and I desire you may leave the *Squash Cutter* here likewise, if you expect I shall pay any regard to what you have said.—You likewise say you will restore two Drops of our Blood, but you must not imagine that I shall believe you have no more, for I well know there are several amongst you, and I expect that you will deliver up every person without Exception within 40 nights from this day, otherwise you cannot expect to be received into the Covenant Chain, and I can't think you so ignorant as to expect it whilst our people remain prisoners amongst you.

A Belt

I am glad to find the Delawares of Allegany have given your Warriors good Advice, and that they pay a due regard thereto, should they reject it, they will severely feel the consequences, if they abide by it, and by what I have recommended they may once more enjoy peace, hunting and Trade.

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Senecas, You must be sensible that the greatest part of your Nation have been our most Inveterate Enemys during the late Hostilities. I will not now enlarge upon that Head as it was the subject of our Treaty at *Niagara* last Summer, all I have to say upon it now is that I expect you will consult your own interest & happiness, and to that end carefully avoid a breach with your Bretheren the English for the time to come, on this all your happiness entirely depends, and if you repent of your late conduct, and are come rightly to your senses, you will find the necessity of strictly abiding by all your engagements. Your not bringing down the rest of the Prisoners immediately after the delivery of those last year to me agreeable to your Engagements, has had a very bad appearance, and you cannot excuse yourselves. You have therefore nothing left to convince the English of your sincerity but by your future actions; Words will not be sufficient, and therefore I expect that you will within 40 Nights from hence, bring me down every prisoner yet amongst you, and every Deserter, in which you cannot deceive me for I know their number, and untill you perform this punctually I expect you will leave another of your Chiefs of *Karathyadirs*<sup>1</sup> with *Gaustrax* as hostages for the discharge of your engagements.

A Belt

Canaghquieso then stood up and produced Two Oneida Indians *Adoondaraghhirha* and *Soheghtrane* whom they appointed Sachems on behalf of their Nation and gave a Belt to the Mohawks and a String to Sir William who approved of the Persons, and recommended it to them to act a proper part, and preserve the peace subsisting between them & the English.

Then the *Squash Cutter* on behalf of the Delawares stood up and said.

Brother

I am very glad to hear your good words and resolved to obey your advice, and therefore I agree to stay here together with the *Long Coat*, and we shall give proper directions to our

<sup>1</sup> Called *Karaghiyadiirha*, on Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the VI Nations. Supposed to be now Belvidere, Alleghany Co., N. Y.—Ed.

young men to return and collect every drop of your blood remaining amongst us and shall restore them immediately. — Sir William then explained to the Five Nations what had been said to the Delawares, and told them that he wanted a Conference with the Chiefs of each Nation on other Affairs in the afternoon.

Then Teyawarunte speaker of Onondaga stood up and on behalf of the Onondagaes, Mohawks, Senecas, Cajyongas &c. thanked the Oneidas for communicating to them the appointment of the two Sachems and delivered up the Oneidas Belt of appointment to the Mohawks, as Chief of the Confederacy.

At a Conference with the Chiefs of each Nation.

PRESENT — as before

Sir William addressed them as follows.

Bretheren

I am now to speak to you on some Affairs which greatly concerns us both and I expect you will give me your Attention and act a becoming part upon the occasion.

You know the treacherous and cruel part acted by some of your People at Logs Town<sup>1</sup> and about the Ohio two years ago, you then plundered numbers of the Traders who were supplying you with goods, some of them you promised to protect and save their effects, but you did not keep your words, several of these unhappy sufferers are thereby reduced to great necessity, some of whom are thrown into Goal because they cou'd not pay their debts, this has induced them to apply to me and to desire I would lay before you their distresses, that you might give them a Tract of land to compensate in some measure for their great losses. — I need not tell you how incumbent it is upon you to agree to their desire, as you must all be sensible they were ruined by some of your people in a time of peace, and when they were supplying your necessity's, this conduct is sufficient to make the Traders very shy of going towards your country, and therefore I think it indispensably your interest to grant their request, which though it will be but a small recompence, will however shew the world that you repent of what's past, and like honest men are desirous of making some restitution for the damages you have committed, I expect you will without delay give me an answer, and I wish it may be a favourable one, as it will be for your own Credit.

Bretheren, The next thing I am to take notice of is, at the desire of the General who commands all the Army in this Country, he has represented to me the necessity there is for the Troops to have Gardens, and Corn about the Forts, and although it is the Custom in all other places that all the ground within cannon shott shall belong to the Fort, he has yet such a regard for you that he would not make any use of it without you were first made acquainted and approved it, this is an instance of so much goodness and condescension that I expect you will not hesitate a moment to give up the Ground within cannon shott round all the Forts for the use of the King's Army, and I know you will the readier do that as such ground so near a Fort can be of no use to you, as it is only intended for the service of the Garrison. — but as the garrison of Fort Pitt is larger than the rest and a great way from our settlements, I have no doubt but you will give up a larger quantity of ground there for the use of the soldiers,

<sup>1</sup> See note in VI., 531. — Ed.

and if you agree to this I am perswaded they will look upon you in a much more friendly light than formerly so that I expect a speedy and agreeable answer.

Bretheren, The last but the most important Affair I have this time to mention is with regard to the settleing a boundary between you and the English. I sent a message to some of your Nations some time ago to acquaint you that I should confer with you at this Meeting upon it.—The King whose generosity & forgiveness you have already experienced being very desirous to put a final end to disputes between his people and you concerning Lands, and to do you strict justice, has fallen upon the plan of a Boundary between our Provinces and the Indians (which no White Man shall dare to invade) as the best and surest method of ending such like disputes, and securing your property to you beyond a possibility of disturbance. This will I hope appear to you so reasonable, so just on the part of the King, and so advantageous to you, and your posterity, that I can have no doubt of your chearfully joining with me in settling such a Division Line as will be best for the advantage of both White Men and Indians, and as shall best agree with the Extent and Encrease of each Province, and the Governours whom I shall consult upon that occasion so soon as I am fully empowered, but in the mean time I am desirous to know in what manner you would choose to extend it, and what you will agree heartily to and abide by in general terms, at the same time I am to acquaint you, that whenever the whole is settled, and that it shall appear you have so far considered the encreaseing state of our People, as to make any convenient Cessions of Ground where it is most wanted, that then you will receive a Considerable Present in return for your Friendship.

At a Conference May 3<sup>d</sup>

PRESENT— as before

The several Nations having assembled to answer Sir William's Speech of Yesterday, the Onondaga Speaker on behalf of the rest Addressed him as follows,

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We have heard all you said to us yesterday, and we give you many thanks for your advice and directions to us, which we shall take due notice of.

As we are willing to shew our good Disposition by our Actions, we shall come into every thing you propose that is reasonable and we hope it will render us more regarded by the English.—These are serious Articles, and we shall consider both Sachems and Warriors about them, and by to morrow be able to answer you upon them, but with regard to what you spoke to us about the King's desire that we shou'd agree about a Line between us and the English, We must desire to know of you, how you intended the Line should go and how far.

They then named the Hostages to remain whose names are as follows,

On behalf of the Senecas

*Gaustrax*

*Kayendarūnghqua*

On behalf of the Delawares

*Anindamoaken* al<sup>t</sup> Long Coat

*Yaghkapoose*

Squash Cutter



Sir William answered

Bretheren, I thank you for taking what I said into serious consideration, with regard to what you desire to know concerning the line, if one Sachem from each Nation attends early to morrow morning I shall speak further upon that subject.

May 4<sup>th</sup> The Indians continued all the Forenoon in Council, and till 4 P. M. when they assembled.

PRESENT— as before

The Onondaga Speaker addressed Sir William as follows.

Brother, We yesterday opened our ears to what you said to us, and we have deliberated on it ever since. We now beg you will open your ears, and hearken to what we have to say in answer to it. Gave 3 Strings.

Brother, We have heard what you told us concerning the Intentions of the Great King, about a line between us and the English, and we have considered that such a thing will be very necessary, provided the White People will abide by it.

Brother, The Chief cause of all the late Wars was about Lands, We saw the English coming towards us from all parts, and they have cheated us so often, that we could not think well of it. We were afraid that in a little time you would be at our very Castles, for this reason we thank the Great King for his good Intentions, and we hope he will make his People to Keep within Bounds which they have not yet done, We therefore agree that a boundary shall be fixed between us and that it shall run from *Fort Edward* along to the *Mohawk* Castle, and from thence along the great Mountains to *Harriss's Ferry*<sup>1</sup> on the River *Susquehanna* agreeable to what we have drawn here on a Piece of Bark. A Belt.

Brother, We have told you our minds, if it does not please you, it is none of our faults, We were always ready to give, but the English don't deal fairly with us, they are more cunning than we are, they get our names upon paper very fast, and we often don't know what it is for. — We wou'd do more to please the King, but it is hardly in our power, and some of us don't like it because we are so often impos'd upon. One of our Nations is going to be cheated out of almost all the land between the Mohawk and the big River by People at Albany to whom they never publickly made any such grants nor ever received any thing for it. We spoke to you once before about it, and here are their Chiefs now who say that since they first heard of it they were promised Justice by the several Governours at Albany long ago. they have likewise spoke to you on 12 different Belts and begged you would get Justice for them, but it is not done, they sent a Belt over to the King about it, but they have not yet had any satisfaction.

Brother, You see how it is with us, if the English would be more honest, we should be more generous and there would be peace all through the Land, but it is hard that one of our own Nations who live so near you, and have suffered so much upon your Accounts should be so greatly wronged, this makes us apprehensive that the English will soon stretch their Arm over our lands. We beg then that you will send our belts to the King, and tell him how it is with us, and that we hope he will sett us a good example and give the Mohawks their Land soon, before we settle any other matters, for our Necks have been long stretched out to hear from him, and if we don't hear soon, some of our young peoples heads will begin to turn, and they

<sup>1</sup> Now Harrisburgh, Pa. — Ed.

wont regard what we tell them about peace, they'll tell us it is not true, for if it was our Confederacy would obtain justice when they applyed for it. A Belt.

Brother, We have finished what we had to say for the present and we hope you will answer us to morrow upon it, at which time we shall speak to you on the other Matters.

Sir William told them he would Answer them in the Morning.

At a Conference May 5<sup>th</sup>

PRESENT— as before

Sir William addressed the Indians

Bretheren, Your speech yesterday much surprised me, you appeared desirous to settle a Boundary between the English and you, and sensible of the advantage of it, at the same time you have described a Boundary which is ridiculous, and which shews me you don't mean what you say, & are not desirous to pursue what has been recommended to you, neither does it proceed from your Ignorance, for you convinced me yesterday by the remarks you made on the great map, that you are well acquainted with the whole country, and the scituation of all the places on the Frontiers. Notwithstanding which you have in your Boundary cutt off a large Tract of Country which you all know has been long since purchased and settled, the Land is patented 100 miles beyond *Fort Edward* and a great distance beyond the *Mohawk Castle* and the Line you make from thence to Harris's Ferry instead of adding to, cuts off several Towns & Settlements particularly in *Pensilvania* which you know has been fairly purchased and allowed of by you, and to which you can make no claim.—And you have taken no notice of the other Governments.—The affair of the Mohawks is of old standing, and I have never neglected it, I can prove by papers I have here that I laid it before Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton 15 years ago, and that at the Grand Congress at Albany in 1754 I did what I cou'd for the Mohocks who were promis'd to have the matter strictly examined into, there is a patent for it, and it is not an easy matter to break it.—The Mohawks have given me infinite trouble about it ever since the report that it was to be surveyed, it has not as yet affected their hunting, as it has never been surveyed or settled, and I have stated their Complaints and doubt not but they will be redressed. That is the only Large Tract which at present concerns them, and therefore I am sorry to find you should make it any objection to the good work which the King recommends. These things require much time with the white People, I have often recommended patience to them, and I wish they would follow my advice, and not interupt a Business which is of so great Importance. I wanted only at present to know your general sentiments upon this subject, and I wish they had been more favourable because it would have been as much for your Interest as that of the English

To which the six Nations then answered,

Brother,

We have heard you with attention, and we are much oblided to you for shewing us what is best for our Interest, we shall therfore take it farther into consideration, because we are willing to shew our good Disposition, We hope our behaviour on this occasion will have a proper effect upon the Great King, and induce him to hearken to our Complaints.—We don't doubt but what you have done what you could for us, and we wish it may be taken notice of,

otherwise we must think ourselves greatly wronged, & our minds cannot be at peace. To morrow we shall answer you more particularly and to your Satisfaction.

Then Thomas King addressed the several Nations.

Bretheren,

I would advise you all to enter with chearfullness into the business your Brother Warraghiyagey has recommended to you and to do it from your hearts. Let us follow the example of our Ancestors whose bones are now turned into dust, they were Wisemen and took care of every thing that concerned peace, Let us do the same, and let us make a Line for the benefit of our Children, that they may have lands which can't be taken from them, and let us in doing that shew the King that we are Generous, and that we will leave Him land enough for his people, then he will regard us, and take better care that his people do not cheat us.

May 6<sup>th</sup> The several Nations assembled to give their Answer.

PRESENT — as before

The Onondaga Speaker addressed Sir William, first repeating all he had said to them at the former Congresses.

Brother

We are now assembled to answer what you said to us yesterday, regarding the Boundary Line, concerning which we have not given you satisfaction, We hope we shall now please you better, and we beg you will attend to our answer, and pardon our Mistakes and the manner of our Expression as we have always been accustomed to speak our thoughts freely, the rather as we heard from the French that you had designs upon us, and we heard from you that they had the same, but of late we heard you both had the like motives. At length we have agreed together for Ourselves, our Wives and Children to make a Cession to the King of the Lands we shall now describe, beginning at Owego, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna thence down the East side of the River to Shamoken (or Fort Augusta<sup>1</sup>) and running up the West Branch of Susquehanna on the South side thereof, and from thence to Kittaning<sup>2</sup> or Adigo on the Ohio, thence along down the Ohio to the Cherokee River,<sup>3</sup> and up the same to its head this side upon Condition that you have some regard for our Warriors who always pass through that Country and give them always a free passage & We are very happy in being all assembled here, both Sachems and Warriors at this time and not as has been formerly the case on such occasions, We can now all act together as all shou'd receive a share for what they ceded, by which it will be preserved in our minds. We have never refused you lands in many places, we have given proofs of our friendship on which we have been promised a recompence which we have not received. We assisted your Army last year, and many of our people were forsaken and left to famish, and we have been promised a large Trade, and to fix Interpreters &c<sup>a</sup> at each post, which is not come as yet, We beg you will consider these things, and have regard to your promises and our requests, as we pay due regard to your desires at present, that therefore you will take these things into your consideration, and afford us a plentiful Trade, and proper Interpreters at the Posts as you have promised.—It is in expectation of this that we have now

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> In Armstrong Co., Pa.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Tennessee River. — Ed.



agreed to your proposals, and for the sake of Establishing Tranquility, We therefore recommend it earnestly to you to consider what we have said, We have farther to add that you will consider our Hungry People will sometimes kill your cattle and tread down your Corn, if they do so now it may be worse when we assemble all Nations, We therefore beg that whenever you finally settle this affair, and that all your Governours meet about it, you wou'd appoint the Congress in some place more remote, and that you wou'd bring Provisions thither with you. The request of the Traders shall be complied with and we shall agree to give them some lands near Fort Pitt and also to your desire concerning some lands about the Forts for the use of your Garrisons.

Then Thomas King said, to the several Nations.

Bretheren, I hope you will now remember what we have agreed to and what your Brother has said, for we have now all Men, Women and Children been witness of this Transaction, which is done publickly nor can it be said our chiefs received any Bribes, therefore shou'd we forget what is now down, it will be a great Reflection upon us, as none of us can with Truth deny it.

At a Conference May 6<sup>th</sup> P. M.

PRESENT— as before.

Sir William assembled all the Chiefs & spoke to them concerning the Boundary Line observing that they had not closed it properly to the Eastward, which was certainly highly necessary.

The Onondaga Speaker answered.

Brother, We have attended to you, and we have already considered about closing the line, but we find it a difficult matter to determine, as so many Tribes and Branches of our Confederacy have their Residence about the Susquehanna, we think to continue the line up that River to Cherry Valley Lake, and from thence to the German Flatts would be very advantages to you, because our Bretheren the Oneidas say you have no right or title on the South side the Mohawk River above that place, however for the present we shall not extend the Boundary Line higher than *Owego*, but when the affair comes to be finally determined we shall think farther about it.

Then Canaghquiesia said

Brother

You know that we are Owners of the Land Westward of the German Flatts, we hope we are not to be cheated out of it, but we have reason to think oddly of it as a German is gone to live at our large field *Orisca* which is our property, we beg you'll drive him off, for he has no right to it, for we well know the lands we sold from the rest, and we tell you this because we wou'd not do any thing in it till we spoke to you about it. We think we are strangely dealt with, Our Fathers were asked to sell Farms, and whenever they agreed to it, the White People took Woods and all, which we knew nothing of till we saw people coming into our Country. Brother, Since that is the case let us know what the White People claim, and we'll tell honestly what we sold.

Sir William answered

Bretheren, As I only wanted to know your sentiments in General about a Boundary, I am content the line remains for the present as far as you recommend. As to what you mention'd running to the German Flatts it can't be agreed to, there are good Titles with' that line. What the Oneidas say about the Man at *Orisca* I did not hear of till now, if he is unjustly settled, he will remove on proper warning. Whenever I can hear of your being wronged, I shall use my Interest to get Justice for you, but you would have much less cause to complain if your People wou'd never meddle in Land Affairs with' the Knowledge of the whole Nation.

At a Conference with the Delaware Deputy's from Ohio, in the presence of the Six Nations  
May 7<sup>th</sup>.

PRESENT — as before

Sir William spoke as follows.

Chiefs of the Delawares, you are now here assembled in Consequence of the terms offered you by Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet<sup>1</sup> when he marched into your Country, your friends the Shawanese at the same time bound themselves to send Deputys to me, but you know their Hostages ran away, and they have not since fulfilled their Engagements. You now see yourself, safe here, and well taken care off, these silly people might have experienced the same treatment, but although they never found the English act a treacherous part, yet were their own hearts so bad that they would not trust them, but you see they were mistaken in their Apprehensions. Let this therefore teach you a reliance on British Clemency hereafter, and prove a Lesson of humanity and mercy which you must stand in need of. You met me at Detroit in 1761. You could not since have forgotten the Engagements you then entered into before so many Nations, but notwithstanding all your solemn promises, two years afterwards I saw you cutting the throats of your Bretheren the English, and exerciseing all manner of Cruelty's which you have continued to do, till within these few months, when a Body of Troops was sent against you. You likewise amused and deceived the Commanding Officer who went by way of the Lakes, by telling him that you had ceased all hostilities when at the same time you were carrying them on with all the vigour you could and continued to do so for some months after. I do not mention these Instances of your former faithlessness from any ill nature at present towards you, as you are now in Consequence of your Promises of Amendment forgiven by the English, my reason for repeating them is that you may see your conduct in a true light, that you may be brought to acknowledge the little reason we have to rely on any of your Engagements from the repeated Instances we have of your breach of them, that you may be the more sensible of the obligations you lye under to the King for his clemency in passing over all your Acts of Cruelty, that you may cautiously guard against inflaming his just resentment for the future, by ungreatfully commencing hostilities on a people who have shewn you so much candor and humanity.

It should therfore and I expect it will be your peculiar study hereafter by your peaceable and friendly deportment to efface the remembrance of your past behaviour to convince the English that you are heartily sorry for what is past, and that you will never more be guilty of a breach of promise, neither will you hearken to the French Emissarys who have been

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 352. — Ed.



amongst you, or attend to those bad birds who go about to sow discontent amongst your People, and who must in the end prove the destruction of all who take notice of them. What I have now said I hope you will treasure up in your minds and tell them to your Children, and I expect you will now open your Ears to the terms of peace I am to propose to you, that you will chearfully subscribe to them & faithfully observe them hereafter, for shou'd you ever fail in any Article this Treaty will be a standing evidence of your perfidy, and you must never expect any forgiveness.—Then explained the Articles of Peace.

To which the Delaware answered.

Brother. We have been very attentive to all you have said to us and we are very glad to hear it, We shall consult upon it, and in the Afternoon give you an Answer.

At a Conference with the Delawares in the Presence of the rest. May 7<sup>th</sup> P. M.

PRESENT— as before.

Killbuck the Delaware Chief spoke as follows.

Brother. Hearken to me who am sent here from the Ohio with another of our People to you to treat upon Peace, we now Brother agreeable to what we were directed, do with this String open your Eyes, wipeing them with a fine cloth, so that you may see as before, with this string we remove any dirt w<sup>h</sup> may have got into your Ears, that you may hear clearly what we have to say, and with this string we purge your Inside from any thing evil against us, so that we may once more meet upon Business and that all past Transactions be forgotten.

Gave 3 Strings

Brother, I have been sent here as a Deputy from our Chiefs *Costeloga*, *King Beaver* and *Teatapercaum* alias Samuel on behalf of all our Nation, and ordered on my arrival here to take this belt and with it to wipe away all the blood from about you and to cleanse it from your Bed, so that you may be clean as formerly

A Belt 6 Rows

Brother, Hearken to me, I was desired on my Arrival here to take this Belt and after Collecting all your Bones therein to pluck up a large White Pine Tree, and bury them under its roots where a strong stream of water ran so swift that its course could not be known, so that you might forget them.

A Belt 6 Rows.

Brother, I was likewise desired by our Chiefs after I had buried your Bones to take the Tree I had plucked up, and sett it over the place covering it with Earth, and afterwards laying sods over it so that it could never be thought it had been plucked up, and that our Posterity might never find it.

A Belt 8 Rows

Then repeating every word which Sir William had said, as also every Article proposed to them he said.

Brother, I have repeated all you laid before us, and I agree in every particular to what you have said, I return thanks to the Great King for laying before us what evil we did, and for giving us peace afterwards, for which we shall be always greatfull, and I do engage on behalf of our Nation that they shall agree thereto in every particular, I readily agree to make restitution to the Traders, provided the Six Nations will enable us to do so.

A large Belt 11 Rows

Brother, The other day you told us every thing for our good, and we pay great regard thereto, and thank the King for this peace, and as you recommended to us to take a fast hold



of the Covenant Chain of Friendship, I do now lay hold of the same and least it should slip I take this Belt, and tie a knot upon it and to make it still stronger I add another knot, and to that I add a third seiseing it with both my hands so that it never can slip, but that it may remain firm for the benefit of us and our posterity, and that we may live peaceably and happily together. And as a farther proof of my sincerity I now tell you that I shall do whatever you desire, and remain patiently here whilst you desire it, so that you need not to imagine I shall leave you till you think proper this is what I was desired to say by the Chiefs of our Nation.

A Belt 9 Rows

Then the Squash Cutter stood up & said.

Brother, We have heard all you said and attended to it, (here repeated the whole) We are very glad to hear that the King will forgive what is past on our sincere repentance, we do now therefore chearfully take hold of the Covenant Chain of Friendship, resolved to hold firmly by it, though any Nation should trample us under their feet, We have been long desirous to enter into it and last year sent you 10 drops of your blood to Niagara by the Six Nations and are now resolved to deliver up the other two drops remaining as also the Negro's, but they being free, we wish you wou'd stretch out your hand and fetch them, we have no Frenchmen or Deserters, nor any more Prisoners, the rest are with our Uncles the Senecas. We think it hard that those of our people taken by your Indian party's last year should remain with the Indians but notwithstanding we shall deliver up all we have and chearfully take hold of the Covenant Chain of Friendship with both hands promising never to let it go, but to abide by every thing agreed to by the rest.

A Belt 7 Rows

Then the Onondaga speaker addressed Sir William on behalf of the Senecas and after repeating all Sir William had said on the subject of Condolence, returning him thanks for performing that Ceremony and covering the Grave of *Gaustrax* the Seneca Chief's grandchild,—adding that Gaustrax, was very thankfull for having his Grief removed and wou'd now attend the Council as before.

. 3 Strings

Then Sir William addressed the Delawares.

Bretheren, I have heard what you said and am glad my words have had a proper effect upon you, that you appear sensible of your past conduct and have so chearfully agreed to the terms of peace. I shall therefore tomorrow produce the Articles drawn on Parchment for you to subscribe to, and wish you may always abide by them.

Bretheren of the Six Nations, I expected to have been enabled to answer your last speech this day, but by your assembling so late, I must defer it till to morrow when I shall conclude all matters.

At a Conference May 8

PRESENT — as before

Sir William spoke as follows

Bretheren, As the Delawares have yesterday agreed to all the Articles of Peace which I proposed to them, I shall now produce the Parchment which we are to sign together and afterwards give you an Answer, and finish all matters with them.

Bretheren of the Delawares, This is the Parchment to which you are to affix the Marks of your Tribes in my presence to the end that the present Treaty may be known to your Posterity,

and that your Children may have the Transactions of their Fathers explained. You all heard it explained, I shall now explain it to you again.—here repeated the whole— After which the Delaware Deputy's from Ohio subscribed thereto in the presence of the rest.—As did also the Long Coat and Squash Cutter the two Chiefs of the Susquehanna Delawares.

Bretheren, I do now in consequence of what you have agreed to receive you into the Covenant Chain of Friendship, and I hope you will be always sensible of the great obligations you are under to the English for the forgiveness you have met with.—This Covenant Chain cannot be taken too much care of, your Hunting, your Trade and happiness depends upon it so long as you all hold it fast it will continue bright, clean & strong, but if some of your people let slip any of the Links, and if you do not immediately bring them to their senses, that part of the chain will be in danger of contracting rust, and we shall be obliged to cutt it off for the preservation of the rest. but I hope you are grown wiser and that you will remember what hath passed at this Congress, that you will tell it to all your people, and repeat it frequently amongst you, which will be the only way for you to preserve it and to enjoy the benefit of your alliance with the English.

Gave the Belt of the Covenant Chain

Then by a black and white belt made for that purpose opened and made clear the Road of Peace from their Settlement to the English, and desired they would always assist in keeping it good.

A Belt.

#### Long Coat & Squash Cutter

I have heard what you said and I am glad that you sincerely repent and agree to every thing proposed. You may think yourselves very happy that your great offences are forgiven, and I hope it will make you abide by your engagements, for if ever you break them hereafter you must expect no mercy. I expect the Prisoners will be delivered up immediately, and I know you can easily apprehend the Negroes, when that is done your People at New York shall be restored, as for those amongst the Indians, you know they are with their Uncles the Six Nations, and therefore cannot be considered as in Captivity.

After which Sir William took them by the Hand for the first time, *then they shook hands with the Six Nation Chiefs*

And Sir W<sup>m</sup> told the latter he would speak with them to morrow

At a Conference May 9<sup>th</sup>

PRESENT — as before

Sir William spoke as follows.

Bretheren of the Six Nations,—

Having finished matters with the Delawares and also heard all you have had to say on the Affair of the Boundary, I am now to answer your Speech made two days ago which I have attended to and shall by the first opportunity lay the same before the great King, which is all can be at present done in it. I wish what you have told me is sincere and from your hearts as I desired you to speak, I only wanted to hear what you had to say upon it, and that whatever was agreed to should come from yourselves freely. As to what you said that the French told you of us, and that we told you of them, it has nothing to do with the present affair, if the French were in our place they would not ask you leave to settle a Boundary they



wou'd fix it where they pleased, they have given up the whole Country by a Treaty to the King of England, but notwithstanding our Monarch is too just to take any land, or make any settlements without your consent all he keeps in the back part of the Country, is the Forts which the French had, which are necessary to the Trade and Navigation of the Lakes and Rivers. At these posts the King intends there shall be proper persons to manage business with you, and see that you are fairly dealt with, these are not yet appointed, and you know it is not in my power to appoint them till the King gives me orders, when these come over, persons shall be fixed and I hope Affairs will go on better.

A Belt.

I have treated with you in a publick manner I wish you would follow that example in your Land Affairs, you would then have less to complain of. I know you have sold much lands, and I know you have received a great deal of Money on that Score, and as to any Tracts which shall appear to have been obtained from you by fraud, His Majesty will do you Justice, what more can you expect.

A bunch of Wampum.

I know all you have done for the service of the King, and I also know in what any of you have acted amiss, you have attended the Armys often, and you know you have got great rewards for it. I have been employed for some months in cloathing and rewarding those who went with the army last year, as they returned here severally, and I expect you will always have a just gratitude for the Treatment you received, and for the Lenity which the offenders amongst you have met with. Let it make a deep impression on your Minds, and make you abide steadily by all your former and present Engagements, and as what you have proposed about the Boundary is your own free proposition, and since you say you are the Owners of all the land you spoke about, I expect never to hear any grumbling about it, and that you will never suffer any other people to sett up a title to it for if you do, or if any of you attempt to evade it hereafter, you cannot be considered as an honest People; if the King approves of what is done, and what orders are received for settleing it in form, you shall have notice of it, & you shall be met for that purpose in some convenient place, where I expect you will behave yourselves more orderly then you have done here

A Belt.

Bretheren, You often talk of the wise customs of your Forefathers and I wish you wou'd observe such of them as were really so, and which were best calculated for promoteing and continueing peace. Your Grand Fire Place at Onondaga was always attended to, and I expect you will often meet and repeat your engagements there, and that none of you do for the future neglect to attend that Council when summoned, for by such neglect, your engagements will become weakened and your affairs will fall into Confusion.

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Senecas, I expect you will often think of all I have said at this Congress, and that you will amply fulfill all your Engagements you have now enter'd into in the presence of the whole Confederacy here assembled, & likewise that you will shew us by your Actions & Conduct, and not by words alone that you sincerely repent of your late behaviour, You must also lay aside your foolish Jealousys, and shut your Ears against Lyes, & evil Reports, This must be your Conduct if you regard your real Interest, instead of quareling with so strong a People as the English who have it in their power to reduce you to the greatest necessity, and will certainly all join against you, if you ever break your Engagements.—Think upon this often amongst yourselves and avoid such a dangerous step, consider all other advice as hurtfull to you, and I hope you are become wise enough at last to see that you are deeply interested in the observance of my Words on this occasion. I shall always be your friend whilst you make them the rule of your conduct, and I can give you no other Councils which can more promote your peace or happiness.

A Belt



Then the Onondaga Speaker addressed the Senecas & Delawares—

Bretheren, I recommend it to you to consider what has past at this Congress and that you have appointed Hostages to remain here till the Prisoners come down. It is therfore expected that you will strongly recommend it to them to remain quietly here, without attempting their escape and behave in such a manner as shall be agreeable to Gora Warraghiyagey, for shou'd they act otherwise it will overset the good work in hand. Gave a Belt to the Senecas

At a Conference May 10<sup>th</sup>

PRESENT— as before

The Onondaga Speaker stood up and after repeating what Sir William had said yesterday on the first bunch of wampum, returned the King and him many thanks for what was proposed to them, and declared their approbation thereof, and assured him that when next called to a General Meeting they would use all their Endeavours to keep their young People orderly, so that Business may go on without any Interruption returned a bunch of Wamp<sup>m</sup>

After repeating what Sir William said on the second Belt, the speaker answer'd as follows.

Brother, You may assure the King that what we agreed to the other day concerning the Boundary was the Unanimous resolution of the whole Confederacy, and even of our Nephews the Delawares, that is, that the Line shall begin at Shamokin, run from thence along the West Branch of the Susquehanna to a place on Ohio named Adigo, thence down the Ohio to the Cherokee River, and so up to the source thereof, and that we will firmly abide therby, and not change our resolution as you seem to think. A Belt.

After repeating the substance of the 3<sup>d</sup> Belt which Sir William spoke upon Yesterday, they answer'd as follows.

Brother, The Plan proposed for Trade as mentioned by you, gives us all great pleasure, as on a fair and plentiful Trade, and civil Treatment at the Posts our greatest happiness depends we earnestly wish to see it so settled, and hope you will be carefull in the Choice of persons who are to inspect the same. A Belt.

Brother, We took particular notice of what you said to us concerning the Line or Boundary which we agreed to, and strictly observe what you said thereon.—Be assured we have the affair so much at Heart that we will embrace this opportunity by our Cousins the Delawares (who live at Ohio) of Acquainting the several Nations in that Quarter of our present Resolution, and that shall be done at a Publick meeting in the Shawanese Country, where all the Western Nations often hold their Councils, this you may depend upon shall be done without loss of time, and we doubt not of reconciling all them Nations to it, and we once more assure you of our good disposition, and desire for a General Peace which now seems at hand, as the Delawares have so sincerely repented, and come to your terms in our presence and we expect that the Shawanese will also come to the same A Belt.

The Mohawk Sachem Canadagaia Then returned Sir William many thanks for the good advice he gave them yesterday, relative to the Council at Onondaga, and assured him they would now strictly follow his advice, and the rules of their Ancestors, being now all firmly united in the chain of friendship, there was nothing to prevent their compliance, repeated their thanks and all acknowledged what he recommended was for their Interest A Belt

Then the Onondaga Speaker was called by the Senecas and spoke for them as follows

Brother Gorah Warraghiyagey and you Bretheren of the Five Nations, I heartily thank you both for the wholesome advice you gave us yesterday and do assure you most solemnly we will comply with all you required, and acquaint both Sachems and Warriors with what passed at this Treaty, which we are certain will be very agreeable to them all, and as soon as we have shewn your Belt to all our People, & acquainted them with the purport thereof, we will by the return of your people now going for the Prisoners send you a Belt in exchange

Then Ganaghquiesa Oneida Chief stood up and answered the speech of the Delaware Warriors (of Chenussio) made yesterday to the Five Nations as follows.

Cousins \*

We attended to your Complaint made to our Brother Gorah Warraghiyagey and us yesterday against your Chief Man *Long Coat*, which although a heavy charge we desire you would allow him to continue as he is untill what you have now engaged be performed, & that he remains a Hostage as first agreed upon untill the delivering of the Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> when you may Act therein as you think best

Gave 3 Strings

Sir William then answered the Delawares on the Belt they spoke with yesterday, as follows.

Bretheren the Warriors of the Delawares As your Uncles have spoke their sentiments on what you yesterday laid before them & me concerning the displacing your Chief Man *the Long Coat* I have only to add that it would give me great pleasure to see their Chief Men act a good part, as that would be for the Interest of their Nation, wheras a Contrary Conduct must tend to their ruin, however at present will say noth<sup>e</sup> further, but leave it on the footing their Uncles recommended

A Belt

Then the Onondaga Speaker told Sir William the Six Nations had finished every thing they had to say.

The Seneca Chief spoke next

Brother, As our Nephews the other day agreed to give up what Prisoners are yet amongst them, for the Performance of which they leave you their two chief men hostages and did then desire we would do the same, it was assented to directly and our two Chief Men agreed to remain with you as Hostages for the performance, We have now only to desire you will send *Ohoa* the Interpreter with some more of your People as soon as you please with three of our Men appointed for that purpose to collect and bring them all down without exception as we are determined to do every thing required of us

A Belt

Then Killbuck on behalf of the Ohio and Chenussio Delawares spoke as follows.

Brother (holding up the Chain of Friendship given to him by Sir William after signing the Treaty of Peace) We return the Great King and you thanks for allowing us once more to lay hold of this Chain which I do most heartily in the presence of the Six Nations, and will proclaim it to all our People on our Arrival, which will make them happy, then taking a Belt of their own delivered it to Sir William w<sup>th</sup> a repetition of many thanks to His Majesty for forgiveing what they had done, & the strongest assurances of their ever holding fast by it, and hoped he would not let it slip

Gave a Coy<sup>t</sup> Chain Belt

Brother attend, I sincerely thank you for opening the road of Peace to us, and by this Belt I do in behalf of our Nation remove all obstructions &c<sup>a</sup> out of this Road and will ever assist in

\* This Speech is an Ansr to one made the day before by the Delawares who were desirous to remove their former Chief as they alledged he had been the cause of their commencing hostilities.



keeping it clear & level for your & our People, that both our Women & Children may use the same with Pleasure

Gave the Road Belt

Then Sir William returned his thanks to the Six Nations for their conduct during the present meeting and their ready compliance to all things propos'd to them told them he would immediately acquaint His Majesty with what passed, and them with His answer and sentiments on the whole

Then Sir William acquainted them that he had a present for them, from His Majesty which he would deliver them to-morrow.

#### At a Private Conference

The Warriors of Cayuga assembled, and their Chief Warrior spoke as follows

Brother, All matters being now settled to both our Satisfactions at this Meeting, which gives us all great Satisfaction. You often advised us to collect our People together and not to live so dispersed, We being now all of one mind are resolved to follow your Directions in every thing for the future, therefore purpose as soon as we reach home to fall about gathering all our People together, which when done we must beg of you to assist us with a Smith to keep our Arms and Tools in Order, as the Smiths to be posted at the several Posts will never be able to keep them in repair, this is the earnest request of all your Warriors.

A Belt

Then *Tagaia* Chief Sachem of Cayuga spoke as follows,

Brother

I am desired by all the Women of our Nation to request you would give them an Order for some provisions at Oswego, from whence we can carry it by Water much better than to come so far as this for it as we are really poor (occasioned by the absence of our young men who accompanied the army last year) we hope you will take pity of us, and grant our request.

A Belt

Sir William told them that as it was now late and that he was to write several letters for the post, he must defer answering them till the Morning.

#### At a Conference May 11<sup>th</sup>

The Cayugas being met Sir William answered them on what they said last Night.

Bretheren, I am pleased to hear that you at length approve of my former advice, and are determined to collect your People together at Cayuga, it is certainly right, and what you should have done before, I am sorry I cannot at present take upon me to allow you a Smith at your Town, I hope you will find those intended at the Post sufficient for your wants

A Belt

Then, told them that it was not in his power to give an Order for Provisions at *Ontario* more than would be sufficient to carry them home.

returned their Belt

The Indians being all assembled Sir William after making a long discourse to them, on several subjects and recommending gratitude to them for the many favours they had received of his Majesty, exhorted them to be punctual for the time to come in all their Engagements, which would be the surest means of regaining the Friendship of the English, on which their greatest happiness depended & lastly cautioned them to behave well as they passed home



through the Inhabitants. Then he delivered them a very valuable present and desired their Sachems and Chief Warriors would make a just distribution thereof. After w<sup>b</sup>

The Onondaga Speaker stood up, and by order of the Six Nations returned His Majesty many thanks for his kindness to them, assured Sir William they would follow his directions being sensible they were calculated for their Good, and lastly, that they would be ready to attend the Grand Meeting to settle the Boundary when called, and would abide by what they now agreed to

Then they divided the Goods amongst them and went to their several Encampments.

The 12<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> was spent in private meetings and giving the Chiefs of each Nation private presents, after which they all sett off for their respective Castles well contented.

The Provisions was sent to Conajoharee, and the present of Rum to the German Flatts, to prevent their drinking as they passed by the Inhabitants.

Eod<sup>m</sup> Die. Sir William dispatched M<sup>r</sup> Perthuis one of his Interpreters with 6 Men in a Battoe, who are to bring down all the Prisoners, Deserters, Frenchmen & Negroes from amongst the Senecas and Delawares, He is to go by the way of Oswegoe to Irondequat, from thence by Land to all the Seneca Towns.

The Indians began to De Camp on the 15<sup>th</sup> and continued to do so till the 22<sup>nd</sup>, leaving behind them about thirty Persons being the familys of four Chiefs who remained as Hostages.

The foregoing is a true Copy of the proceedings at the several conferences therein mentioned and has been carefully compared with the Indian Records.

G. JOHNSON Dep. Agent  
Act<sup>s</sup> as Sec<sup>y</sup> 'till the Vacancy is filled.



*Treaty of Peace concluded with the Delawares by Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General, XXV., K 4. ]

Treaty of Peace with the Delawarre Nation enter'd into by their Deputies before Sir William Johnson, Baronet His Majesty's sole Agent and Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department of North America &c. &c. &c.

ARTICLE 1.

That in consideration of the Delawares sincere Promises of future good behaviour of their having delivered up to Colonel Bouquet a large number of English who were their Prisoners, and of their chearfully according to the subsequent Articles and faithfully observing them for ever hereafter, His Majesty is graciously pleased to pardon what hath passed, and they shall be once more received into the Covenant Chain of Friendship with the English.

ARTICLE 2.

That the Delawares of Susquehanna who fled from their habitations on the Approach of the Parties of Indians and Rangers sent against them last year by Sir William Johnson, be

comprised in this Treaty, and abide by every Article contained therein, which can in any wise relate to them, in consequence of the Treaty entered into before him at Niagara last Summer with the Senecas, provided they bring in all the English Prisonners, Deserters, Frenchmen and Negroes within Forty Days, agreeable to the engagement they have lately entered into for the performance of which they have left two Chiefs hostages. That then the Delawares that were taken Prisoners, last Winter, and remain at New York shall be discharged. But the rest who were distributed amongst the several Nations, must remain where they now are.

## ARTICLE 3

That the Delawares do immediately open the Road of Peace throughout every part of their Country giving free permission to all His Majesty's Troops, or other his Subjects to pass through the same, that they likewise open the Rivers, allowing a free and open Navigation for Boats, Canoes, or any other craft to all His Majesty's Subjects for ever hereafter; That they engage never more to molest them either by land or by water, or cause the same to be done by any other nation or tribe of Indians, but that they shall use all their Endeavours to prevent any such designs, and give the earliest Intelligence of them to the English, to whom they shall afford assistance if required.

## ARTICLE 4

That the Delawares do to the utmost of their power immediately open the Road to the *Illinois*, and use every possible endeavour for obtaining the Possession thereof, and securing the same to the English. That in case Mr Croghan Deputy Agent for Indian affairs be not yet sett out for the Illinois from fort Pitt, they shall send proper Persons to accompany and assist him, and those who go with him to take possession of the Forts and Garrisons in that Country, ceded by the French to the Crown of England

## ARTICLE 5

That they do forthwith use all possible means for bringing the Shawanese to a proper sense of their late conduct, to deliver up all the Prisoners remaining in their Hands without farther Delay and send Deputies to Sir William Johnson to treat about Peace.

## ARTICLE 6

That they deliver forthwith to the Commanding Officer at the Fort Pitt, those seven English yet amongst them, as also all Deserters, Frenchmen & Negroes, and engage never to screen, protect or encourage any such persons for the future, but should any such persons take refuge amongst them, they are to bring them without delay to the Officer commanding at the next Garrison, or to the Commissary, when such is appointed who will be empowered to reward them for their trouble.

## ARTICLE 7

That they do promise and engage never to take revenge for any act committed by Individuals of the British Nation, but to make due Complaint thereof to the next Commanding Officer, or the Commissary when appointed, who will apply to the Government to whom the Delinquent belongs that he may be brought to trial, when they may expect to have strict justice done them. And should any of the Delawares at any time hereafter, Rob, Murther or otherwise misuse any of His Majesty's Subjects, as the Indians have no Established Lawes for punishing the guilty, They are without excuse or delay to bring such offender to

the nearest Garrison, from whence he will be sent to the next Province in order to take his Trial; At which the Chiefs of the Delawares may be present that they may see the charges are fully proved against him, And be sensible of the Equity of the British Laws.

## ARTICLE 8

That should any dispute or difference arise relative to Lands or otherwise, they are by no means to Insult Officers commanding Posts, or any other his Majesty's Subjects, who cannot be answerable for these matters, but they are to lay their complaint before the Deputy Agent for that District who will transmit the same to Sir William Johnson, that they may obtain Justice

## ARTICLE 9

That many of the Traders who were plundered and severely treated by the Delawares in 1763, having represented the great distresses to which they are thereby reduced, and prayed relief. The Delawares are therefore to fall immediately on a Method for making them some restitution by a Grant of Lands, provided His Majesty shall approve thereof and the Six Nations first give their approbation thereto.

## ARTICLE 10

That whenever His Majesty shall be pleased to direct that Limits shall be settled between his subjects and the Indians with their consent, The Delawares engage to abide by whatever Limits shall be agreed upon between the English and the Six Nations, and shall never disturb His Majesty's Subjects on that Account.

## ARTICLE 11

That a Trade shall be opened as soon as it conveniently may be with the Delawares which Trade will be at the Principal Posts, And continue during the good behaviour of that Nation. That they do therefore in an especial manner protect the persons & properties of the Traders who may be going to, or returning from the Posts promising never to take away their horses, or otherwise impede their journeys, or molest them on any account, but in cases of fraud they are to lay their complaint before the Commanding Officer at the trading Post, untill the appointment of Commissaries who will then have the Inspection thereof.

## ARTICLE 12

That the Delawares shall communicate the particulars of the Peace they have made to all Nations with whom they have Intercourse, that they shall enforce the observance thereof in an Especial Manner, over their People. And Lastly that they shall enter into no engagements with any Nation whatsoever without the knowledge of the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, or those duely authorised by the King of Great Britain

DAN<sup>l</sup> CLAUS Dep<sup>y</sup> Ag<sup>t</sup> for Ind<sup>n</sup> Aff<sup>rs</sup>  
GUY JOHNSON Dep<sup>y</sup> Ag<sup>t</sup> for Ind<sup>n</sup> Aff<sup>rs</sup>

JOHN BUTLER Justice  
DAV<sup>d</sup> OWENS Delaw<sup>n</sup> Interp<sup>r</sup>

The foregoing Articles being fully explained and assented to, I have in Testimony thereof hereunto sett my hand and Seal at Arms at Johnsonhall the Eighth day of May One Thounsand Seven Hundred and Sixty Five.

WILL<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON





We the Deputies from the Delaware Nation having had the foregoing Articles duely explained to Us do agree to the same in every particular, on behalf of all our Nation, in testimony whereof we have hereunto signed the marks of our Tribes and affixed our seals the day and year above mentioned.

The marks of KILLBUCK al<sup>s</sup> BEMINEO

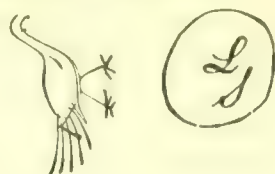


DAV<sup>d</sup> or KOCHSHURCHEMINT



LONG COAT or ANINDAMOOKY in Delaware.

In 6 Nat<sup>n</sup> ALEATTAVEETSARES



We the Chief Sachim and Chief Warrior of the Delawares and Nunseys of Susquehanna having heard the foregoing Articles duely explained to Us, do agree to the same on Behalf of all our People, as far as they relate to them, in Testimony whereof we have hereunto signed the marks of our Tribes and affixed our seals the day and year above mentioned

SQUASH CUTTER in Delaware YAGH-KAPOOSE in 6 Nations ONOSSA-RAQUETA



The foregoing is a true Copy of the Org<sup>l</sup> Treaty of Peace with the Delawares, wrote on Parchment and deposited in Sir Wm. Johnson's Office.

G. JOHNSON Dep. Agent  
Act<sup>s</sup> as Sec<sup>y</sup> during the Vacancy.

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Pp., No. 51. ]

New York 31 May 1765

My Lords,

I have the honour of your Commands of the 6<sup>th</sup> of March. It gives me the greatest concern that the Earl of Ilchester, Lord Holland and M<sup>r</sup> Upton, should have conceived that I have not to the utmost of my power endeavoured to serve them in their intended settlement which I am fully perswaded will be greatly for the benefit of this Country. Every consideration which

can influence any Man's Actions, inclined me to gain their Lord<sup>pp</sup>s esteem and favour by serving them.

I still insist, notwithstanding of whatever information may have been given, that there is no land on the Mohawks River, and for several miles distant from it, between Conojohary and Canada Creeks, which is not already pattented; and near the River settled and improved as much as any Land in the prov<sup>ce</sup>, and that this may appear with all the evidence which I can give, I shall give orders to the Surveyor General of Lands, to make out a Map of the Grants made in that place that it may be transmitted by the next Packet, which is to sail in eight days after this.

When Mr O'Brien<sup>1</sup> on his arrival in this place informed me of His Majesty's order, he mentioned in general, Lands on the Mohawks River near Conojohary, as the place he had in view. I inform'd him truely, that no lands on the River remained ungranted and not pattented, and that no land on either side of that River at a distance from it, were purchased of the Indians. I then conceived and am of the same opinion still, that no lands which can be now purchased of the Indians, are of more value, either as to soil or situation, than those near Tienderoga and Crown Point.

By Mr O'Brien's description of the Lands, w<sup>h</sup> he proposed to have, I did believe that he expected to have lands situated on the Banks of the Mohawks River; but now by the description in the recital of the memorial presented to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s I suspect, the land is the same which the Indians gave to Sir William Johnson, soon after the conclusion of peace, which I did not in the least suspect when Mr O'Brien applied to me. For this reason it becomes incumbent on me to inform your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s of every thing I know of that matter.

It is a constant practice among the Indian Nations, continued from the earliest time, in all their conferences on public affairs with other Nations, to open, and conclude them with mutual presents. After Sir William had informed the Mohawk Nation of the conclusion of the peace, and of the Cession of Canada and of all the Countries as far West as the Mississippi, the Conojohary Tribe of the Mohawks, in the fullness of their hearts with joy, and sence of the gratitute to Sir William for his great services, made him a present of a considerable Tract of Land between the Creek or River opposite to the Conojoharie Castle, and the Canada kill or River on the Back of the Lands already pattented.

Soon after this present was made, Sir William informed me of it, and requested a grant of the Lands in the usual form, which I communicated to the Council. They were of opinion,

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM O'BRIEN was an Actor whom Lady Susanna Fox, the Earl of Ilchester's eldest daughter, married on the 7th of April, 1761. The following letter, from the *Grenville Papers*, II., 417, shows how that noble family wished to provide for him at the expense of New-York:

*Lord Holland to Mr. Grenville.*

Kingsgate, October 14, 1764.

Dear Sir,

You very kindly encouraged me to apply to you where I was personally concerned. I cannot be more so in anything than in the success of my endeavours to assuage the incurable wound given to my brother by his daughter.

Mr. O'Bryen is gone with her to New York, and the keeping him there in credit is all that can be done, whilst we, if possible, forget them here. I hear there is a complaint made against Mr. Lambert Moore, who may probably in consequence of it, be removed; in that case, I beg you to make Mr O'Bryen Comptroller of the Customs at New York in his room. I will be security that the public shall not suffer. His Majesty has shown so much compassion on this unhappy occasion, that I flatter myself he will have no objection.

Let me intreat you then, dear Sir, to propose it, as a most essential and lasting obligation to a whole family, ever to be most gratefully acknowledged by your most obedient, &c., &c.

HOLLAND.

that so large a Tract could not be granted to one person, and without previous license of purchasing, consistently with His Majesty's Instructions. Being sensible of Sir William's great services, accompanied with such continual fatigue of mind & body, that very few are capable of, I advised him to apply to the King for His Majesty's Command to me to grant the same, which he accordingly resolved to do.

The unexpected breaking out of hostilities with the Indians, made Sir William neglect all his private affairs, till after the pacification last Fall, when he again desired me to transmit his request to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>. I thought, this could not be done with propriety, unless it were accompanied with a map and description of the Lands, he desired to have granted him; and for that purpose last Fall, I ordered a survey to be made of them which, by the approach of the winter season, and Sir William's continual application to the Indian Affairs could not be finished till lately, and now I hope to send it by the next packett.

As to that part of your Lord<sup>ships</sup> commands, to give my assistance in locating their Lands on any part between New York and Albany, which I, on strickt enquiry shall discover not to have been legally pattented and improved, I know of none, except one large Tract, about 20 miles below Albany, at a place called Claverack, claimed by one van Ranslaer, the state of which claim I apprehend is fully laid before your Lord<sup>ships</sup> by Capt<sup>n</sup> John Campbell and other reduced Officers, at whose request I wrote to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> the 11<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> last. That your Lord<sup>ships</sup> may be fully appraised of every thing which I know on this subject, I shall inform you of the past public transactions in this claim, so far as I can from my memory.

The claim of Ranslaer has been contested by his neighbours so long as I can remember. He claims a Tract of 170000 acres, whereas they, and I believe truly, think that he has only 23000 acres granted. Several persons at different times have taken grants within his claim, and continue to possess them. About four years since, several Officers of the Govern<sup>t</sup>, as some reward for their public services, with whom I allowed one of my children to join, petitioned for a grant of 1000 acres, to each within this claim. After solemn argument before the Council, they came to a resolution that no grant should be made till the validity of Ranslaer's Claim shall be determined by due course of Law. Last summer several reduced Officers in pursuance of his Majesty's proclamation in their favour, applied to me for grants of lands within Ranslaer's claim; I laid their memorial before the Council, who persisted in their former resolution of refusing their consent till the merits of Ranslaer's claim shall be determined by Law. By his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Commission, by which the Gov<sup>r</sup> of this Province is authorised to grant lands, the consent of the Council is necessary, previous to the Grant, and is expressly mentioned in the grant; but as I am convinced in my own mind of the injustice of Ranslaer's claim, at the request of the Reduced Officers, I wrote to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> in their favour.

I have so particularly informed your Lord<sup>ships</sup> of the matters above related, because I cannot otherwise preserve my integrity in the confidence which Sir William Johnson and the reduced Officers have placed in me; now, that I have done this, Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> future commands shall be submissively obeyed by

My Lords,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> and faithful servant.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Q1., No. 54. ]

New York 8 June 1765

My Lords,

Sir William Johnson, with indefatigable assiduity and great prudence preserved the Fidelity of the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations, and attached them firmly to the British Interest during the late war; at the conclusion of it by a peace, whereby they found their most sanguine hopes accomplished, and that in recompense of their fidelity, their Interests were become peculiar objects of the Royall attention. They, in gratitude to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson for his continued care of them and their Interests, in the year 1760 made him a present of a considerable Tract of Land not far distant from the upper Mohawk Castle.

Soon after this Sir William applied to me for a Grant of his Land by letters Pattent, but the Council refused their consent, because no gift can regularly be made by the Indians, or purchased from them without previous license from this Govern<sup>t</sup>, & because License of purchase of Lands in the same part of the Country had issued to several persons before that time.—No purchase, however, has been made, nor do I believe the Indians ever will transfer their right to any other person. On these considerations I had directed that Tract given by the Indians, to be surveyed, in the presence of the Indians, that the boundaries of it may be ascertained, a copy of which survey I now enclose.

As his Maj<sup>ty</sup> has ordered considerable quantities of Land to be granted to the reduced officers of his Army who have served in America, and has likewise by his order in Council directed some large Tracts to be granted on other considerations to private persons, I presume your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will be of opinion that Sir William Johnson's services deserve as much the Royal favour, as those of any other person, the rather as he has neglected availing himself of any Ind<sup>n</sup> grants and only possesses such lands, as he formerly purchased of the settlers, on which at a great expence and risque he has during the heat of the war, adventured to settle a large number of Families; that therefore you will be pleased to recommend my request in Sir William's favour to the King, for his order to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York, to grant this Land on the same terms, that Lands are granted to reduced Officers, or Otherwise as your Lord<sup>ships</sup> shall think fit.—If the orders should come while the Administration is in my hands, it will give me great pleasure to obey them.

I shall only add, that tho' this was truly a gift or present from the Indians, yet it was attended with considerable expence to Sir William. For according to the Indian customs among themselves, no gift is received, without making a suitable return, Sir William tells me, the present he returned on their executing the deed, amounted to 1200 pieces of eight, that he has since given them several sums on that account; and the expence of survey adds considerable to the charge.

I flatter myself, that this application in favour of Sir William, will not be disagreeable to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>; however, it is done with entire submission, as every thing is from,

My Lords.

The above letter was actually wrote in Febr<sup>y</sup> last, at which time I expected to have had the Survey of the Lands mentioned in it returned to me; but Sir William's engagements, in the public affairs with the Indians, made him neglect his own private affairs, that it did not

come to the Surveyor General of Lands Office, till very lately. When I wrote that letter, I did not in the least suspect that the Earl of Ilchester, Lord Holland and Mr Upton could have any thought of this land, and therefore I assured Mr O'Brien, when he mentioned lands near Conojohary, that he must be under some mistake, because all the lands on both sides the Mohawks River, are already granted, and that no lands purchased for the Crown in that part of the Country, remain to be granted; but since I had the honor of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s last letter, I suspect, that those Noble persons have had these lands in view, which the Indians have given to Sir William Johnson. That your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s may have all the information I can give you, I have directed the Surveyor Gen<sup>l</sup> to make out a Map of all the lands granted on the Mohawk River from the Conojohary Castle to the Canada kill or River, together with the lands, which the Indians have given to Sir William. Now that I have done this, together with what I wrote the 31<sup>st</sup> of last month for your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s information, be assured my Lords that your commands shall be punctually obeyed, as soon as received by

My Lords,

Your most obedient and faithful servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

*The Lords of Trade to the King.*

[ New-York Entries, Q. 281. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty.

In obedience to Your Majesty's commands signified to us by the Earl of Halifax<sup>1</sup> one of Your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in his letter dated the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, we have prepared the draft of a Commission constituting and appointing Sir Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup> to be Captain General and Governor in Chief of Your Majesty's Province of New York in America in the room of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Robert Monckton; which, being in the usual form, we herewith humbly lay it before Your Majesty, and shall prepare the necessary Instructions for the said Governor with all possible dispatch.

Which is most humbly submitted

HILLSBOROUGH.

SOAME JENYNS.

ED: BACON.

ORWELL.

BAMBER GASCOYNE

J. DYSON.

Whitehall

June 20<sup>th</sup> 1765.

<sup>1</sup> GEORGE DUNK MONTAGU, Earl of Halifax, succeeded to his father's title on the 9th May, 1739; he raised a regiment of foot on the breaking out of the Scotch Rebellion in 1745; was appointed first Lord of Trade in 1748; was afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1762 a Lord of the Admiralty; in 1763, Secretary of State for the Northern department; succeeded Lord Egremont (*supra*, p. 541,) as Secretary for the Southern Department, from which office he was dismissed in 1765, at half an hour's warning. He sought office again in 1766, but was curtly told by the Duke of Bedford his services were not wanted. Improvidence and, it must be admitted, vice had reduced him to great embarrassments, from which he had no hopes of extricating himself, but by the emoluments of ministerial employment. He so far succeeded as to be again appointed Secretary of State in 1769, through the influence of his nephew, Lord North, but it was too late. His constitution was broken, and his mind so enfeebled as afterwards to become the subject of discussion in a court of Justice. He died without male issue in 1772, and his title expired with him. *Bedford Correspondence*, III., 363.—ED.

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, ( K. 5. ) ]

Johnson Hall, July 1765.

My Lords

My last letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of May contained my Transactions with the Delawares who came to enter into Peace, since which, in consequence of what passed at the Conference the Senecas & Delawares of Susquahana have delivered up to me 25 Persons of both sexes being the last that remained Prisoners in their Hands, and a few days ago arrived several Deputys from the *Shawanese* to enter into a Peace accompanied by several Chiefs of the Six Nations, with the Mingoes & Delawares of Ohio, the former to subscribe to the Peace together with the Shawanese, & the latter to confirm and strengthen the Treaty signed by Killbuck and the rest, of which I lately sent your Lordships a Copy.—I have now the honour to enclose you my proceedings and Treaty with these Indians, which I hope y<sup>r</sup> Lordships will approve of.

My Deputy M<sup>r</sup> Croghan who thro' the Malice of some Persons was charged with some private interest with the Traders going to the Illinois has since cleared up his affairs to y<sup>e</sup> entire satisfaction of the General, but having the Neighbouring Nations to assemble & treat with, he was not able to leave Fort Pitt and proceed for the Illinois 'till the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, when he set out accompanied by several Cheifs & Leading Men of y<sup>e</sup> Shawanese, Mingoes & Delawares, who appeared to express a fixed Resolution to support him in effecting the purposes on which he was sent, this favourable disposition of theirs was the effect of his negotiations with them, at which time he so far prevailed on the Shawanese as to induce them to deliver up to him 44 Prisoners. L<sup>t</sup> Fraser the Officer who was to accompany M<sup>r</sup> Croghan to the Illinois being too zealous set out before M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had effected the necessary points with the Indians, and from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> lately received from *Detroit* there is reason to think he has been put to death, together with those that accompanied him, by *Pondiacs* party.

I have great cause to think that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will succeed in his Enterprize, unless circumvented by the Artifices of the French, or thro' the late licentious conduct of our own People; Altho' His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage has wrote to the Ministry on that subject yet I think I should not be silent thereupon as it may be productive of verry serious consequences.

The Frontier Inhabitants of *Pensilvania, Mary Land & Virginia* after having attacked and destroyed y<sup>e</sup> goods which were going to Fort Pitt (as in my last) did form themselves into partys threatning to destroy all Indians they met, or all White People who dealt with them, they likewise marched to Fort Augusta, and from thence over the West Branch of Susquahana beyond the bounds of the last purchase made by the Proprietaries, where they declare they will form a settlement in defiance of Whites or Indians, the afterwards attacked a small party of His Majesty's Troops on the Road but were happily oblidge to retire with the loss of one or two men, however from their conduct & threats since, there is reason to think they will not stop here, neither is this licentiousness confined to the Provinces I have mentioned, the People of Carolina having cutt of a party of Indians coming down under a pass from Col. Lewis of the particulars of which your Lordships have been doubtless informed.

Your Lordships may easily conceive what Effects this will have upon the Indians who begin to be all acquainted therewith, I wish it may not have already gone too great a length to receive a timely check, or prevent y<sup>e</sup> Indians resentment, who see themselves attacked, threatened and



their property invaded by a sett of ignorant misled Rioters who defy Government itself, and all this at a time, when we have just treated with some, and are in Treaty w<sup>th</sup> other Nations.

It will appear evident that whatever might otherwise be the consequence of my Negotiations, little can be expected therefrom, or from any thing else whilst counteracted and defeated by the misconduct of these, or such like people, who if suffered to pursue their designs must not only involve themselves, but the whole Frontier Inhabitants in the Distresses attending a General Indian War.

My last gave your Lordships an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Intelligence from Detroit &c<sup>a</sup> the motions of y<sup>e</sup> Indians & the Intrigues of the French, since that time y<sup>e</sup> command<sup>s</sup> Officer there has been alarmed with a Report of a large Body assembling to attack that, & the other Garrisons, but the same has since proved premature. About that time I received a visit from *Wabicommicol* a Mississagey Cheif (well affected towards the English) who with near thirty others came to repeat their engagements and assurances of preserving Peace, and using their Influence with the other Nations to abide thereby on their parts, this Cheif with his party I have since dismissed with a handsome present & some belts and Messages to *Pondiac* acquainting him that as all Nations in this Quarter are now at Peace, it is expected (if he hopes for favour or forgiveness) he will imediately come in, I have likewise sent some proper belts to the Western Indians, to shew them the folly they commit in suffering themselves to be led away by the designing interested French, or ambitious Indians, the six Nations have likewise sent belts of the like nature in their own names, threatning these Nations with a Confederacy against them should they offer to disturb the Public tranquility, I have accompanied these Indians with an Interpreter well qualified & acquainted with these Nations, to see that the whole is properly & fully expressed to them, & the Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese &c<sup>a</sup> have withdrawn the war Belts they formerly sent to the Westward.

Pondiac is certainly verry busy amongst the Indians backed & supported by the French, yet I don't despair of convincing him of his folly & rashness provided an interview can be effected either by me, or my Deputy, w<sup>h</sup> his apprehensions heightened by the suggestions of the French has induced him hitherto to avoid.

When matters wear so promising an Aspect as they now realy do, it must be a great mortification to me, should the state of affairs be overthrown thro' the intrigues of the French, or the misconduct of ourselves, yet both the causes at present greatly conspire to destroy the Tranquility of the Colonies.

It is a misfortune attending Ind<sup>n</sup> Affairs that your Lordships must of course hear so many different sentiments & contrary opinions relative thereto, everry man who goes from these parts, presumes to give his opinion from experience & knowledge, & therefor many are given in England, which the Authors would not be so absurd as even to hint, before those acquainted with the Ind<sup>a</sup> in this Country, and which they could not entertain if in the smallest degree versed in that difficult subject.—the different governments will likewise express themselves variously on that Head, arising from their confirmed prejudices, private Interests & ignorance of the Matter, the sentiments daily expressed are a sufficient proof of this, to which I might add the many puerile Questions & Remarks which I have from time to time been a Witness of from the lips of some who might be thought best acquainted with these matters.—Officers cannot be thought to be acquainted with the subject from their short residence & ignorance of the Indian Language, the Traders are allowed on all hands to be the worst Judges, & the

Inhabitants of our Capitals don't chuse to venture amongst them, or could they conquer their fears, would not chuse to purchase a knowledge little interesting to them at the expence of their time, ease & good living, yet amongst all these are men who pretend to know more than a Superintendant. — Whilst this remains the case, whilst so many different systems are daily talked of, and whilst most men are desirous to represent the Management of Indians as a matter of no more difficulty, and perhaps less importance than that of a company of soldiers, My opinion must be greatly weakened, but as I have never yet had reason to think it had suffered at y<sup>r</sup> Lordships Board, I shall take the liberty to offer it occasionally, & I now with pleasure assure your Lordships that I have at length (with great pains & a considerable expence) effected a pacification with almost all the Indian Nations in my Department, that I am Confident of this, and persuaded it will remain so, if proper measures are speedily & effectually taken, and if I have it in my power to put that plan in Execution, w<sup>h</sup> is calculated for that end, but should it so have happened that y<sup>r</sup> Lordships met with any Disappointment or opposition therein, so that a proper attention cannot be shewn for our numerous alliances I am as confident and as fully persuaded that no individual, nor any number of Persons whatsoever will be able to maintain a Harmony between us & the Indians but on the contrary, that a Rupture more general & infinitely more calamitous than the former must be the consequence of such neglect. Why the Indians would act that part, or why they expect all that attention and notice from us, I have repeatedly explained in several former letters, and it only remains to averr my sentiments & state the fact, the result of experience, of continual application & study & of my recent Discoveries concerning their secret thoughts & resolutions, so that if different conduct from that proposed will by them be considered as a neglect, if this neglect will operate upon them as a proof of our dislike & ill designs against them and consequently terminate in a Quarrel, w<sup>h</sup> tho accommodated in one year may be commenced in that following there then only remains for us with a large body of good troops supported by such Indians as may be induced to engage in the War, to secure our Communications, then enter their Country & leave the affair to the decision of sev<sup>r</sup>l Campaigns in which case a few Indians may fall, but the much greater Number will fly Westward, where we cannot follow them, but from whence they will occasionally issue with all the rancour of enraged & desperate Savages to y<sup>e</sup> ruin of our Frontiers, & the Destruction of our Trade. —

If the causes already assigned do not produce the beforementioned consequences, my opinion will justly deserve to be despised, which your Lordships will I flatter myself suppose I should be most unwilling to risque, and as my Conscience assures me of my uprightness & zeal for the true honour & Interest of my Sovereign, it inspires me with a Value for my Character, w<sup>h</sup> I would not forfeit by misrepresentation, or sacrifice for any office under the Crown. This will I hope stamp a credit on my remarks whilst your Lordships friendship will indulge me in y<sup>e</sup> honest Declaration of my Sentiments, unprejudiced, uninterested, the effects of a thorough conviction founded on experience, the result of a long & laborious application to the Dutys of my Office, & the Polity of the Indians within my Department.

The scituation of a Superintendant here will not admit of any comparison with your Lordships beyond that of Servants to the same Monarch, who are mutually bound to declare what their respective stations enable them to Judge most necessary for promoting one common Interest, w<sup>h</sup> is inseperable from the true interest of the Crown. An Argument I have reason to think will apologise for the liberty I have taken & for the freedom with which I have declared my thoughts on this & former occasions.



I had wrote so far, when I received y<sup>e</sup> agreeable news from L<sup>d</sup> Coll. Vaughan<sup>1</sup> commanding at Niagra, that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had arrived at the Illinois, & settled all matters, the Informant is a Frenchman newly returned from that place, who he writes me is a Man of Credit, & I have reason to think it true, I have also received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Croghan dated at the Mouth of *Scioto* the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, wherein he informs me he was there met by a number of Ottawaes, Shawanese &c<sup>a</sup> whom he so far prevailed with, as to induce them to deliver up to him Seven French Traders from the Illinois, who were in their Towns, & had been verry busy in promoting the War, & creating a Misunderstanding between us & the Indians, they have likewise promised to deliver Five more who are in their Country. This conduct of theirs is a convincing proof that they are at present sincere or otherwise they would never have delivered up persons so dear to them, which with their behaviour here, & that of the rest of the Nations, gives me the pleasing prospect of a firm Peace, which I can venture to insure if impowered to act according to your Lordships Plan, & enabled to make such appointments as may render the Management of Indian Affairs uniform & regular, which cannot be expected till then, more especially as the late Orders & Restrictions not only prohibit the undertaking any thing without previous approbation, but have necessitated me to disburse my own Money, as well as to take up several Sums upon credit for carrying on some verry essential parts of the service which would not admit of delay.

I flatter myself with the expectation of informing your Lordships, in a little time of the certainty of M<sup>r</sup> Croghans success on the verry important affair on which he has been dispatched.—

and I remain

with the greatest esteem

My Lords

Your Lordships

most obedient &

most humble Servant

WM JOHNSON

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>

The Lords of Trade

<sup>1</sup> Hon. Sir JOHN VAUGHAN, K. B., was son of the 2d Lord Lisburne, of the peerage of Ireland. He entered the Army in 1748, and became Captain in the 17th Regiment of Foot in 1756; Lieutenant-Colonel unattached in January, 1760, and was appointed to the 46th or South Devonshire Regiment of Foot, serving in America in November, 1762, of which regiment he was commissioned Colonel, on 11 May, 1775. He was appointed Major-General in America 1 January, 1776, and was second in command of the British Reserve at the Battle on Staten Island, on the 1st of August of that year. His regiment formed part of the expedition under General Grant to the West Indies in 1777, and Major-General Vaughan was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Leeward Islands. In 1781, he accompanied the Expedition against the Dutch West India possessions. *Beatson's Naval and Military Memoir*. Was next appointed Governor of Berwick, and Lieutenant-General in 1782. He died Colonel of the 4th regiment, 30 June, 1795.—Ed.



*Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Ohio Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers. ]

At a Conference at Johnson Hall with the Shawanese & Mingo Deputys from Ohio. July 4<sup>th</sup> 1765.

PRESENT—

Sir William Johnson Baronet  
Guy Johnson Esq<sup>r</sup> Dep<sup>y</sup> Agent.  
John Butler Esq<sup>r</sup> & sundry other Persons.  
L. Perthuis, H. Montour. Interpreters.

Sir William addressed them as follows

Children of the Shawanese

I am glad you have at last thought proper to come to me agreeable to your engagements with Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet & M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, why you neglected it so long, & what occasioned your Hostages to desert, are best known to yourselves, but I attribute it to your foolish & groundless apprehensions of our resentment and to your readiness in giving ear to every idle story that bad interested men have told you.

You have been already sufficiently spoken to on the subject of your late unjust War, & the Barbarities you exercised during its Continuance, which were of such a nature that you may think yourselves very happy in having people to deal with who have compassion for you and will receive you again into favour on your sincere repentance and future Amendment

A Belt.

The English have never given you cause to suspect that they would violate the faith of Treaties, & you therefore had no reason to prevent your coming down, but what your own guilty consciences suggested, for the English tho' strong and able to punish all their Enemies are also a merciful People, & have given you a recent proof of it, but take care that you do not build too much upon the Expectation of such Lenity hereafter, for if ever you swerve from the Engagements you are now to enter into you cannot expect, neither will you meet with farther forgiveness.

A Belt.

I am glad you call yourselves Children of the Great King, & I hope that title will induce you to reverence and obey him & to act in a different manner than you have hitherto done.— You acted wisely in delivering up the 44 prisoners to my Deputy M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, & I expect that you will lose no time in collecting any still behind, when this is performed & that the English find you observant of the Terms I shall now propose to you, they will take proper notice of you, & you will be allowed a fair Trade

A Belt.

Bretheren the Delawares, I am glad you are come here to strengthen the Treaty subscribed to by Killbuck the Deputy from your Nation, & I expect that all the Articles he agreed to will be strictly observed by your Nation for ever, so that you may enjoy Peace & Trade.

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Senecas of Ohio. You have long been in a bad road, it is time that you got out of it & chose a better, & to that end I shall advise you & all those of the Six Nations living in your Quarter to return to the Nation they belong to, for whilst you live scattered and at a distance from your proper Chiefs, you will be apt to listen to those bad birds, who have

corrupted your minds & are working your ruin.—I expect that the Engagements you will now enter into shall be accepted from your Hearts, & duly observed by all your people, & you need not doubt of the English favor, so long as you preserve your Treaties inviolate

A Belt

Then *Benavissica* the Chief of the Shawanese stood up and said.

Father, We have attended to all you said, with every part of which we are well pleased, we acknowledge ourselves to be the children of the Great King to whom we are very thankful for his favour. We heartily wish & we believe what you have said to be sincere, & we are sent here by all our People to act in the same manner, for which reason we shall this night take your speech into consideration, & give you an answer thereto to-morrow.

Sunday 7 July 1765

At a Conference at Johnson Hall with the Shawanese Mingoes of Ohio & Delawares.

PRESENT— as before

*Benavissica* Chief of the Shawanese stood up & went through the Ceremony of Condolence in return to that performed three days ago by the Mohawks &c. on the Death of the Squash Cutter then *Kayagshuta* Chief of the Mingoes Interpreted it in Seneca to the Six Nations.

4 Strings

After which *Benavissica* took Sir Will<sup>m</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Belt in his hands & after repeating all was said upon it, laid it down & taking up one of their own spoke as follows.

Brother, You have expressed to us your surprise that our Hostages ran away, & that we ought to know what motive could induce them to commit such a disgracefull action. All our Chiefs have been as much astonished as you at their conduct in which they had no share, & having to the contrary an immediate thought of a remedy for this ill precedent in sending ten prisoners that were then in our Villages, & praying the Commanding Officer of the Post where they were consigned, not to think that their Nation had any concern therein, as it would appear by the further steps they would take; as it is evident now by the measure they now take to put the last hand to the General Peace therto remaining nothing to add on their part, but to have your opinion thereon for to make a proper & satisfactory answer.

Brother, As we have failed in our Word we are come to make reparation for what we have done amiss, & we hope that all we now promise to you shall be punctually executed as well with regard to Trade as the other matters. Our Chiefs expect our return with Impatience for to rejoice at our good success together with our whole Nation.

Brother, When we had to treat in good earnest of this good affair, we sent word thereof to our Warriors, in order to engage them to work jointly with us in this salutary Work, this is their Answer “Our Chiefs, we are greatly delighted that you are willing to give us a solid Peace & as we are the cause of all the troubles, we have taken our Hatchets, & thrown them away so far off, that we can never find them any more, & we join w<sup>th</sup> you most heartily, in order to work with one consent in this good affair, & promise that we will be but one body & one same Spirit with you, as for the Prisoners we really believe they are all at present remitted and consequently nothing can prevent the graces & favours which you promise to our perfect docility & obedience.

## DELAWARES

Brother, We have found all that Killbuck hath transacted here very well done, & we are ready to ratify it, for as much as we see that there is nothing transacted but what is for our Advantage.

Then Kayashuta the 6 Nation Chief from Ohio stood up & said.

Brother,

You have engaged us to return to our respective Villages again, & we are very much satisfied with your way of thinking on this subject, & we are determined to follow your advice, being the only way to avoid falling into the snare that our Enemies are preparing for us. And be perswaded by these words we express gratefully the sence of our Hearts.

Brother, We with pleasure acquaint you with what we have done together, when first our Minds became divided in the last Wars. You did send word to the *Delawares* & we did the same to the *Saveneses*, by which we have engaged these latter to go back again to their Villages 18 miles from Fort Duquesne, and the *Delawares* have been engaged to the *River du Bocuf* & this was accepted of & executed in the Course of the Summer.

## SHAWANESE.

Brother, In regard to our being become your adopted children we believe this was done by the English at Fort du Quesne, but it little imports which way we are become by this Denomination, since we are equally enchanted to be the Great King's children, that we may obtain as much favour as we will endeavour to merit at his hands.

Brother, You have desired us at Fort du Quesne to advise you concerning the divers nations that are round about you. we are afraid the other Nations might be jealous of the good fortune of the Shawanese, & we think it would be properer to treat all these divers Nations upon the same equitable footing, & pray let them experience from you that care, that a Natural Father owes to his Children that they may be for ever gratefull & submissive to their Father, for if you were to educate them improperly they might be wanting in what they now call with propriety their duty.—In order to facilitate all things, we have sent ten of our People to accompany Mr Croghan, & to publish in the sundry Villages through the Rout the several steps we have taken consequently being of one accord & unanimous.

Brother, With this Belt we inform you that we are come a great way from our Villages to your Castle, & all the way that we came we have cleared the road of every thing that might hurt your Children, so that they may come now to visit you peaceably from Post to Post.

Monday 8 July 1765. Several Indians of the different Nations arrived, as also some Senecas with De Blois Interpreter and three Prisoners.

At a Conference with the Shawanese &c Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> July 1765

PRESENT —

as before

Sir William Johnson addressed the Indians in Answer to their Speech the other day.

Children of the Shawanese. I have attended to all your speech which I shall now answer, & I am glad you express your disapprobation of the Conduct of your Hostages, which I expect none of your People will evermore be guilty of, because it will reflect upon the credit of your



People, whose words will no more be taken. You did wisely in giving up then the 10 Prisoners to shew that you were resolved to abide by your Engagements.

I am glad you come now to make reparation for your past misconduct, & I expect you will pay due regard to your Engagements as you now promise. I shall not detain you long from your People but finish the good work with all expedition, so that you may speedily carry the agreeable News to your Chiefs & People at home.

I am pleased with the speech of your Warriors & that they cast away the Axe and promise to follow nothing for the future but what is good, it was a dangerous instrument & would had they kept it have hurt themselves, & I expect they will immediately fetch away & bury the Axes which they sent to the other Nations.—I now desire that they will deliver up the remainder of the Prisoners to M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, or in his absence to the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt, as doubtless they will be able to find a few more, for whilst there are any detained after your promises of delivering up the whole to us, the English cannot think you Men of your words.

A Belt.

To the Delawares

I am glad you approve of, & are ready to confirm the Treaty subscribed to by *Killbuck*, there was nothing contained therein but what was for your Interest & therefore I expect it will be duly observed.

Senecas

Brothers, I am glad you so readily agree to return to your proper places of residence, because you never can be perfectly happy till you do so, & therefore I expect you will move your quarters very soon.

The Places of Residence you have pointed out for the Shawanese & Delawares are the best & most fitting & I desire you will not change your minds but go to them & live in the strictest friendship with the English & not attempt stealing any of their horses, cattle or any other their property as such always produce quarrels.

4 Strings

Children of the Shawanese

It was during your Conference lately with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan at Fort Pitt that you called yourselves Child<sup>n</sup> & you then desired to be called always by that appellation. It is not however sufficient that you stile yourselves such, you must act like dutifull Children, & be obedient to your Father, if you do so the English will take proper notice of you, but they must first see how you merit that Title, & be perswaded that you have thoroughly reformed, & will never break out again, I know the kind of Treatment you received from the French, you joined them with chearfulness, & acted warmly on their behalf, whenever you do as much for us, you shall be equally rewarded, & in the mean time our favours will be proportioned to your several degrees of merit.

A Belt

I am no wise apprehensive that the other Nations can have any cause of jealousy on account of your having become Children of the Great King of England, as it is a Title they may all obtain if they desire it, but as you propose that the Title had best be given to the rest of the Nations I am willing to extend it to the *Delawares* & to all the other Indians about the *Ohio*. Their Treatment as Children must be according to their merit, undutifull Children must be punished, & those that are dutifull cherished, therefore your Treatment & theirs will entirely depend upon yourselves, so that if you don't find it agreeable, it must be your own faults for the

English will not neglect you so soon as they find that your hearts are sincere, & your conduct agreeable to your Words, & this I recommend to you as your friend & welwisher

A Belt.

I am glad to hear that you have cleared the road & removed all obstructions out of it, that is the only way for you to expect Trade, & an intercourse with the English, it is therefore your Interest to keep the same open, & not suffer any Trees or Stumps to stop the passage, for so long as you keep it in repair, we can see & converse w<sup>th</sup> one another, & whenever bad birds gets amongst you, you can cast your Eyes on me, & I will disperse them, but should it be ever more stopped up, the Traders could not go along it with their goods, nor could we confer together as friends.

A Belt.

I have now answered your Speech I shall to-morrow morning explain the Articles subscribed to by the Delawares to which I expect you will chearfully & sincerely agree.

Kayashuta chief of the Ohio Senecas return'd Sir William (on behalf of the rest) many thanks for his speech, & as they were of different Nations & did not all understand what was said, they desired time till the next day to make him an answer.

At a Conference at Johnson Hall 13<sup>th</sup> July 1765.

PRESENT — as before

Sir William explained to the Shawanese, Delawares & Mingos the several Articles of the Treaty subscribed to by Killbuck &c. on behalf of the Delawares, with all which they were pleased & unanimously agreed to subscribe to the same & to abide by every Article which might be construed to extend to them.

After which he proposed to them the following Articles as a Testimony of their assent to which they all subscribed.

*Treaty with the Ohio Indians.*

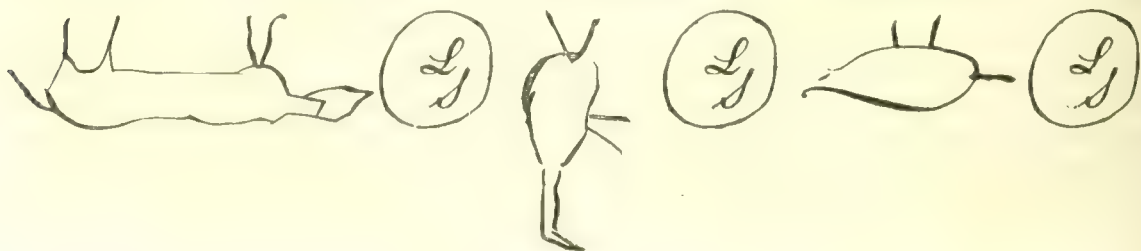
The Delaware Deputys sent from Ohio, to strengthen, ratify & confirm the annexed Treaty subscribed by Killbuck & those who accompanied him do for themselves & the rest of their whole Nation confirm the whole of the said Treaty by virtue of the power vested in them for that purpose, the same having been fully explained to & clearly understood by them.

They likewise of their own free will, & without being induced therto through fear or necessity do desire to be admitted as children of the Great King of England, & to be stiled such for the future, deeming themselves thereby closer linked to the British Crown to whom they will pay all due submission & subjection so far as the same can be consistant with the Indians native rights, In Testimony wherof they have hereunto affixed their proper Marks & Seals at Johnson Hall the 13<sup>th</sup> day of July 1765.

TURTLE HEART a<sup>ls</sup> AQUASSQUA.

WIEWEENOGHWA.

TEDABAJHSIKA.



The Shawanese Deputies sent from Ohio to subscribe to a Treaty of Peace before Sir William Johnson Baronet, Do for themselves & the whole of their Nation by whom they are duly authorised agree to every Article of the Treaty subscribed to by the Delawares so far as the same can be extended to the Shawanese, & do engage faithfully to abide thereby, the same having been fully explained to & clearly understood by them.—They do likewise of their own free will as the Delawares have done, desire to be admitted as children of the Great King of England, & to be stiled such for the future deeming themselves thereby closer linked to the British Crown, to whom they will pay all due submission & subjection so far as the same be consistant with their Native rights. In Testimony whereof they have hereunto affixed their proper Marks & Seals at Johnson Hall the 13<sup>th</sup> day July 1765

BENA VISSICA



NANICKSAH



NANYKYPUSSON

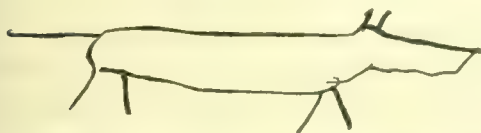


WABYSEQUINA



The Deputies from the Mingos or Indians of the Six Nations living at & about the Ohio, being sent by the whole of their People to subscribe to a Peace, Do for themselves & the rest of the Tribes in that Quarter agree to every Article of the Treaty subscribed to by the Delawares as far as the same can be extended to them & do engage faithfully to abide thereby, the same having been fully explained to, and clearly understood by them.—And they do farther promise & engage that they & all their People will with all convenient Dispatch, withdraw themselves from their present places of residence & return to the respective Nations to whom they belong. In Testimony whereof they have hereunto affixed their proper Marks & Seals at Johnson Hall the 13<sup>th</sup> day July 1765

KAYASHOTA.



CHENIGHSOA



In Testimony of the foregoing Treaty I have hereunto set my hand & seal at Arms, Promising the above mentioned Indians on the part of His Brittanic Majesty, the same Friendship & Advantange which are expressed in the Delaware Treaty on due performance of the Articles therein contained. Done at Johnson Hall the said 13<sup>th</sup> Day of July 1765

L. PERTHUUS  
H. MONTOUR  
Intp<sup>s</sup>

GUY JOHNSON Dpt<sup>y</sup> Agent  
PETER DU BOIS  
ROB<sup>t</sup> ADEMS

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON





Then Sir William spoke as follows.

Children the Shawanese, Delawares & Mingos, You have now subscribed to the Treaty before me confirming the Articles signed by the Delawares before, the greatest part of which will equally concern you all.

It remains that I desire you will consider that what you have signed is a solemn thing, and Engagement between the English which will always appear against those who violate it, so that you must not compare it with any little transactions amongst yourselves, which are often soon forgotten. No, this can't be forgot, it will remain upon record, & your People shall have coppys of it for their private satisfaction.

Think seriously then of what you have done, repeat it often amongst yourselves, & where any doubt or difference may happen to arise observe the Article by which you have engaged to come to me, or those sett over you by the King for an Explanation or to Obtain Justice.— If you act differently your Breach of Faith will be publickly known, & you must expect nothing but ruin, but if on the contrary you take due notice of what has passed & observe your engagements the King will esteem you, his Subjects will consider you as Friends, your Wives & Children may rest in security, whilst you pursue your Hunting & enjoy your own Trade.— Think of this, never Deny, Alter or Evade what you have now agreed to & consider what I have now said as a proof of my Friendship for all Indians, who in gratitude to His Majesties forgiveness are resolved to lead peaceable lives & never to disturb the Public Tranquility.

A Belt.

Then Benavissica addressed Sir William as follows.

Father, We have attended to what has passed & to your speech which has been received with great pleasure by us all. & we have received it into our Hearts. We heartily thank you for it & are desirous to make you a proper answer thereto.

We shall take your Belts into our serious consideration this Night, & shall give you a fair Honest Answer thereto tomorrow Morning.

At a Conference at Johnson Hall Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> July

PRESENT— as before.

Benavissica took the Black & white Belt wth which Sir William spoke two days ago, approving of their Warriors Speech, & desireing they would call in all the Belts & Hatchets which they might have sent to Induce other nations to join them in the War, then said

Father, All that you have required of us by this Belt is very Agreeable & right, and what our People at Home on our setting off for your House desired us to agree to, should you propose it.

The remainder of your People who where in the Woods at the time Mr Croghan called us to Fort Pitt shall, if not already done be every one delivered up to your order on our return, & be assured that we will also without loss of time call in all our belts & hatchets sent since the Commencement of the late trouble to other Nations, so that there shall be nothing left undone on our parts to render this Peace lasting.— Then put the Belt up & told Sir William he might depend upon their making the best use possible of it, agreeable to his desire.

Father, On you requiring of us this past Spring to deliver up all your Flesh & Blood which was amongst us, Our Chief Men agreed thereto, having a desire for Peace, in so much that

they sent for & took away first four Prisoners who were given to replace four Principal Warriors which you know amongst Indians is a thing never usual, now you desire we will deliver up what remain, we assure you it shall be immediately done, there being no difficulty in delivering them up, as we have given up the before mentioned four. A Black Belt

Father, We attentively listened to & Buried in our Breasts the good words you spoke to us yesterday after our signing the Treaty of Peace.—and have only to add that we are certain the good words & wholesome advice which you than gave & spoke to us will be most chearfully received by all our Nation old & young, & thankfull we are to you for them & Happy that every thing is so well settled, for which we return you many thanks. thus Ended

A Bunch of White Wampum 8 rows

Then Sir William told them that he was greatly pleased to find them throughout the Meeting so well disposed, & that they were so fully authorised by their Nations to settle all matters with him, & that he much approved of their conduct during the course of the Treaty, now so happily & fully settled, & which he expected they would all ever remember and keep inviolable, & by all means to use expedition in sending for their several Belts among the Twightees, Ottawaes &c<sup>a</sup> agreeable to their promises now made. So ended

After which Deiaquande Chief Warrior of the Onondaga Nation stood up & spoke to the Shawanese, Delawares & Ohio Mingos on behalf of the Six Nations, Coghnawegeys &c. as follows

Bretheren & Nephews.

We are all glad that you are become the Children of the Great King, & that consequently you'll not fail to be as good as your word to him, in delivering up all the Prisoners that may still remain amongst your Nations. We all earnestly entreat you not to fail therein, because you might undoe all you have been doing hitherto, & otherwise if you do the thing readily & chearfully, that will be sufficient to prove your reformation & sincerity of Heart.

As to the Hatchets which you have sent to the divers Nations of Indians, (the English) insist upon your taking them from those persons, who might employ them to wrong purposes as they have justly forewarned you; & we insist upon it likewise, because this is a point of great importance, And we wish that the persons you have sent on that Errand, the Miamis & Wayaghtenos may succeed, that we and our children may enjoy the benefits of a general Peace, that will certainly not take place without our Bretheren the English have that proof of your Sincerity.

Bretheren,—As we know better than you being more accustomed than you may be to the use of Paper, it is good that we advise you touching that, that you have subscrib'd. Our Bretheren the English make use of Paper in all their Contracts, Agreements & Treaty's, and we make use of Wampum only, but when we come to forget the subject matter of the Contents, the Belts can be of no further use, but it is not the same thing as to their papers; when after times, they come to forget any Transactions of Consequence, they have recourse to their Writings which recall to their minds whatever they have agreed to, so that you can never deceive them, neither can you change their Speech and altho' you could do so yet the Supreme Being whose Worshiper & Servant our Great King & Father is can punish you, because all these promises & engagements have been entered upon before Him, & have been ratified in the Face of all your Friends, Brothers & Allies.—We are therefore all resolved & determined to follow literally the Treaty that we have agreed to, & we hope, expect & we insist on the same from you, as making together but one same spirit & body politick.

The foregoing is a true Copy of the Principal Conferences &c<sup>a</sup> held by Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> with the Shawanese, Delawares & Mingos. Exam<sup>d</sup> & compared with the Indian Records.

G. JOHNSON Dep<sup>y</sup> Ag<sup>t</sup>  
Act<sup>g</sup> as Sec<sup>y</sup> dur<sup>g</sup> Vacancy.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to General Gage.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.) CLIX. ]

Spring Hill Sep<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1765

Sir,

I have this Moment the honour of your letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> of last month and am extreemly obliged to your Excellency on your expressing your sentiments so fully and freely on the present situation of the Public affairs of this Government. I had, before I received your letter, resolved to be in Town tomorrow, and now I shall as soon as I can have his Majestys Council for this Province meet, communicate your letter to them & I hope it will have its proper effect In the mean time I shall freely give you my sentiments

The only method in my opinion to prevent mischeif is to have such a military Force present as may effectually discourage all opposition to the Laws. A Weak Force which the seditious can have any hopes of overcoming may be productive of great mischeif. I therefore think that if it can be done without prejudice to his Majestys Service, a Battalion may be necessary on this occasion, in order to cut off all hopes of success in any seditious attempts or if such a number can not be had in time, I am of opinion that it may be proper to order as many as circumstances will allow, to march immediately to New York, and that they who are nearest, or least wanted march without delay

You know Sir, the men with whom I must act, and their behaviour on the present occasion, and what may be expected from them. In case the Civil Majistrates can not, or are not willing to do their Duty, you must judge what is incumbent on you, as well as on me in such case, when all civil authority is at an end.

I can truly say that before I received your Excellencys letter, I have not had from any of the Gentlemen of the Council or from any Majistrate, or from any other person the least information of the seditious present Temper of the People except by a letter from M<sup>r</sup> McIvers, receiv<sup>d</sup> last Friday on the receipt of which I resolved to return to Town, from this you may judge what is to be expected

As to the Quartering of the Troops you know the Act of Parliament for that purpose will be pursued. The City Barracks on the Commons, seem to me the most proper Place for that purpose I think it improper to make any requisition of the Majistrates till near the time that the Troops are expected to arrive

If I mistake not a great quantity of Military Stores are now at New York without any Guard. This in my humble opinion makes it necessary to have some Military Force as soon as possible to prevent their falling into the hands of the Seditious. Perhaps this may be part of their plan which makes them so audacious



I shall have the pleasure of waiting on you soon after I come to Town, that I may have the Honor of your advice at a time when I can have confidence in a very few

I have the Honor to be with the great<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>d</sup>

Sir, Your most obedient &

His Excell<sup>ty</sup>

Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage

most humble Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers (State Paper Office) CLVIII. ]

New York 23 September 1765

Sir.

In obedience to his Majestys Commands signified to me by the honour of Your letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of July to direct my dispatches to you, I now lay before you, Sir, the present State of this Government.

Soon after it was known that Stamp Duties were by Act of Parliament to be paid in the Colonies, virulent papers were published in the Weekly Newspapers, fill'd with every falshood that malice could invent to serve their purpose of exciting the People to disobedience of the Laws and to sedition. At first they only denyed the authority of Parliament to lay internal Taxes in the Colonies, but at last they have denyed the Legislative Authority of the Parliament in the Colonies, and these Papers continue to be published.

For some time I did not imagine these papers could have the effect on the minds of the People which I found afterwards they had. It was necessary for the preservation of my health, during the heats of summer, to retire to a Country house I have at about two hours travelling from this City. While I was there, and General Gage in the neighbourhood the violent riots happened at Boston, and in consequence of them M<sup>r</sup> McEvers, appointed Distributor of Stamps for this Province was so frightened by threats of the like treatment that M<sup>r</sup> Oliver, the distributor of stamps at Boston, had met with, that he resigned his Office, and by letter informed me of his Resignation a copy of which is inclosed. Soon after the receipt of that letter I received one from General Gage, who had returned to the City a few days before, the substance of which is in the inclosed Minute of Council. I returned immediately to my residence in the Fort, and called his Majesty's Council before whom I laid the General's letter, and the letter from the Stamp Officer; but many of the Gentlemen being absent in the Country, as is usual during the heats, the gentlemen present declined giving any advice till the Board was full. After the absent members were called in, they unanimously advised as in the inclosed Minutes.

In the month of May the General sent the small guard of the Fort to the Southward which consisted of about twenty of the Artillery Regiment leaving only three or four of them, invalids not fit for any duty. I represented to the General that I could not answer for the safety of his Majesty's Fort in its present state, from a Mob, or from the Negroes, in consequence of which he ordered a company of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment from Crown Point, which

arived in July. Major James of the Royal Regiment of artillery haveing observed the riotous disposition of the People in this place, after what had happen'd at Boston; and being informed that many of the guns were honey combd, and the carriages rotten, and that there was no powder in the Fort, he order'd in some Field Pieces and Hawitzers, together with a sufficient quantity of ammunition and other stores. Part of the Reliefe for the Regiment of Artillery arriving from England the Day I returned to the Fort, they were brought into it. The garrison now consists of 100 effective privates besides Officers and it is secure against any attempt or insult that was apprehended.

It is evident that a secret correspondence has been carryed on throughout all the Colonies, and that it has been conserted to deter by violence the Distributors of Stamps from executing their Office; and to destroy the stamped paper when it arives. They have succeded in fright'ning Mr McEwers who is appointed to distribute the stamps in this Province, but they have lost all hopes of destroying them as they make no doubt of my securing them in the Fort when they arive: I hope to perswade Mr McEwers to reassume his Office: However that be I shall do everything in my power to have the stamped paper distributed at the time appointed by Act of Parliament, and if I can have this done, I beleive the present bustle will soon subside.

The general Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay sent invitations to all the Assemblies on the Continent to send Committies to meet in this place, on the first Tuesday of next month, and a Committee from the Assembly of South Carolina arived here about a week since for the purpose: whether any other will come I know not. This Meeting was kept secret from me till lately: I have in discourse discountenanced it, as an illegal Convention, and inconsistent with the Constitution of the Colonies, by which their several Governments are made distinct and independant on each other. Whatever plausible pretences may be made for this meeting their real intentions may be dangerous. Mr Hood who is appointed Distributor of Stamps in Maryland fled from a mob there to prevent being forced to resign, & came to this place. After he came a design was formed to force a resignation from him, which he escaped the moment before it was to be put in execution, by retireing into the Fort, and he now lives with me under my protection.

I agreed with the Gentlemen of the Council that considering the present temper of the people this is not a proper time to prosecute the Printers and Publishers of the seditious Papers. The Attorney General likewise told me that he does not think himself safe to commence any such Prosecution. But what principally weighs with me is that I am fully persuaded some of the most popular lawyers are the Authors of the seditious Papers, and have been countenanced by some of the Judges and others of the highest Trust in the Governm<sup>t</sup> No Man who converses generally and knows the characters of the Men doubts who the Authors are, but in the present circumstances it is not practicable for me to obtain legal evidence. I must add, Sir, that in the present state of the Courts of Justice in this Province (of which I informed My Lord Halifax by my letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> of January last, and others immediately preceding) private property, as well as the Rights of the Crown, and the King's Authority, must become extreemly precarious; in consequence of which, unless remedied, confusion and disorder must necessarily ensue. The reasons for my thinking so will not only appear from the Letters I wrote last winter to My Lord Halifax, but likewise from the letter I wrote, & the papers which at the same time I transmitted to the Board of Trade.

By the precautions taken and from the fears which persons of Property have conceived of Mobs, I hope to preserve the peace of this Province, notwithstanding that the seditious papers continue to be published. I inclose one of them which was published since the Council and the Magistrates of the City assured me that they would do every thing in their power to prevent any Mob or Riot.

I have at all times endeavoured to perform my Duty and in some instances where I perceived the doing of it would be greatly prejudicial to my private interest; and I beg you'll be assured, Sir, that I shall continue to do so while the Administration is in my hands; and that I am with the greatest respect & submission, Sir, Your most obedient

and most humble Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Mr. McEvers to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[New-York Papers, (State Paper Office,) CLVIII.]

Sir.

Since the late riott at Boston & the inflammatory papers lately printed in the Colonies, People of this City are so incensed against me, as a distributor of Stamps for this Province, that I find it will be attended with the greatest risque of my Person and Fortune to attempt, and indeed impossible for me to execute, the Office. To prevent the same cruel fate Mr Oliver met with at Boston (as I had certain information from several of my particular friends that a storm was riseing, and I should soon feel it) I have been under the necessity of declaring that I had declined the Office, and have accordingly wrote to the Commissioners, signifying that I cannot submit to a Service that will be attended with very dangerous consequences, upon the very first attempt to officiate. I now request the favour of Your Honour that the stamps &c on their arival, be taken under Your care and protection in Fort George, that you may if you think proper appoint some person under you to distribute them as they may be wanted, so that his Majesty's Revenue may not be lessen'd, could it have been done with safety I would readily have received the Stamps and distributed them myself, but Your Honour may be assured from the Information I have had that if I had attempted it my house would have been pillag'd, my Person abused and his Majesty's Revenue impaired. Thus situated I could do no less, nor am I able to do more than to acquaint you as the Chief Magistrate of the Country of these things, that you may on this emergency do everything that may be necessary for the interest of the Crown, & the public welfare, which the law requires untill the Commissioners shall give further Directions.

I am,

Your Honour's most obedient

& humble Servant

JAMES McEWERS.



*Representation of the Lords of Trade on Appeals from the New-York Courts.*

[New-York Entries, Q., 287.]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

May it please Your Majesty.

In obedience to your Majesty's Commands signified to us by one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, we have prepared draughts of general instructions, and of those which relate to the observance of the laws for regulating the Plantation Trade, for Sir Henry Moore Bart whom Your Majesty has been pleased to appoint your Governor of New York ; in which draughts we have not found it necessary to make any alterations from the Instructions given by your Majesty to the late Governor of that Province, save only in that article which directs the manner and cases in which appeals are to be allowed in Civil Causes from the Courts of Common Law in that Province to the Governor & Council and from thence to your Majesty.

It appears upon a retrospective view of the constitution of this Province, that from the first institution of government under Commission and Instructions from King James the Second, down to the year 1753, the liberty of appealing to the Governor & Council from the judgements of the Inferior Courts of Common Law was expressly confined, first by a clause in the Commission, and in later times by an article in the Governor's Instructions, to cases of error only.

In the year 1752 that article in the Instructions of the Governors of Plantations (for it was uniformly the same to all) which relates to Appeals, having been stated by the Agent for the Leeward Islands to be attended with some doubts in the expression, it was referred to the then Attorney and Solicitor General to consider of the said Article, and they having prepared the draught of a new article it was substituted in the place of the former, not only in the Instructions given to the Governor of the Leeward Islands, but also in those which have been since given to the Governors of the rest of your Majesty's Colonies and Plantations, and was inserted in the Instructions to the Governor of New York in the year 1753.

In this Instruction, as revised and altered by the Attorney and Solicitor General, the express words which confined Appeals from the Courts of Law to the Governor and Council, to cases of error only, were omitted, but it does not appear to us that this alteration did operate in any of your Majesty's Colonies either to vary or create a doubt about the practice and usage under the former regulation, until the Lieutenant Governor of your Majesty's Province of New York thought fit in a particular case, where a writ of Appeal was demanded from the judgement of an inferior Court founded on the verdict of a jury, to assert an opinion that by the tenor of your Majesty's Instructions the Appeal in this case ought to be allowed. It appears however that he was opposed in this opinion, not only by all the Judges in that Colony, but also by the Members of Your Majesty's Council, who were unanimous in the contrary doctrine, and between whom and your Majesty's Lieutenant Governor the dispute upon this question was carried on with great warmth and obstinacy ; and in consequence thereof great jealousy and uneasiness has prevail'd in the minds of Your Majesty's subjects in that Colony.

It does not appear from the records of our Office what were the particular reasons which induced the above mentioned alteration in that article of the Governor's Instructions which relates to Appeals ; but upon a comparison of it with the article as it now stands, we do conceive that the alteration was solely intended to avoid an ambiguity in the expression that

might have admitted a doubt whether liberty of appeal did not extend to criminal cases, though it was apparently intended to be confined to civil causes; and we conceive that the confining such Appeals to cases of error only, was upon the principles of law a rule so absolute of itself and so well established by the usage and constitution of this Kingdom, that it was thought unnecessary to point it out by express words in the Instructions. As however a question has arisen upon this case, by which the peace of government in this Province has been disturbed and the minds of your Majesty's subjects disquieted, we have thought it for Your Majesty's service to restore those words heretofore inserted in the Instructions to Your Majesty's Governors, by which Appeals in Civil Causes to the Governor and Council from the Inferior Courts of Common Law, are expressly confined to cases of Error only: submitting however this alteration to Your Majesty's determination.

All which is most humbly submitted

DARTMOUTH

JOHN ROBERTS.

J. DYSON<sup>1</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT.<sup>2</sup>

## Whitehall

Sept<sup>r</sup> 24, 1765.

*Extract of the Instructions to Sir Henry Moore Bart.*

Instructions to our Trusty and Wellbeloved Sir Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup>. our Captain  
General and Governor in Chief of our Province of New York and the  
Territories depending thereon in America. Given at Our Court at S<sup>t</sup>  
James's the                      in the                      year of Our Reign.

First. With these our Instructions you will receive our Commission under our Great Seal of Great Britain, constituting you Captain General and Governor in Chief of our Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America. You are therefore to fit yourself with all convenient speed and repair to the said Province of New York and being arrived there you are to take upon you the execution of the place and trust We have reposed in you, and forthwith to call together the following persons by name, whom We do hereby appoint to be Members of our Council for that Province, Daniel Horsmanden, George Clarke Esquires, Sir William Johnson Baronet, William Smith, John Watts, William Walters, Oliver Delancey Esquire, William Alexander stiling himself Earl of Sterling, Charles Ward Apthorp, Joseph Reade and Roger Morris Esquires.

<sup>1</sup> JEREMIAH DYSON, of Stoke, near Guilford, Surry, had been for several years principal Clerk of the House of Commons. In 1763 he was joint Secretary of the Treasury, and was elected for Yarmouth; became afterwards one of the Lords of Trade; was next one of the Lords of the Treasury, and in 1774 Cofferer of the Household. He was originally a Dissenter, and, while studying the Civil Law, at Leyden, became acquainted with Akenside, the poet, to whom he generously allowed three hundred pounds a year, to enable him to advance in medical reputation. Mr. Dyson died in 1776. *Chatham Correspondence*, II., 394.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, of Tissington, member for the borough of Derby in several parliaments, held the office of Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter to the King until 1763, when he was dismissed on account of voting against the Court on one of the questions connected with Wilkes. On the accession of the Rockingham Ministry in 1765, he became one of the Lords of Trade, which situation he continued to hold until January, 1772, when he terminated his own existence. His son Alleyne, was created Baron St. Helens in 1791. *Debrett*. — Ed.



2<sup>dly</sup> And you are with all due and usuall solemnity to cause our said Commission to be read and published at the said meeting of the Council, and Notification to be also given to our Colony of Connecticut of the power wherewith you are entrusted concerning the Militia forces and forts within the said Colony, which being done, you shall then take and also administer to each of the members of the said Council the Oaths mentioned in an Act passed in the first Year of the Reign of King George the First intituled "An Act for the further security of His Majesty's Person and Government and the Succession of the Crown in the Heirs of the late Princess Sophia being Protestants, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and his open and secret Abettors;" as also make & subscribe & cause the Members of our said Council to make and subscribe the Declaration mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in the 25<sup>th</sup> Year of the reign of King Charles the Second intituled "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants;" and you and every of them are likewise to take an oath for the due execution of your and their places and trusts with regard to your and their equal and impartial Administration of Justice; and you are also to take the oath required by an Act passed in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> years of the reign of King William the Third to be taken by Governors of Plantations to do their utmost that the Act of Parliament relating to the Plantations, be observed.

[ The following articles to the 31<sup>st</sup> inclusive were the same as those given to Robert Monckton Esq<sup>r</sup> ]

32<sup>d</sup> Our will and pleasure is that you or the Commander in Chief of our said Province for the time being do in all civil causes, on application being made to you or the Commander in Chief for the time being, for that purpose, permit and allow Appeals in Cases of Error from any of the Courts of Common Law in our said Province, unto you or the Commander in Chief and the Council of our said Province; and you are for that purpose to issue a Writ in the manner which has been usually accustomed, returnable before yourself and the Council of our said Province, who are to proceed to hear and determine such appeal; wherein such of our said Council as shall be at that time Judges of the Court from whence such Appeal shall be so made to you our Captain General or to the Commander in Chief for the time being and to our said Council as aforesaid, shall not be permitted to vote upon the said Appeal, but they may nevertheless be present at the hearing thereof to give the reasons of the Judgement given by them in the causes wherein such appeals shall be made, Provided nevertheless that in all such Appeals the sum or value appealed for do exceeded the sum of three hundred pounds sterling and that security be first duly given by the Appellant to answer such charges as shall be awarded in case the first sentence be affirmed; and if either party shall not rest satisfied with the judgement of you or the Commander in Chief for the time being and Council as aforesaid, Our will and pleasure is that they may then appeal unto us in our Privy Council; provided the sum or value so appealed for unto us exceed five hundred pounds sterling, and that such Appeal be made within fourteen days after sentence and good security given by the Appellant that he will effectually prosecute the same and answer the condemnation as also pay such costs and damages as shall be awarded by us in case the sentence of you or the Commander in Chief for the time being and Council be affirmed. Provided nevertheless where the matter in question relates to the taking or demanding any duty payable to us or to any fee of Office or annual rent or other such like matter or thing where the rights in



futuro may be bound in all such cases you are to admit an Appeal to us in our Privy Council though the immediate sum or value appealed for be of a less value. And it is our further will and pleasure that in all cases where by your instructions you are to admit appeals to us in our Privy Council, execution be suspended until the final determination of such appeals, unless good & sufficient security be given by the Appellee to make ample restitution of all that the Appellant shall have lost by means of such judgment or decree in case upon the determination of such Appeal, such decree or judgement should be reversed and restitution awarded to the Appellant.

[ The remaining articles were mutatis mutandis the same as those given to Robert Monckton Esq<sup>r</sup>. ]

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XXV., ( K. 6. ) ]

Johnson Hall Sept<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1765.

My Lords

I had the honour of writing to your Lordships in May and July last, the former of which was very full, & if it appeared incoherent it must be attributed to the situation I am generally in when I write, with a number of Indians about me & constant interruptions.

In my last I gave an account of M<sup>r</sup> Croghans having set out for the Illinois, and I have now the pleasure to congratulate your Lordships on his having succeeded in obtaining possession of that important settlement, tho not without much risque and difficulty.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of June last as he descended the *Ohio* he was attacked by *eighty* Mascoutens and Kickapous, who firing upon his party consisting of but fourteen persons Deputys from the Northern Indians killed *three* Shawanese and wounded himself and all the rest whom they made Prisoners and carryed to *Wawiaghtono* on the *Wabache*. The Indians who attacked had received belts &c. from the French for that purpose, but on bringing him and his party to the last mentioned place, the Indians there who were well acquainted with him expressed their dissatisfaction therewith in terms which produced a thorough repentance of the part of the *Mascoutens* &c. who implored his interposition with the *Shawanese* and *Six Nations* to prevent a breach which they had so much reason to expect in consequence of their behavior, this was attended with all the good effects we could have wished for, M<sup>r</sup> Sinnot who was sent from M<sup>r</sup> Stuart with a very large present having been plundered & after being with difficulty preserved from the Indians fury at *Fort Chartres* was obliged to escape in a Boat in the Night & return to New Orleans, But M<sup>r</sup> Croghan availing himself of the confusion produced amongst the Indians by the murder of the Shawanese, prevailed upon them so soon, as his wounds were healed to proceed with him for the *Illinois* and assist in obtaining the possession thereof, he accordingly set out with them in the middle of July for that place, near which he was met by *Pondiac* with the Chiefs of the neighbouring Country, with whom he at length prevailed to agree to give up possession of the Posts there, held by the French, but with a strong reservation of their rights to the lands about them, and *Pondiac* agreed to put himself into our

power and return with him to *Detroit*. Mr Croghan immediately dispatched an Express to *Fort Pitt* from whence the Commanding Officer agreeable to former orders from the General detached a Captain with one hundred men to take possession of *Fort Chartres &c.*

On Mr Croghan's arrival at *Detroit* he had a Treaty with all the Western League, who were assembled before his arrival, and by the Light in which he placed affairs effectually settled their minds & dissolved the League lately formed by the French with *Eighteen Nations*, and he is now on his way to this place, after whose arrival I shall be enabled to transmit your Lordships the whole of his Transactions and the present state of Indian Affairs in that Country.

This is an important transaction, & the alliance of these Nations must be carefully cultivated and cherished, under the management of prudent persons properly supported otherwise the whole may fall to the ground, and as yet I have not been honored with any orders neither can I undertake any thing there, or elsewhere 'till I receive your Lordships commands.

In my letter of *May* and *July* last I wrote your Lordships so fully respecting the objects of Public attention, that any thing farther at present will be a needless repetition. I must however beg the favour of knowing (when I am honored with a letter from your Lordships) whether these letters of *May* & *July* were received least they might have miscarried, or fallen into the hands of some curious persons, (as has been the case in times when partys raged as at present) the Generals Letters having been lately opened. Indeed I should not be much surprised at any such thing after the late violent conduct of the Colonists, with which your Lordships will doubtless be acquainted before this reaches London. Amidst all these Troubles I have the pleasure to think they will not judge it elligible to extend their malice to me, but as for all other Officers of the Crown in their Clutches who have not changed their principles I think they run an imminent risque of their propertys and even their Lives. Had I coincided with their levelling system I might long since have acquired a very large property here, and have been the Idol of a party, but my sentiments of Government &c<sup>a</sup> are long established and known, and as they were never subservient to my Interest, I am determined they never shall be so. It is not extraordinary that the Members of the Law should be violent, & take pains to excite the People on Account of an Act containing some Dutys upon Law Proceedings that must in a great measure lessen their practice by giving a Check to that Litigious Spirit amongst the Common Americans to the ruin of many Familys, & the aggrandizing a body of Men, whose power and influence are already become dangerous. How far these violent measures may extend can only be conjectured, but doubtless unless checked by proper Authority, Officers of the Crown can not answer the Intentions of Government as the Event will shew, should these turbulent spirits succeed in their scheme for Limitting the power of the King & Parliament.

I have been lately applied to by a Committee of the Proprietors of *Kayaderosseras* to bring about an accommodation with the Indians to effect which they offered to quit claim to part of that Tract, and the Indians being very solicitous to have something done therein, and not having heard from your Lordships thereon, I judge it best to lay the proposal before them that the Dispute may be in some manner terminated.

My Son<sup>1</sup> now accompanys Lord Adam Gordon to see England. I don't know whether I can recommend him to give your Lordships any farther particulars, as his youth, country education,

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, Sir John Johnson. — Ed.

and diffidence may render him perhaps unequal to such a Task.—Lord Adam<sup>1</sup> has made an extensive Tour thro' this Country, & has made many remarks & observations worthy attention.

I shall take up no more of your Lordships time at present, as I so shortly expect to transmit Mr Croghan's Transactions with the agreeable news of our being in actual possession of the Illinois.

I have the Honour to be

My Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

And most devoted humble servant

The Rt. honble

The Lords of Trade.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (State Paper Office.), CLVIII. ]

New York 12<sup>th</sup> October 1765

Sir.

Since the last which I had the honour to write to you of the 23<sup>d</sup> of September this town has remained quiet the inflammatory Papers continue to be published, exciting the People to oppose the execution of the Act of Parliament for laying a Stamp Duty in the Colonies. The most remarkable of these Papers is inclosed. This was distributed along the Post Roads by the Post Riders. I examined the Post Master in this place to know how this came to be done. He assured me that it was without his knowledge: that he had examined the Post Riders and found that one or more Bundles of them were delivered at Woodbridge, New Jersey, to the Post Rider, by James Parker Secrettary to the General Post Office in N. America. Parker was formerly a printer in this place and has now a Printing Press and continues to print occasionally. It is beleived that this Paper was printed by him. The Gentlemen of the Council think it prudent at this time to delay making more particular inquiry least it should be the occasion of raising the Mob which it is thought proper by all means to avoid.

From Sir Henry Moore's letter to me of the 9<sup>th</sup> of August I have reason to expect his arrival every Day which I heartily wish may soon happen that I may deliver up the Administration to him in perfect quietness, which I have much at heart to do.

The Committee of the several Colonies are now in this place, what they are doing or design to do I know not. I am with the greatest respect and submission, Sir, Your most obedient

and faithfull Servant

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Henry S. Conway Esq<sup>r</sup>

CADWALLADER COLDEN

<sup>2</sup> Lord ADAM GORDON was the son of the 2d Duke of Gordon, and represented Aberdeenshire in Parliament. He was appointed a Captain in the 3d Foot Guards in 1756; became Colonel of the 66th Regiment in 1762; Major-General in 1772; Colonel of the 26th in 1775; Lieutenant-General in 1777; Governor of Cliff Fort, near Timmouth, in 1778; Colonel of the 1st Royals in 1782; afterwards a General in the Army, and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland. He died in August, 1801. Sir John Johnson called his son, "Adam Gordon," in acknowledgment of his Lordship's attention on the occasion of the above visit to England. — Ed.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.), CLVIII. ]

New York, October 26<sup>th</sup> 1765.

Sir,

The People of this place having openly declared their intention to destroy the stamped papers designed for this Province, I desired the Captains of His Majesty's Ships of War, now in the River, to protect the ship in which they should come. For this purpose a sloop was placed at Sandy Hook and a Frigate midway between that and this place, while the Coventry layd before the Town. By this care, the ship Edward, Davis Commander having ten packages of stamp'd papers on board, was brought to an anchor under the guns of the Fort and protection of His Majesty's Ships. When this was done, on Thursday last I summoned the gentlemen of the Council for their advice, in what manner the stamped Papers might most safely be brought on shore: though I sent repeated messages to them, only three attended of Seven who were in the place, vizt M<sup>r</sup> Horsmanden, M<sup>r</sup> Smith, & M<sup>r</sup> Reid; the two first of them Judges of the Supreme Court. They declined giving any advice without a fuller Board, and for a reason said that by detaining the ship, the Governor and they who advised, would subject themselves to the private action of Every man who had goods on board; and though the Jury should give only one shilling damages, the Costs of suit would amount to a very large sum. After arguing a long time they at last advised me to hire a sloop to take the goods on board till the packages of stamped Papers could be come at, but no sloop would be hired at any rate for this service. I suspected they were desirous I should press a Sloop, that thereby they might have an opportunity to begin a riot; I therefore desisted from that design, and desired the Captains of the King's Ships to assist in removing the goods to make room to have the Packages with the stamped Papers taken out: Accordingly, all of them are taken out except three, which are so deep in the Hold, with other goods, that they could not be taken out, without putting the ship in danger, in case of the least gale of wind.

I am the more particular in this account, that you Sir, may have some conception of the difficulties I labour under from want of assistance where I have the best reason to expect it. At the same time I have the pleasure to assure you that the officers of the Navy and Army with the greatest alacrity give me every assistance I desire.

I am resolved to have the Stamped Papers ready to be delivered at the time the law directs, but in this I have met with an unexpected difficulty. There is not a single line or the least direction come in this ship, from the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, not so much as a Bill of Lading, nor can I discover the contents of any one of the packages without opening of them, but I hope this will be removed by Sir Henry Moore's arrival before the first of November. The night after the ship arrived, papers were pasted upon the doors of Every public Office, and at the corners of the streets, one [of] which I enclose—all of them in the same words—His Majesty's Ministers are the best judges of the means to curb this licentious factious spirit: If it be done in the trading towns the Country will follow. The Lawyers who have raised the seditious spirit cannot be curbed without proper Judges.

Since the matter of appeals was disputed before the Council of this Province last winter, infamous scurrilous Papers have been weekly published in this place, in order to render me odious in the eyes of the People, and tho' I am confident they have not in the least been able to hurt my private character with those who know me, yet they make it very evident that the

Authors are desirous to do me every injury in their power.—I know three or four popular Lawyers are the authors of these weekly Papers, and therefore from what the Judges said, as before mentioned, I am persuaded they will endeavour to have every shipper on board the *Edward* to sue me for detaining the ship. There may be One hundred shippers and the cost of suit on each, will amount to at least Twenty Pounds—Private suits cannot be stopped by the Government. This would make a sum that I am not able to bear. From this you may see Sir, what reason I had in my letters to the Earl of Halifax of the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, and 23<sup>d</sup> of January last, to beg His Majesty's Protection.

When the administration of Government is not in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor of this Province, he has not a single farthing to support the honour of his Commission, a case I am assured, no where else to be found. After a gentleman has had the honour to be Commander in Chief, he must be desirous of living in the same place with some more dignity than otherwise requisite in his private character, and I think it for His Majesty's service that he should do so. I therefore humbly beg of you, Sir, to submit my case to His Majesty's Consideration, which I do with more confidence, because I have not incurred any man's displeasure otherwise than by adhering to my duty in observing the King's Instructions. I have, by doing so, been deprived of many advantages I otherwise should have had, and I have a numerous family, exposed to the malice of wicked men, who must remain in this Province. Under such circumstances, it requires some degree of Resolution to adhere to my duty.

I have now five packages of stamped Paper for this Province in the Governor's House in the Fort, and two for Connecticut. Three more are still on board, which could not be come at.

I have the honour to be with great respect & submission Sir,

Your most obedient &

most humble servant.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> H. S. Conway.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Fac Simile of the original in New-York Papers No. 158, in H. M. State Paper Office, London. September, 1843. J. R. B.

*Vro Patrica*

*The first Man that either—  
distributes or makes use of Stamp  
Paper, let him take Care of  
his House, Person, & Effects.*

*Vox Populi;  
We Dane*

Endorsed.

In Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden's of the 26<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1765.



*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (State Paper Office), CLVIII. ]

New York, November 5<sup>th</sup> 1765

Sir,

In a day or two after the date of my letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month which I had the honour to write to you, the packages of Stamped Papers were landed from His Majesty's Ship Garland at noonday without a Guard or the least appearance of discontent among the people. This gave me great hopes that I should be able to deliver up the Administration of Government to Sir Henry Moore, as I had informed you I had much at heart to do.

But on the evening of the first day of this Month the Mob began to collect together, and after it became dark they came up to the Fort Gate with a great number of Torches, and a Scaffold on which two Images were placed, one to represent the Governor in his grey hairs, & the other the Devil by his side. This scaffold with the images was brought up within 8 or 10 feet of the Gate with the grossest ribaldry from the Mob. As they went from the gate they broke open my coach house, took my charriot out of it & carried it round the town with the images, & returned to the Fort Gate, from whence they carried them to an open place, where they had erected a Jibbett, within 100 yards of the Fort Gate & there hung up the Images. After hanging some time they were burnt in a fire prepared for the purpose, together with my charriott, a single horse chair and two sledges, our usual carriages when snow is on the ground, which they took out of my Coach house. While this was doing a great number of gentlemen of the Town if they can be call'd so, stood around to observe the outrage on their King's Governor. The Garrison was at the same time on the Ramparts with preparation sufficient to destroy them, but not a single return in words or otherwise was made from any Man in the Fort, while this egregious insult was performing. You may be assured Sir, that the people of this place have not had any time the least provocation from me, either in words or any kind of action other than the receiving the Packages with the Stamped Papers into the Fort, and putting the Fort in a posture of defence after open and bold threats were made of taking it by force, tho every artifice was made use of to make me say or do some rash thing.

When I make one concession another more insolent is demanded as I expected would be. It is given out that the Mob will storm the Fort this night. I am not apprehensive of their carrying their purpose, probably it might be attended with much bloodshed because a great part of the Mob consists of Men who had been privateers & disbanded soldiers whose view is to plunder the town.

This goes by Major James of the Royal Artillery who with much zeal for his Majesty's service put the Fort in the best posture of defence he could, for which reason the Mob, the same night they insulted their Governor, broke open his house, burnt all his furniture, wearing clothes and every thing in it to a great value, at the same time threatening to take away his life in the most shamefull manner.

He will be able, Sir, to inform you of every thing that has passed, and knows the Authors of these rebellious proceedings.

I hope by the next packett to give a better account of this Province than I can do at present and to convince you of my regard to my Duty in the Commission I have the honour to bear

I am with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

The Inclosed Minutes of Council shew what Concession I have made

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> H. S. Conway

His Majestys Principal Secrettary of State for the Southern Department.



*Lords of Trade to Sir Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup>.*

[New-York Entries, Q., 345.]

To Sir Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York

Sir

The Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council for Plantation Affairs having under their consideration several papers relative to the settlements made on those lands to the westward of Connecticut River, the jurisdiction over which was disputed antecedent to His Majesty's order in Council of the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1764 it is their Lordship's order that you should transmit to us in order to be laid before His Majesty, an exact and faithful account of the quantity situation and extent of the lands which have at any time been granted by your Predecessors in the Administration of the Government of New York in those parts, concerning which the dispute subsisted; specifying with the greatest accuracy the names of the persons to whom, and in what manner, and under what terms and conditions, the same have been granted, together with the dates of the several grants.

We are, Sir,

Your very loving friends

DARTMOUTH

GEO: RICE

JOHN ROBERTS

J. DYSON

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT.

Whitehall

Nov<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1765

*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, ( State Paper Office ), CLVIII. ]

New York, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1765

Sir.

The last I had the honour to write to you of the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month was by Major James of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, who at my desire is gone in a Ship then ready to sail for London. He can give a more particular account of what has happened here than can be done in writing. He has suffer'd the loss of all he had in this Country, merely on account of his zeal for his Majesty's service in his own department, by putting his Majesty's Fort in a state to make a proper and necessary defence. The inclosed account of his loss published by the Leaders of the Mob show how great it is. From all I know of him, and heard from those who are well acquainted with him, he is a humane and benevolent Man, and has not given the least cause for this Savage resentment.

I now, Sir, send you the most authentic account I can of my conduct on this extraordinary occasion, in the Minutes of Council inclosed. It would tire out your patience were I to enter into a detail of the indignities openly offer'd to his Majesty's Authority. They have in some measure saved me the trouble by the news paper published last Thursday in defiance of the Act of Parliament; tho it contains many falshoods as all their papers do. On Tuesday the 5<sup>th</sup> Instant I received a Deputation from the Merchants in this City by a considerable number of them, and an address of the Corporation, and of several other private persons whom I suspected to be concerned with the Authors of the present sedition, imploring my compassion. They knew that had every man in the City on Tuesday last join'd in the attack of the Fort, as was openly and boldly threatned they could not have carry'd it, but that the greater the numbers who joined in it the greater their desolation must have been. At the same time I am confident that great numbers in the City were from approving of these public proceedings, tho' it was not safe for them to declare their sentiments.

What I have at least yielded to I should gladly have done at the time the Stamp Papers were imported as I have no kind of direction relating to them but I should have been thought mad at that time to have proposed it to them. Has not the Mayor and Corporation by takeing the stamp'd papers voluntarily into their custody assumed the office of Distributor of Stamps? It evidently appears now who were the conductors of the Mob by its immediately ceasing in every appearance as soon as the Packages were delivered to the Mayor and Corporation.

The leaders of the Mob issued their Edicts from time to time by affixing their Plackarts in the Merchants Coffee House and at the corners of the streets where they remained whole days and nights, I transmit copies of two of the most remarkable of them, the originals I have in my Custody and I preserve them as the handwriting, in both the same, may lead to a discovery. By the last which is a kind of Proclamation of Peace, they disown every Authority that is not derived from their Representatives. On this principle only was the Demand made of having the stampd papers deliver'd to the Corporation and by this they hope to preserve their influence.

In the present state of this City it is certain I can procure no Legal Evidence, tho it be as evident that, was the course of Justice free, the authors and conductors of the present sedition cannot remain undiscovered. I have the strongest presumption from numerous circumstances to beleive that the Lawyers of this Place are the Authors, Promoters and Leaders of it. People in general beleive it and many must with certainty know it. I must add that all the Judges



have given too much countenance to their proceedings, one of them more than the others. In my letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February last to the Earl of Halifax I informd his Lordship of a dangerous association of the Profession of the Law, which has subsisted some years to which I must beg leave to refer.

People in general are averse to Taxes of any kind. The Merchants in this place think they have a right to every freedom of Trade which the Subjects of Great Britain enjoy. But the Inhabitants of the Country are absolutely free of the seditious spirit which rages in this Town. Could I be assured that no villainous assassine would come from this Town, I should think myself as secure at my Country house as in the Fort. The publick Assertions that the people of this town were join'd by numbers from the Country is absolutely false. If the Merchants should not send for goods, as given out, they will raise the price and thereby provoke the Country Inhabitants.

I dare not presume to give any opinion on a matter in which every Colony on the Continent is more or less involved. I beleive the principal view is to intimidate the Parliament, but if it be thought prudent to enforce their authority, I am with humble submission of opinion that the people here dare not oppose a vigorous resolution of the Parliament of Great Britain. If Judges be sent from England, with an able Attorney General and Solicitor General to make examples of some very few, this Colony will remain for many years quiet. One complete Regiment with the Ships of War now in this Port, and the garrison at this time in the Fort, to assist the Civil Officers I beleive may be sufficient for this purpose. In the present state of our Courts of Justice all private property for some years past, as well as the Rights and Authority of the King are more precarious than can be easily imagined. But in giving my sentiments I do it with the greatest diffidence of my own judgement. The King's Ministers without doubt will be better informed by the Governors of the other Colonies. Sir Jeffery Amherst is the best Judge in case of vigourous measures.

Sir Henry Moore has been daily expected above a fortnight past. I shall continue my utmost endeavour to deliver up the Administration in peace and quietness, that the last part of my administration be of no discredit to the preceding part of it, and in hopes of obtaining the honour of his Majesty's approbation, which would make me very happy.

May I obtain some share of Your regard, with the honour of being with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> H. S. Conway Esq<sup>r</sup>

his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State

and most humble Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Anonymous Letter addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[ New-York Papers ( State Paper Office ), CLVIII. ]

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor of the City of New York  
Sir.

The People of the City and Province of New York have been informed that you bound Yourself under an Oath to be the Chief Murderer of their Rights and Privileges, by acting as an

enemy to Your King and Country, to Liberty and Mankind, in the enforcement of the Stamp Act, which we are unanimously determined shall never take place among us so long as a Man has life to defend his injured Country. Thus wicked Men of old conspired ag<sup>t</sup> Paul an Appostle of J. Christ and bound themselves under a curse that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him; but God defeated their bloody purposes, as we trust he'll do Yours, and Saul was delivered. How it fared with his intended assassins history does not certainly inform us; but we can with certainty assure you of your fate, if you do not this Night solemnly make Oath before a Magistrate & publish to the People, that you never will directly nor indirectly by any Act of yours or any person under Your influence, endeavour to introduce or execute the Stamp Act, or any part of it, and that you will to the utmost of Your power prevent its takeing effect here, and endeavour to obtain a Repeal of it in England. So help me God.

We have heard of Your Design or Menace, to fire upon the Town in case of disturbance, but assure yourself that if you dare to perpetrate any such murderous Act, you'll bring your grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, You'll die a martir to your own villainy, and be hanged, like Porteis upon a Sign Post, as a memento to all wicked Governors, and that every man that assists you shall be surely put to death.

NEW YORK.

Directed on the back in the form of a Letter—  
To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York  
To the care of the Public.

Endorsed

"Copy of a Paper which was put up at the Coffee House in New York, on Friday the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, 1765 and after remaining there good part of the day was deliver'd at the Fort Gate in the Evening by an unknown hand."

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[Plantations General, XXV., (K. 7,)]

Johnson Hall 16<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1765.

My Lords

My last recommended to the care of Lord Adam Gordon, informed your Lordships of Mr Croghans having arriv'd at *Detroit* from the *Illinois*, and of the success of his journey and the great risque attending it.

A few days ago he arrived here, and delivered me his Journal & Transactions with the Indians, from which I have selected the principal parts, which I now inclose to your Lordships, the whole of his Journal is long and not yet collected because after he was made Prisoner, & lost his Baggage &c<sup>a</sup> he was necessitated to write it on Scraps of Paper procured with difficulty at *Post Vincent* and that in a disguised Character to prevent its being understood by the French in case through any disaster he might again be plundered.

Your Lordships will observe from what I now inclose the Principal Circumstances in his Journey, the sentiments of the Indians in the Neighbourhood of the *Illinois* and the reasons

they opposed our possessing that Country 'till M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had settled matters with them. The importance of this acquisition will be better known in a Year or Two, by which time if these Indians are properly treated I have good hopes they will be weaned from their Dependence upon and Friendship for the French Inhabitants of that Country which is at present so great that the latter engross not only all the Trade in that Quarter but also draw away the greater part of the Furr Trade from the Lakes to the *Illinois* and are constantly sending very large Cargoes up the *Missisipi*, the better to maintain their Influence.

I have frequently observed to your Lordships that His Majesties Subjects in this Country seem very ill calculated to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, and this is a Notorious proof of it, for notwithstanding the Expence of transporting Goods from New Orleans to the *Illinois* is greater than by the Lakes, and consequently French goods are in general dearer than ours, yet such is the conduct of all persons under the Crown of France whether Officers, Agents or Traders that the Indians will go much farther to buy their goods and pay a much higher price for them. This all Persons acquainted with the Nature of the Commerce to the Westward can fully evidence.

Now altho' there is little reason to expect that our People in general 'will ever treat the Indians with the like kindness and civility, yet I don't at all despair of weakning the Influence of the French Inhabitants & Traders, when the Department is settled, so that some proper persons may always reside there, and a regular visitation of the several Posts be formed together with a certain general present given annually to each Confederacy. Indeed from the present Extent of our possessions and alliances I am persuaded there is no other method can be pursued with any probability of success, and I have no doubt of your Lordships concurrence in opinion with me on a Subject I have repeatedly laid before the Board strengthened with observations drawn from the Power, Conduct, Disposition and Policy of the Indians to all which I have so long attended.

In my last letters I laid before your Lordships the Conduct of the French at *N. Orleans* and the *Illinois*, the artful suggestions they made use of to create an opposition in the Indians to our taking Post in the last mentioned Country, for which purpose they had formed an Association of 18 Indian Nations and 'twas to this we may attribute the failure of the Troops in their Attempts up the *Missisipi*, as well as those lately made by M<sup>r</sup> Sinnot a Depty Agent from the Southward, who was plundered of a considerable present and obliged to escape in a boat by night: this conduct manifests itself in the actions of the French in every Quarter, those even from Canada &c<sup>a</sup> trading to the Lakes, are by reason of their influence and our inactivity become factors for our Traders, and amongst the Indians assume to themselves the merit of their having any Trade at all, the better to effect which, they are making repeated application for liberty to go from the outposts into the Indian Country, where they know our Traders must stand but a poor chance, and they have sett up the Indians to demand permission for that purpose, by these methods, by their superior adress, and knowledge of the different languages they maintain their Influence, enjoy the major part of the Trade, whilst our Traders are considered as Interlopers, and have it not in their power to acquire the good opinion, or even a proper acquaintance with the Indians, nor can I see how this will be prevented with regard to those French who are now become Brittish subjects, and will demand all priviledges as such.—and what is still more injurious to our Commerce and dangerous to our Security, is that the French from *N. Orleans, Illinois* &c<sup>a</sup>. as before observed are continually in the Indian Country to the Westward with immense cargoes of goods and perpetually instilling the most



pernicious sentim<sup>ts</sup> into the minds of a credulous People, who believe all they say, whilst between Misconduct or Neglect on our Parts they are confirmed in their opinion.—but what induces me to think they have something farther than trade in view, is, that they give high prices for most of our Goods, and frequently buy them from our Traders which with the expence of Transportation must raise them to an exorbitant price, and even allowing for the Indians partiality and blindness in dealings with the French the profits of the latter must frequently be too inconsiderable for them to carry on such a Trade, unless encouraged by the hopes of future prospects, or even supported privately by France, which the conduct of the French Command<sup>ts</sup> &c<sup>a</sup> however specious on some occasions gives me great reason to apprehend.—and altho' the *Spaniards* should possess N. Orleans &c. and are a less active people yet the French will still remain and act the same part under the Spanish Government which they practise under their own, whilst those at the *Illinois* (now British subjects) having a property & interest in that Country and being all Traders, will doubtless act in conjunction with them, and thereby divert the Trade from the proper channel to the great prejudice of the Crown, and the Mercantile people, for preventing all which or at least giving a check therto, the presence of proper officers in my department becomes every day more and more necessary, but the plan for regulating Indian affairs, not being as yet established, no appointments are or can be made here and I am without any other Assistance than my three Deputys who have more than sufficient employment in and about this Quarter which can by no means be neglected, besides that the proposed service requires persons of good Capacity to be constantly resident there to keep up a regular correspondence and be subject to a visitation of myself or Deputies occasionally.

The proposed Residents will not only be able to manage all Indian Affairs at their places of abode, but also, will acquire such an Interest with the Indians, if Men of parts and acquainted with the Language, that they will discover all their secret schemes and those established at and about the *Missisipi* will over and besides have early intelligence of any designs formed by the French or any other power possessing the West side of that River, for that schemes will be formed by such powers to rival us, or even to monopolize the trade there, is to me a matter of no doubt, and the French have already carried up Cannon & are erecting a Post near the Mouth of the *Missouri*, where a Frenchman is now established who carries on a vast extensive Trade, and is acquiring a great Influence over all the Indian Nations, which with the French Inhabitants at the *Illinois*, Assumpt<sup>a</sup>,<sup>1</sup> Post Vincent, Ouia-tonon,<sup>2</sup> Miamis, Detroit, &c. are more than sufficient to engross all the Trade in them parts.

Excepting some threats thrown out by a few Tribes against those who were most attached to us during the late troubles, every thing is tranquil here at present, but to the Southward I am not without apprehensions of some fresh disturbances, M<sup>r</sup> *Fagiere* Lieut. Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia, some time ago laid before me the losses sustained by the *Cherokees* &c. by the War which the Six Nations and Western Indians have long maintained, & still carry on against them and strongly recommended it to me, to bring about a Peace between them, to which end they would send deputies to me to propose an Accommodation with the Indians in my District, this I communicated to the Six Nations &c., but (found indeed as I expected) that altho' they agreed to receive the Deputies, they were not at all inclined to hearken to a peace, that their

<sup>1</sup> Near the mouth of the Margot or Wolf river, Tennessee. *Monette's Valley of the Mississippi*, I, 290. On the bluff of Memphis. *Bancroft's United States*, III., 363. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In Indiana, at the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers. *Map prefixed to Monette*.

hatred for those people was not to be removed without the utmost difficulty and that even shou'd they agree to a Pacification it would not be long observed, all which I represented to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia assuring him I would notwithstanding use all my influence with the Northern Nations on that occasion, at the same time I wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Stuart concerning it, but altho' I put some off the War the much greater part still continue it, nor is it prudent to use many more arguments against it, as they are so suspicious a people that it might create some thoughts disadvantageous to us, The Western Nations have sent out several large parties this Year, and the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas & Oneidas, have lately sent out many more, some of whom are returned back, & have reported thro' all the Nations that on their way thro' the back parts of Virginia the Inhabitants appeared in Arms and threatned to attack them, of which they judged it necessary to give those at home notice, from all which I am apprehensive some mischief may be done in or about that Province, and should it so happen it is not an easy matter to prevent its going greater length. I have spoke with the Chiefs of several Nations on the subject and shall omit nothing in my power to prevent it, but I know there are faults on both sides, the Inhabitants will be imprudent, the Indians impertinent, the latter think they have a just right to carry on a War against their Antient Enemy's, and perhaps it would be good Policy not to interrupt them, the former having a confirmed hatred for all Indians are glad of every opportunity that offers for insulting their small parties, whose general rout is thro' the back parts of Virginia, and when any insult is offered there are always indiscreet Indians who will readily retaliate fourfold, this cannot be easily prevented for the back Inhabitants to the Southward have lately (as mentioned in a former letter) given many Instances of their disregard to the peace and contempt of the Governments they live under, and the Indians cannot be prevented from going that way but by measures very impolitic & dangerous, or unless the Southern Indians will acknowledge themselves to be totally conquered, and give up the right of their country to the Northern Indians. Now as this War is of very long standing, and between Ind<sup>a</sup> & Ind<sup>a</sup> I am humbly of opinion we had best not interest ourselves in it other than as Mediators between them, but in case their quarrel cannot be settled, let them carry it on as they please on both sides provided it does not affect the persons or property's of any of His Majesties Subjects, for by this means we take off many dangerous Spirits who cannot be kept at peace in either of the Districts, but particularly to the Northward where the Ind<sup>s</sup> are more numerous, and much more Warlike, however as the Gov<sup>r</sup> of *Virginia* & I presume *Carolina* are desirous to obtain a Peace for the Southern Nations, this Matter must be referred to your Lordships Consideration, but shou'd this difference with the Virginians come to any thing or any disturbances threaten to arise in any other Quarter I am totally at a loss how to act under the present restrictions without hazarding my fortune, which at present I cannot afford, & prudence forbids me to risque having formerly suffered greatly thereby, of which the large sum still justly due to me by this Province will serve as one proof.—I mention this because it may be sometimes in my power to prevent a very large Expence by timely incurring a very small one, & when the case may not admit of waiting for Orders, but your Lordships will doubtless be of opinion that if I cannot take any thing upon me but in cases of extremity, the Expence must not only be much greater, but my success much more uncertain, and at present I cannot safely send Belts or see any number of Indians without risque, as every Indian employed must have his reward, and no Individual can come on the smallest Business & return Empty.—The services of Indians, the many things effected & prevented by them for several years, if not fully known, can be clearly and circumstantially proved, as well as the



inconceivable pains I have taken to lessen the Expences, tho' lower than that incurred with the smallest Body of Troops &c.—I have always applied the Public money to the Interest of the Public, & studiously applied myself to the true knowledge of that Interest, to which my private concerns, health & amusements have always given way, and I shall continue to discharge my trust in the same manner, nothing doubtfull of your Lordships protection.—I should not have given your Lordships the trouble of reading the last paragraphs, if my character did not oblige me to it, least I shou'd be hereafter deservedly censured for neglecting to make just & due Representations of all Affairs under my Superintendance.

I flatter myself with a continuance of your Lordships favour, whilst I remain true to the charge reposed in me, and

Your Lordships

most obedient & most

Devoted humble servant

WM. JOHNSON.

P. S. I enclose a Copy of a letter from a Frenchman at Fort Vincent<sup>1</sup> on the *Wabache* to his father in Law, the Original was intercepted by Mr Croghan and will serve to shew the sentiments & desire of the French.

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*Journal of Colonel Croghan's Transactions with the Western Indians.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XXV. ]

Journal & Transactions of George Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup> Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs with the several Indian Nations on his Journey to the Illinois as delivered by him to Sir William Johnson Baronet on his return.

May 15<sup>th</sup> I sett off from Fort Pitt, & next day was joined by the Deputies who were to accompany me on which I continued my journey.

May 19<sup>th</sup> Sent a Message to the Shawanese by Land for some of them to bring to me the French Traders, that yet remained in their Country to the Mouth of Sciota, that I might take them with me to their own Country, as they would not be suffered to Trade there till they had obtained permission from His Excell<sup>cy</sup> General Gage & Sir William Johnson.

23<sup>d</sup> We arrived at the Mouth of Sciota where we encamp'd.

26<sup>th</sup> Several of the Shawanese came there & brought with them 7 French Traders which they delivered to me, those being all that resided in their Villages, & told me there was just six more living with the Delawares, that on their return to their Towns, they would go to the Delaware & get them to send those French Traders home, & told me they were determined to do every thing in their power to convince me of their sincerity & good disposition to preserve a Peace.

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1735, the post of Vincennes was erected, and in later times was called Post Vincent. *Monette*, I., 165. Thus began the Commonwealth of Indiana. *Bancroft*, III., 346. M. Vincennes, whose name it bears, was a Canadian gentleman who was cruelly put to death by the Chickasaws in 1736. — Ed.



25<sup>th</sup> Sett off down the River, & on the 6<sup>th</sup> June we arrived at the Mouth of the Ouabache, where we found a Breastwork put up by the Indians & saw several Tracks which we suspected had been made by some Indians who might be sent there to waylay us, on which we proceeded six miles lower down the River & Encamped.

June 7<sup>th</sup> I dispatched two Indians off to the Illinois with a letter to *M<sup>r</sup> Frazier* & another to *M<sup>r</sup> St. Ange* by which I acquainted *M<sup>r</sup> Frazier* of my success in settling matters with the different Nations at Fort Pitt.—I furnished those two Deputys with Wampum to acquaint the Nations there of ~~w<sup>t</sup>~~ had passed at Fort Pitt, which I judged necessary in order to facilitate the service should *M<sup>r</sup> La Gutrie* be arrived there.

June 8<sup>th</sup> At day break we were attacked by a party of 80 Warriors of the Kickapoos & Musquattamies, who killed three of the Shawanese Deputies & wounded another, two of my men were killed, they then plundered us of every thing we had, our Indians as well as us, & then made us prisoners. After this they told us they were sorry for what had happened, that they had been employed by the French their Fathers, who had told them it was Cherokees that was with me & that there was no Peace made with the Shawanese, Delawares & Six Nations, they then sett the Indian Prisoners at liberty taking me & my party with them.

15<sup>th</sup> We arrived at Post Vincent where there is a French Village of about 50 houses, & an Indian Village of the Pyankeshas, here I met several Indians whom I had been acquainted with, who spoke to the party I was with, and desired them to take great Care of me 'till the Chiefs of the Several Nations would return from the Illinois where they had gone in order to meet me, and reprimanded this party for their bad Conduct.

Here I was informed by the French of the arrival of *M<sup>r</sup> LaGutrie* & *M<sup>r</sup> Sinott* at the Illinois, with an account of the bad reception & ill treatment *M<sup>r</sup> Frazier* & *M<sup>r</sup> Sinnott* met with on their arrivall there.

16<sup>th</sup> The Indians allowed me to write to *M<sup>r</sup> St. Ange* but would not suffer me to send a letter to *M<sup>r</sup> Sinnott*, nor could I get any Frenchman in that Town to furnish me with Pen, Ink or Paper without the consent of the Indians.

17<sup>th</sup> We sett off & the 23<sup>d</sup> arrived at Ouiatonon, where this party had set out from, on my arrival at this place I met numbers of Indians with whom I was formerly well acquainted, & who were extremely civil to me & my party.

30<sup>th</sup> The several chiefs belonging to those Villages at Ouiatonon arrived from the Illinois, & there were with them the Chiefs of several other Nations who came to see me, & expressed their great concern at what had happened.

July 1<sup>st</sup> A Frenchman arrived from the Illinois with a Pipe and Speech from thence to the Kickapoos & Musquattamies, to have me Burnt, this Speech was said to be sent from a Shawanese Ind<sup>n</sup> who resides at the Illinois, & has been during the War, & is much attached to the French interest. As soon as this Speech was delivered to the Indians by the French, the Indians informed me of it in Council, & expressed their great concern for what had already happened, & told me they then sett me & my people at liberty, & assured me they despised the message sent them, and would return the Pipe & Belt to their Fathers the French, and enquire into the reason of such a Message being sent them by one of his messengers, & desired me to stay with them 'till the Deputies of the Six Nations, Shawanese & Delawares arrived with Pontiac at Ouiatonon in order to settle matters, to w<sup>h</sup> I consented.

From 4<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> I had several Conferences with the Wawiotonans, Pyankeeshas, Kickapoos & Musquatamies in which Conferences I was lucky enough to reconcile those

Nations to his Majesties Interest & obtain their Consent and Approbation to take Possession of any Posts in their country which the French formerly possessed, & an offer of their service should any Nation oppose our taking possession of it, all which they confirmed by four large Pipes.

11<sup>th</sup> Mr Maisonville arrived with an Interpreter & a message to the Indians to bring me & my party to the Illinois, till then I had no answer from Mr St. Ange to the letter I wrote him of the 16<sup>th</sup> June, as I wanted to go to the Illinois, I desired the Chiefs to prepare themselves & set off with me as soon as possible.

12<sup>th</sup> I wrote to General Gage & Sir William Johnson, to Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell at Detroit, & Major Murray at Fort Pitt & Major . . . . . at Mobiel or on his way to the Mississipi, & acquainted [them with] every thing that had happened since my departure from . . . . .

July 13<sup>th</sup> The Chiefs of the Twightwees came to me from the Miamis and renewed their Antient Friendship with His Majesty & all His Subjects in America & confirmed it with a Pipe.

18<sup>th</sup> I set off for the Illinois with the Chiefs of all those Nations when by the way we met with Pontiac together with the Deputies of the Six Nations, Delawares & Shawanese, which accompanied Mr Frazier & myself down the Ohio & also Deputies with speeches from the four Nations living in the Illinois Country to me & the Six Nations, Delawares & Shawanese, on which we return'd to Ouiatonon and there held another confarence, in which I settled all matters with the Illinois Indians—Pontiac & they agreeing to every thing the other Nations had done, all which they confirmed by Pipes & Belts, but told me the French had informed them that the English intended to take their Country from them, & give it to the Cherokees to settle on, & that if ever they suffered the English to take possession of their Country they would make slaves of them, that this was the reason of their Opposing the English hitherto from taking possession of *Fort Chartres* & induced them to tell Mr La Gutrie & Mr Sinnott that they would not let the English come into their Country. But being informed since Mr Sinnott had retired by the Deputies of the Six Nations, Delawares & Shawanese, that every difference subsisting between them & the English was now settled, they were willing to comply as the other Nations their Bretheren had done and desired that their Father the King of England might not look upon his taking possession of the Forts which the French had formerly possest as a title for his subjects to possess their Country, as they never had sold any part of it to the French, & that I might rest satisfied that whenever the English came to take possession they would receive them with open arms.

25<sup>th</sup> I set off for Detroit having settled every thing with these several Nations to the Westward, & was accompanied by several Chiefs of those Nations which were going to Detroit to meet Col<sup>o</sup>. Bradstreet agreeable to his Invitation to them last Winter by Mr Maisonville. As I passed by the Twightwee villages & the Ottawawee villages, on the Miamis River, they delivered me all the English Prisoners they had, & I found as I passed by those Towns, that several of the Indians had set off for Detroit.

August 17<sup>th</sup> I arrived at Detroit where I found several small Tribes of Ottawas, Puttewatamies & Chipwas waiting in Consequence of Col<sup>o</sup> Bradstreets Invitation to see him. Here I met Mr *DeCouagne* and *Wabecomicat* with a Deputation of Indians from Niagara, with Messages from Sir William Johnson to Pontiac & those Western Nations.

23<sup>d</sup> Colo Campbell & I had a Meeting with the Twightwees, Wawiotonans, Pyankeshas, Rickapoos and Musquattamies, when they produced the several Belts sent them by Col<sup>o</sup> Bradstreet, in consequence of which Invitation they came here.







some dry wood upon it, that the blaze may ascend to the Clouds so that all Nations may see it, & know that you live in Peace & Tranquility with your Fathers the English A Belt

By this Belt I disperse all the black clouds from over your heads, that the Sun may shine clear on your Women and Children, that those unborn may enjoy the blessings of this General Peace, now so happily settled between your Fathers the English & you & all your younger Bretheren to the Sun setting. A Belt

Children, By this Belt I gather up all the Bones of your deceased friends, & bury them deep in the ground, that the herbs & sweet flowers of the Earth may grow over them, that we may not see them any more. A Belt.

Children with this Belt I take the Hatchet out of your Hands & I pluck up a large tree & bury it deep, so that it may never be found any more, & I plant the tree of Peace, where all our children may sit under & smoak in Peace with their Fathers. A Belt.

Children, We have made a Road from the Sun rising to the Sun setting, I desire that you will preserve that Road good and pleasant to Travel upon, that we may all share the blessings of this happy Union. I am sorry to see our Children dispersed thro' the Woods, I therefore desire you will return to your Antient Settlements & take care of your Council Fire which I have now dressed up, & promote the good work of Peace. A Belt

After which Wapicomica delivered his Messages from Sir William Johnson to Pondiac & the rest of the several Chiefs.

Aug. 28<sup>th</sup> We had a Meeting with Pondiac & the several Nations when Pondiac made the following Speeches.

Father,

We have all smoaked out of the Pipe of Peace its your Childrens Pipe & as the War is all over, & the Great Spirit and Giver of Light who has made the Earth & every thing therein, has brought us all together this day for our mutual good to promote the good Works of Peace, I declare to all Nations that I had settled my Peace with you before I came here, & now deliver my Pipe to be sent to *Sir William Johnson* that he may know I have made Peace, & taken the King of England for my Father, in presence of all the Nations now assembled, & whenever any of those Nations go to visit him, they may smoak out of it with him in Peace. Fathers we are oblidged to you for lighting up our old Council Fire for us, & desiring us to return to it, but we are now settled on the Miamis River, not far from hence, whenever you want us you will find us there ready to wait on you, the reason I choose to stay where we are now settled, is, that we love liquor, and did we live here as formerly, our People would be always drunk, which might occasion some quarrels between the Soldiers & them, this Father is all the reason I have for not returning to our old Settlements, & that we live so nigh this place, that when we want to drink, we can easily come for it.

Gave a large Pipe with a Belt of Wampum tied to it.

Father, Be strong and take pity on us your Children as our former Father did, 'tis just the Hunting Season of our children, our Fathers the French formerly used to credit his Children for powder & lead to hunt with, I request in behalf of all the Nations present that you will speak to the Traders now here to do the same, my Father, once more I request you will take pity on us & tell your Traders to give your Children credit for a little powder & lead, as the support of our Familys depend upon it, we have told you where we live, that whenever you want us & let us know it, we will come directly to you A Belt.

Father, You stoped up the Rum Barrel when we came here, 'till the Business of this Meeting was over, as it is now finished, we request you may open the barrel that your Children may drink & be merry.

August 29<sup>th</sup> A Deputation of several Nations sett out from Detroit for the Illinois Country, with several Messages from me & the Wyondats, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese & other Nations, in answer to theirs delivered me at Ouia-tonon.

30<sup>th</sup> The Chiefs of the several Nations who are settled on the Ouabache returned to Detroit from the River Roche, where they had been encamped, & informed Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell & me, they were now going off for their own Country, & that nothing gave them greater pleasure, than to see that all the Western Nations & Tribes had agreed to a general Peace, & that they should be glad how soon their Fathers the English, would take possession of the Posts in their Country, formerly possessed by their late Fathers the French, to open a Trade for them, & if this could not be done this Fall, they desired that some Traders might be sent to their Villages to supply them for the Winter, or else they would be obliged to go to the Illinois and apply to their old Fathers the French for such necessarys as they might want.

They then spoke on a Belt & said Fathers, every thing is now settled, & we have agreed to your taking possession of the Posts in our Country. we have been informed, that the English where ever they settle, make the Country their own, & you tell us that when you conquered the French they gave you this Country.—That no difference may happen hereafter, we tell you now the French never conquered us neither did they purchase a foot of our Country, nor have they a right to give it to you, we gave them liberty to settle for which they always rewarded us, & treated us with great Civility while they had it in their power, but as they are become now your people, if you expect to keep these Posts, we will expect to have proper returns from you.

A Belt.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> The chiefs of the Wyondatts or Huron, came to me & said they had spoke last Summer to Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson at Niagara about the lands, on which the French had settled near Detroit belonging to them, & desired I would mention again to him, they never had sold it to the French, & expected their new Fathers the English would do them justice, as the French were become one People with us.

A Belt.

4<sup>th</sup> Pontiac with several chiefs of the Ottawas, Chippawaes & Potowatamies likewise complained that the French had settled part of their country, which they never had sold to them, & hoped their Fathers the English would take it into Consideration, & see that a proper satisfaction was made to them. That their Country was very large, & they were willing to give up such part of it, as was necessary for their Fathers the English, to carry on Trade at, provided they were paid for it, & a sufficient part of the Country left them to hunt on.

A Belt.

6<sup>th</sup> The *Sagina* Indians came here, & made a speech on a Belt of Wampum expressing their satisfaction on hearing that a general Peace was made with all the Western Nations & with Pontiac, they desired a little Powder, Lead & a few knives to enable them to hunt on their way home, & a little rum to drink their new Fathers health.

A Belt.

9<sup>th</sup> *Atewaky* and *Chamindiway* Chiefs of a Band of Ottawas from Sandusky with 20 Men came here and informed me that their late conduct had been peaceable, that on hearing there was a great Meeting of all Nations at this place, they came to hear what would be done, & on their way here they had been informed that a General Peace was settled with all Nations to



the Sun setting, & they now came to assure us of their attachment to the English Interest, & begged for some Powder, Lead, some Blankets and a little rum to help them to return to their town.

A String.

Septbr 11<sup>th</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell & I gave the above parties some presents & a little rum & sent them away well satisfied

12<sup>th</sup> The Grand Sautois came with his band and spoke as follows.

Father

You sent me a Belt from the Miamis, & as soon as I received it, I set off to meet you here, on my way I heard what had past between you & the several Tribes that met you here, you have had pity on them, & I beg in behalf of myself & the People of Chicags that you will have pity on us also. 'tis true we have been Fools, & have listened to evil reports, & the whistling of bad birds, we red people, are a very jealous and foolish people, & Father amongst you White People, there are bad people also, that tell us lyes & deceive us, which has been the occasion of what has past, I need not say much on this head, I am now convinced, that I have been wrong for some years past, but there are people that have behaved worse than I & my people, they were pardoned last year at this place, I hope we may meet with the same, that our Women & Children may enjoy the blessings of peace as the rest of our Bretheren the red people, & you shall be convinced by our future conduct that we will behave as well as any Tribe of Ind<sup>s</sup> in this Country.

A Belt

He then said that the St. Joseph Indians would have come along with him, but the English Prisoner which their Fathers want from them, was some distance off a hunting, & as soon as they could get him in, they would deliver him up and desire forgiveness.

14<sup>th</sup> I had a private meeting with the grand Sautois when he told me he was well disposed for peace last Fall, but was then sent for to the Illinois, where he met with Pontiac, & that then their Fathers the French told them, if they would be strong to keep the English out of possession of that Country but this Summer, That the King of France would send over an Army next Spring, to assist his Children the Indians, and that the King of Spain would likewise send troops to help them to keep the English out of their Country, that the English were a bad people, & had a design to cut off all the Indian Nations in this Country, & to bring the Southern Indians to live & settle there, this account made all the Indians very uneasy in their minds, & after holding a Council amongst themselves, they all determined to oppose the English, & not to suffer them to take Possession of the Illinois, that for his part he behaved as ill as the rest of the English Officers that came there in the Spring, but since he had been better informed of the goodness of the English, & convinced the French had told them lyes for the love of their Beaver, he was now determined with all his people to become faithfull to their new Fathers the English, & pay no regard to any stories the French should tell him for the future.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell & I had a meeting with the Grand Sautois, at which we informed him of every thing that had past with the several Nations & Tribes & told him that we accepted him and his people in Friendship, & would forgive them as we had the rest of the Tribes, & forget what was past provided their future conduct should convince us of their sincerity, after which we gave them some presents, for which he returned thanks & departed very well satisfied.



19<sup>th</sup> I received a letter by express from Col<sup>o</sup> Reed acquainting me of Capt Sterlings setting out from Fort Pitt, with 100 men of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to take possession of Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country

20<sup>th</sup> I sent of Huron Andrew Express to Cap<sup>t</sup> Sterling<sup>1</sup> at the Illinois, & with messages to the several Nations in that Country & those on the Ouabache, to acquaint them of Cap<sup>t</sup> Starling's departure from Fort Pitt for the Illinois Country.

25<sup>th</sup> The Chiefs of the St Joseph Indians arrived and addressed themselves to Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell & me as follows,

#### Fathers

We are come here to see you, altho' we are not acquainted with you, we had a Father formerly, with whom we were very well acquainted, & never differed with him, you have conquered him some time ago, & when you came here first notwithstanding your hands were all bloody, you took hold of us by the hands, & used us well, & we thought we should be happy with our Fathers, but soon an unlucky difference happened, which threw us all in confusion, where this arose we don't know but we assure you, we were the last that entered into this Quarrel, the Ind<sup>s</sup> from this place solicited us often to join them, but we would not listen to them, at last they got the better of our foolish young Warriours, but we never agreed to it, we knew it would answer no end, & often told our Warriors they were fools, if they succeeded in killing the few English in this Country, they could not kill them all because we knew you to be a great People.

Fathers you have after all that has happened, received all the several Tribes in this Country for your Children, we from St. Joseph's seem to be the last of your Children that come to you, we are no more than Wild Creatures to you Fathers in understanding therefore we request you'll forgive the past follies of our young people & receive us for your Children since you have thrown down our former Father on his back, we have been wandering in the dark like blind people, now you have dispersed all this darkness which hung over the heads of the several Tribes, & have accepted them for your Children, we hope you will let us partake with them of the light, that our Women & Children may enjoy Peace, & we beg you'll forget all that is past, by this belt we remove all evil thoughts from your hearts. A Belt.

Fathers, When we formerly came to visit our late Fathers the French they always sent us home joyfull, & we hope you will have pity on our Women & Young Men who are in great Want of necessaries, & not let us return home to our Villages ashamed.

Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell & I made them the following answer.

Children, I have heard with attention what you have said, & am glad to hear that you have delivered up the Prisoners at Michillimakinac, agreeable to my desire, as the other Prisoner

<sup>1</sup> Sir THOMAS STIRLING, Bart., obtained his company in July, 1757, in the 42d, or Royal Highland, regiment, which accompanied Abercromby in 1758, and Amherst in 1759 in their respective expeditions on Lakes George and Champlain; was afterwards detailed to assist at the siege of Niagara, and accompanied Amherst from Oswego to Montreal in 1760. *Knox*. Capt. Stirling was appointed a Major in 1770, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 42d in September, 1771. He was in command of his regiment in the engagement on Staten Island, and in the battle of Brooklyn Heights, in 1776; was afterwards at the storming of Fort Mifflin and accompanied the expedition against Philadelphia. He became Colonel in the army in 1779, and was Brigadier, under Sir Henry Clinton, in the expedition against Charleston, S. C., in 1780. *Beaton*. He succeeded Lt General Frazer as Colonel of the 71st Highlanders, in Feb. 1782, and in November following, became Major-General. He went on the retired list in 1783, when his regiment was disbanded. In 1796 he was appointed Lieutenant-General; was created a Baronet some time after, and became a General in the army on the 1st January, 1801. He died in 1808. *Army Lists*. — Ed.

who I always thought belonged to your Nation does not, but the man who has him resides now in your Country, I must desire you'll do every thing in your Power to get him brought to me, nothing will give me greater pleasure than to promote the good Works of Peace, & make my Children the Indians happy as long as their own Conduct shall deserve it. I did not know what to think of your conduct for some time past, but to convince you of my sincere desire to promote Peace, I receive you as Children as I have done the other Nations, & hope your future Conduct may be such, as will convince me of your sincerity. A Belt.

Children, Sometimes bad people take the liberty of stragling into your Country, I desire if you meet any such people to bring them immediately here, likewise I desire that none of your Young Men may steal any Horses out of this settlement as they have done formerly, we shall see always strict justice done to you, & expect the same from you, on that your own happiness depends, & as long as you continue to meritt our friendship by good actions in promoting Peace & Tranquility between your Young People & His Majesties Subjects, you may expect to be received here with open arms, & to convince you further of my sincerity, I give you some cloaths, powder, lead, vermillion & 2 cags of rum for your young People, that you may return home without shame as you desired.

Children, I take this oppertunity to tell you what your Fathers the English are gone down the Ohio from Fort Pitt to take possession the Illinois, & desire you may acquaint all your people of it on your return home, & likewise desire you will stop your Ears against the Whistling of bad birds, & mind nothing else but your Hunting to support your Familys, that your Women & Children may enjoy the Blessing of Peace. A Belt

*Colonel Croghan to Sir William Johnson.*

Sir

In the scituation I was in at Ouiatonon, with great numbers of Indians about me, & no Necessaries such as Paper & Ink, I had it not in my power to take down all the speeches made by the Indian Nations, nor what I said to them, in so particular a manner as I could wish, but hope the heads of it as I have taken down will meet with your approbation.

In the Course of this Tour through the Ind<sup>a</sup> Countrys I made it my study to converse in private with Pondiac, & several of the Chiefs of the different Nations, as often as oppertunity served, in order to find out the sentiments they have of the French & English, Pondiac is a shrewd sensible Indian of few words, & commands more respect amongst those Nations, than any Indian I ever saw could do amongst his own Tribe. He and all his principal men of those Nations seem at present to be convinced that the French had a view of interest in stirring up the late differance between his Majesties Subjects & them & call it a Bever War, for neither Pondiac nor any of the Indians which I met with, ever pretended to deny but the French were at the bottom of the whole, & constantly supplied them with every necessary they wanted, as far as in their power, every where through that Country & notwithstanding they are at present convinced, that it was for their own Interest, yet it has not changed the Indians affections to them, they have been bred up together like Children in that Country, & the French have always adopted the Indians customs & manners, treated them civilly & supplied their wants generously, by which means they gained the hearts of the Indians & commanded their services, & enjoyed the benefit of a very large Furr Trade, as they well knew if they had not taken this measure they could not enjoy any of those Advantages. The



French have in a manner taught the Indians in that Country to hate the English, by representing them in the worst light they could on all occasion, in particular they have made the Indians there believe lately, that the English would take their Country from them & bring the *Cherokees* there to settle & to enslave them, which report they easily gave credit to, as the Southern Ind<sup>s</sup> had lately commenced war against them. I had great difficulty in removing this suspicion and convincing them of the falsity of this report, which I flatter myself I have done in a great measure, yet it will require some time, a very even Conduct in those that are to reside in their Country, before we can expect to rival the French in their affection, all Indians are jealous & from their high notion of liberty hate power, those Nations are jealous and prejudiced against us, so that the greatest care will be necessary to convince them of our honest Intention by our Actions. The French sold them goods much dearer than the English Traders do at present, in that point we have the advantage of the French, but they made that up in large presents to them for their services, which they wanted to support their Interest in the Country, & tho' we want none of their services, yet they will expect favours, & if refused look on it in a bad light, & very likely think it done to distress them for some particular Advantages we want to gain over them. they are by no means so sensible a People as the Six Nations or other Tribes this way, & the French have learned them for their own advantage a bad custom, for by all I could learn, they seldom made them any general presents, but as it were fed them with Necessaries just as they wanted them Tribe by Tribe, & never sent them away empty, which will make it difficult & troublesome to the Gentlemen that are to command in their Country for some time, to please them & preserve Peace, as they are a rash inconsiderate People and don't look on themselves under any obligations to us, but rather think we are obliged to them for letting us reside in their Country. As far as I can judge of their Sentiments by the several Conversations I have had with them, they will expect some satisfaction made them by Us, for any Posts that should be established in their Country for Trade. But you will be informed better by themselves next Spring, as Pondiac & some Chiefs of every Nation in that Country intend to pay you a visit. The several Nations on the *Ouabache*, & towards the *Illinois*, *St. Josephs*, *Chicags*, *Labaye*, *Sagina* & other places have applied for Traders to be sent to their settlements, but as it is not in the power of any Officer to permit Traders to go from *Detroit* or *Michillimakinac*, either English or French, I am of opinion the Ind<sup>s</sup> will be supplied this year chiefly from the *Illinois*, which is all French property & if Trading Posts are not established at proper Places in that Country soon the French will carry the best part of the Trade over the *Missisipi* which they are determined to do if they can, for I have been well informed that the French are preparing to build a strong trading Fort on the other side *Missisipi*, about 60 miles above *Fort Chartres*,<sup>1</sup> and have this Summer in a private manner transported 26 pieces of small cannon up the River for that purpose

November 1765.

G. CROGHAN.

<sup>1</sup> Fort Chartres was situated in the neighborhood of La Prairie du Rocher, (Randolph Co., Indiana,) about a mile and a half originally from the Mississippi. It was built in the year 1720, and much repaired in 1750. Some time after, the river broke over its banks, and formed a channel so near the fort that one side of it and two of its bastions were thrown down, and it was abandoned in 1772. The area of the fort is now covered with trees, and the work exhibits a splendid ruin. *Suddard's Sketches of Louisiana*, 234.—Ed.



*Sir Henry Moore to the Earl of Dartmouth.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 1. ]

New York 21 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1765

My Lord.

I presume that your Lord<sup>sh</sup> has received before this time the Letters from the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> giving an account of the State of this province which I found on my arrival here in the utmost confusion; the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> apprehending that violence was intended to his person, put the Fort into the best State of defence, which the shortness of the time would allow of, and in this situation I found him on my landing after a long and dangerous passage of ten weeks. By the minutes of Council which I transmit by this opportunity Your Lord<sup>sh</sup> will perceive, that I stand single here in any design of promoting the carrying into execution the Bill, which has been the cause of the disorders, and that His Majesty's Council are unanimous in their opinion given on the occasion. The Tumults which have been raised in different parts of the Continent and which have been artfully fomented by ill designing people, have spread so much terror, that the Officers appointed for the execution of the Act, have resigned their posts, and I am sorry to observe, that the Power of Govern<sup>t</sup> was too weak to protect them from the insults they were threatned with; this is our unhappy situation at present, and the tranquility we now enjoy, is owing to nothing but the suspension of those powers, we are not able to employ to any effect.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s most obed<sup>t</sup> & humble serv<sup>t</sup>

H. MOORE.

*Sir Henry Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, CLIX. ]

New York 21 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1765

Sir

A few days before my arrival here the Lieutenant Governor transmitted an Account of the Disorders which had happen<sup>d</sup> here on the landing of the stamped Papers from England, and I was extremely mortified to find on my landing that he had thought himself under a necessity of preparing for his defence in the Fort, where it seems he had been threatened to be attacked. My arrival has in some measure restored tranquillity, but you will perceive by the minutes of the Council here inclosed, that I am not to be supported in the execution of the Act, and that their apprehensions of future disturbances have influenced all the opinions they have given me on this occasion. In consequence of their resolutions, I am obliged to suspend a Power which I am not able to exert without their Assistance, and to make a merit of acting in a manner which carries no other recommendation with it but that of not exposing the Weakness of our Government. The different outrages which have been committed in many parts of the

Continent must have reached your ears before this time; They seem to have answered all the ends proposed for the persons appointed to act under the Stamp Law have resigned their Posts and it will be no easy matter to get any one to succeed them in their offices from the General Terror which has been spread here. I am extremely sorry to send so unfavorable an account of our situation here in the first letter I have the honor to address to you from America and have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup>

R<sup>t</sup> Honble

& obliged humble Sv<sup>t</sup>

Henry Seymour Conway

H. MOORE



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General. ]

Johnson Hall, Novbr 22<sup>d</sup> 1765.

My Lords,

Since my last of the 25<sup>th</sup> of September I have been honoured with your Lordships letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> of August signifying your Appointments to the Board of Trade & Plantations, on which I beg leave to congratulate you, and to offer my most sincere wishes that you may have the satisfaction to see every object of your attention carried into Execution agreeable to your utmost wishes.

Your Lordships may be assured that I shall pay the most implicit obedience to all your commands & as it is my duty transmit a faithfull Acc<sup>t</sup> of all occurrences within my District, I have been hitherto punctual in so doing, and I flatter myself the Board have no reason to complain of my neglect therein, or of my having abused their confidence by misrepresentations, I have been rather prolix on many occasions, & adventured sometimes to offer my sentiments & remarks on subjects not immediately connected with those of my Department tho' I apprehended not inconsistent with my Duty as an Officer of the Crown & as one of His Majestys Council in America. If I have any thing to regret it is my inability by any other means to testify my Devotion to His Majesty & my unalterable attachment to the rights & interests of Great Britain, to which I have chearfully sacrificed my Health, ease & private Interest, & but that vanity perhaps induces me to fancy myself of some use, my neglected & impaired fortune & injured constitution must have long since compelled me to solicit a Quietus.

The late furious & audacious behaviour of the New Yorkers—excited & supported by several Persons of Consequence there are doubtless laid before y<sup>r</sup> Lordships by every faithfull servant who *dare* write, and is not afraid that his House shall be burned, or himself massacred amongst which small number, I beg leave to assure you I am one, & one disinterested, acting on a principle of regard to the welfare of the Colonies, well knowing the Discords in which they would be speedily involved, if they were able to effect that Democratical system which is their sole aim, and which they may hereafter compass unless a timely check is given to that spirit of Libertinism & Independance, daily gaining ground thro' the Artifices & unaccountable conduct of a few pretended Patriots but in reality Enemies to the British Constitution.

Be assured my Lords, I am determined on all occasions to manifest my zeal for the honour of the Crown, my respect for Your Lordships' Commands, & my Endeavours to approve myself worthy the Trust reposed in me by my Sovereign, & if my duty has urged me too far on the foregoing subject, I hope it will at the same time apologize for my freedom, for I consider it as the duty of every good Subject to write warmly now that matters have gone so extravagant a length, and nothing but that, with my apprehensions of the Principles and Intentions of Party would induce me to trespass so far on the indulgence I have met with from your Honourable Board.

The great want of the necessary Regulations & Appointment for my Department will I hope shortly procure me the honour of hearing from your Lordships, In the mean time I beg leave to assure you that I am

with the highest esteem

My Lords,

Your Lordships most Obedient

& most humble Servant

WM. JOHNSON.

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords of Trade.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 3.]

New York 6 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1765

My Lords.

The Deputy Secretary informs me that Sir Henry Moore has transmitted to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> copies of the minutes of Council which have reference to the Riots which lately happened in the City of New York, but if I mistake not, that the minutes in the beginning of September were omitted. I now inclose a copy of those minutes, from a copy which I have now with me at my residence in the Country, because without them your Lord<sup>ships</sup> information cannot be compleate.

From the minutes of Council of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of September, it appears that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, as well as myself, was of opinion, that the assistance of the regular Troops was necessary for securing the City from Riots and Tumults. The daringly seditious papers, wh<sup>ch</sup> the Gen<sup>l</sup> mentions in his letter, continually publish'd, and which, the Civil power could not suppress, made this appear necessary to both of us, tho' we yielded to the opinion and advice of the Council. What has happened since, shews, that the Council erred in their Judgement; for certainly it would have been much easier to prevent the first appearance of any Mob, by a force sufficient to deterr them, than to suppress Riots and Mobs without such Force.

It is necessary to relate particularly what I afterwards did that your Lord<sup>ships</sup> may judge whether I gave any just occasion for the Riots which succeeded.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October the ship Edward, William Davis Commander, arrived in the River with packages of Stamped paper and parchments on Board. The Mob threatening to destroy the ship and cargo, if the sta[m]p'd paper was not delivered to them, and as these packages were



intermixed with other goods, in the hold, the Master and owner of the Ship proposed to me to hire a Sloop to take the Merchants goods on Board, & to land them, till the packages could be come at; but no sloop would hire at any rate. On which I told the Master and owner to go to the wharf, and unload as usual, and that I would give directions to the Magistrates to secure them from any insult; but they answering that they apprehended, the ship and cargo would be in danger by so doing, they desired, with the approbation of the Merchants who had goods on Board, that I should desire the Frigate under whose protection the ship was, to assist them in removing the goods till the packages of Stamp'd paper could be come at, and put on board the Frigate, which was accordingly done, with the apparent satisfaction of all who were interested in the ship and cargo.

The packages were afterwards landed at noon day from the Frigate, and carried into the Port without any guard, and remained there without any public discontent appearing, till the last day of October, when I in Council took the oath enjoined by Act of Parliament.

In the night of the 1<sup>st</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> a great Riot happened, consisting of several thousands of people. A great number of Boys carried lighted Torches, followed by a scaffold on which were placed two Images, one representing their old gray haired Gov<sup>r</sup>, and the other, the Devil whispering in his ear. They came up close to the Fort Gate, and in going from it, broke open my coach house, took out my chariot, carried it round the Streets of the Town with the Images, returned a second time to the Fort gate, and then carried the Images to an open place, ab<sup>t</sup> 100 yards from it, where they were hung up some time on a Gibbet, afterwards cut down and burnt in a fire prepared for the purpose, together with my chariot and more other carriages found in my coach house, and all the furniture of my stables. When the Images were brought up to the Fort, the Garrison were on the Ramparts. Notwithstanding of the grossest Ribaldry from the Mob, and many Stones thrown into the Fort, not a single word was returned from any Man in it. After they had finished this insult they went to Major James's house, destroyed every thing in it, without leaving him and his Lady more than the clothes on their backs.

The next day letters and Messages were sent into me, threatening my life, if I did not deliver up stamped papers. By advice of Council I very readily declared that I would not distribute them, in truth, it was not in my power to do it, but deliver them to Sir Henry Moore when he arrived. This gave satisfaction to great numbers, who, in the most open manner declared their satisfaction; but the principal Leaders declared themselves not satisfied, and insisted that the Stamped papers, should be put on Board the Coventry, Commanded by Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy. This I did not oppose, but Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy absolutely refused to receive them, and with good reason, for he was aware of their design to force him to deliver them to the Mob, by threatening to destroy the houses he was possessed in the City, of which, he has in his own and his Wife's right more than perhaps any one Man in it.

While these things were transacting, the Engineers put the Fort into the best state of defence & offence. The Mob renewed their threats against the Fort, and that they would assault it to come at the stamped papers. The Men of greatest property, and the Magistrates of the City, seeing that from the posture the Fort was then in, the destruction of great part of the City must be the consequence of such an attempt, humbly deprecated to save the City from desolation. At last I consented to deliver up the stamped paper to the Mayor and Corporation of the City, as appears by the Minutes of Council. After which the Mob entirely dispersed, and the City remained in perfect tranquility, till I delivered up the Administration to Sir Henry Moore.

Now your Lord<sup>ships</sup> may judge what cause of offence I have given to the people of the City, to occasion such tumults and indignities on the person of their Gov<sup>r</sup>, and your Lord<sup>ships</sup> may be assured that I have given no other.

Since I retired, the true cause of the malice against me, was fully declared in the instructions given to the Representatives of the City, by a Committee consisting of four Lawyers, Six Merchants and two Landed Men, as appears in the enclosed printed papers, viz<sup>t</sup> "and above all, of the most dangerous attempt made by Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden to introduce appeals from the verdict of a Jury; an innovation, which if it obtain must inevitably ruin the Country"—The malice is evident in charging this upon me, when they well know that by the King's Instructions, given many years before I was appointed Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> the Gov<sup>r</sup> was commanded to admit of appeals; and so lately as on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of July last, the King by his order in his Privy Council, renewed, explained & confirmed his former commands, to admit appeals from the Verdict and Judgement of the Courts of Common Law. How can the admitting of appeals ruin this Country? If a verdict & Judgem<sup>t</sup> be truly just and equitable, can hopes be obtained of having it reversed in the Privy Council; and if they be unjustly obtained by faction & intrigue, will it ruin the Country to have them reversed? But I have explained this matter so fully in my letters to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> on this subject, that is needless to add any thing. It is from this that the malice of the Lawyers arises against me. Appeals may in a great measure abolish their dangerous association, and with disinterested Judges would effectually do it.

With entire confidence, I appeal to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> Justice, from the most malicious attempts to ruin my character with the people among whom I must live, and to expose my person and estate to the rage of a deluded Mob. After the strictest enquiry your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will find, that I have had my duty and the true interest of the people committed to my care at heart, not only without any view to my private interest, but with certain and foreseen prejudices to it.

While I have much reason to complain of want of assistance from those, of whom I had reason to expect it, I must inform your Lord<sup>ships</sup> that Mr Banyar Deputy Secretary has on all occasions been very usefull to me by his friendly assistance.—I am with entire submission to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> Justice

My Lords,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithful servant,

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.) CLIX. ]

New York Dec<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1765

Sir

After the Packages of stamped Papers & parchments were delivered to the Mayor and Corporation, as I had the Honor to inform you by my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of last month, the city remained quiet, and I had the pleasure of delivering up the administration to Sir Henry Moore on the 13<sup>th</sup> in as much quietness as could be expected, in the present situation of public affairs



Sir Henry on his arrival told me that the King had ordered him to go immediately to his Government without waiting for his Instructions, & therefore desired me to give him his Majestys Instructions to Mr Monckton, which I did at the same time I delivered the Seals. The 5<sup>th</sup> day after his arrival I retired to my country House perceiving that I could not be of use; I was glad to be at some ease

He takes every method to ingratiate himself with the People, with what success in allaying the seditious spirit will appear from the public transactions. The Fort is dismantled every thing which Major James introduced of artillery, artillery stores and Gun Powder removed out of it

New York by its situation, the great quantity of Artillery in it, and of ammunition and small arms 14000 in the King's Stores may require the more immediate attention of his Majestys Ministers. Whatever happens in this place has the greatest influence on the other Colonies. They have their eyes perpetually on it and they Govern themselves accordingly, Sir Jeffery Amherst knows this place well and the disposition of the People in it, he can supply every defect in my information. By the inclosed printed copy of the minutes of Assembly, it appears that Mr Justice Livingstone, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and heir to one of the largest land estates, has been a principal director in opposition to the execution of the act of Parliament for a Stamp Duty in the Colonies, & of all the consequences of that opposition, many other incidents confirm this.

The inclosed copy of my answer to General Gages letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> of August the substance of which is entered in the minutes of Council of the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> was somehow omitted to be sent. You may observe Sir, from my answer that I expected little assistance from the magistrates in suppressing Riots & Tumults. The event has proved that I did not mistake in my judgement. But while I have the justest reason to complain of the want of assistance, where I had the best right to expect it, I must in justice to Mr Banyar Deputy Secretary of the Province assure you Sir, that in everything in his Departm<sup>t</sup> he has assisted me with the greatest alacrity and with the most friendly advice

Since I retired, that I may be as usefull as it is in my power to be, I have put in one view the substance of what I formerly wrote to the Earl of Halifax and to the plantation Board of the State of this Province, and of what has lately happened in hope that it may be of use in forming a judgement of the rise and foundation of the present seditious spirit, and for discovering the persons who are the authors of it

The Dependancy or independency of the Colonies seems now to be at the crisis whatever resolution be taken on the extraordinary events which have happened in America, I flatter myself you will be convinced Sir, that in all my proceedings I have had my duty only in view, while I evidently saw that it must be attended with great prejudice to the private Interest of myself and a large family, who must live amongst a people strangely infatuated<sup>d</sup> at this time, by the malicious and virulent papers continuedly published & dispersed assiduously among them. My resolution, at my age, has had a heavy trial under such numerous & unexpected difficulties

Allow me Sir, to repeat what I wrote in my last that his Majestys approbation of my weak endeavours for his service will make me at last happy. I hope thereby to obtain likewise some share in your regard with the honor of being

Sir

Your most obedient

and faithfull Servant

R<sup>t</sup> Honorable

Henry Seymour Conway.

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Mr. Colden's Account of the State of the Province of New-York.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.) 59. ]

The People of New York are properly distinguished into different Ranks

1 The Proprietors of the Large Tracts of Land who include within their claims from 100.000 to above one million of acres under one Grant. Some of these remain in one single Family others are by Devisees and purchases claimed in common by considerable numbers of Persons

2 The Gentlemen of the Law make the second class in which properly are included both the Bench and the Bar Both of them act on the same principles and are of the most distinguished Rank in the Policy of the Province

3<sup>d</sup> The Merchants make the third class many of them have suddenly rose from the lowest Rank of the People to considerable fortunes and chiefly in the last war, by illicit Trade. They abhor every limitation of Trade, & Duties on it, and therefore gladly go into every measure whereby they hope to have trade free.

4. In the last Rank may be placed the Farmers & Mechanics. Tho' the Farmers hold their Lands in Fee simple, they are as to condition of life in no manner superior to the common Farmers in England; and the Mechanics such only as are necessary in domestic Life. This last Rank comprehends the bulk of the People and in them consists the strength of the Province. They are the most usefull and the most moral, but alwise made the Dupes of the former, and often are ignorantly made their Tools for the worst purposes

The Share which these Ranks have severally and unitedly taken in the public transactions in thirty years past, is necessary to be considered in order to form an idea of the present state of the Province

The great tracts of Land mentioned in the first class were not as usual in other cases surveyed before the Grants; the contents of them can not be known from the description in the Grant, they are bounded by Rivers, Rivulets, Hills, Fall of Water, Rocks &c whose names are expressed in the Indian Language known at the time of the Grant to very few Christians. These names tho supposed to be proper names of Places are really common names in the Indian Language, signifying a River or Hill or Fall of Water. Thus Tienderoga, tho' to us the proper name of the Fort between Lake George and Lake Champlain, signifies the place where two Rivers meet and many places are called by that name in the Indian Language. All of them are granted in trifling Quitt rents in comparison to the rents reserved generally on other Lands granted at the same time or in earlier times. Strong suspicions of Fraud are apparent in the face of these Grants, and more so in the purchase of the Lands from the Indians, on which these are founded, and perpetually complained of by the Indians

The uncertainty of the Grant, both as to the quantity of the Land and boundaries of the Tract granted, which in Law invalidates the grants of the Crown, turns greatly to the advantage of the owners of these great Tracts, by the artifices they make use of to enlarge their claims perpetually. Thereby they are in continual contention with the Farmers contiguous to them, who have purchased Bona Fide, and improved the Lands; and by the expence of Law Suits many of the most industrious Farmers are ruined. The Truth of what is now asserted is in several instances made apparent by the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governors letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> of October & November 1764, 13<sup>th</sup> of April, 31 May & 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1765 to the Plantation Board, and by the Maps & Papers transmit<sup>d</sup> with them.

The Gentlemen of the Law, both the Judges and the principal Practitioners at the Bar are either, Owners, Heirs or strongly connected in family Interest with the Proprietors. In general all the Lawyers unite in promoting contention, prolonging Suits & increasing the expence of obtaining Justice every artifice and chicanery in the Law has been so much connived at or rather encouraged, that honest men who are not of affluent Fortunes are deterred from defending their rights or seeking justice. The People of this Province are truly in the state in which the People of England were when their properties were determined in the County Courts, as described by cheif Justice Hales "All the business of any moment "was carried on by Faction and parties, every man that had a suit there, sped according as "he could make parties, and men of great Power and Interest in the Country, did easily "overbear others in their own causes or in such wherein they were interested, either by "relation of Kindred, Tenure dependance or application."

People in general complain of these things, and lament the state of Justice, but yet the power of the Lawyers is such that every man is affraid of offending them and is deterred from making any public opposition to their power, and the dayly increase of it. The Lieut Governor sensible that he could not do His Majesty, or the people committed to his care a more eminent piece of service than by reforming the abuses of the Law, and the dangerous power of the Lawyers, took every opportunity during his administrat<sup>n</sup> to promote a work as necessary as salutary This drew upon him the most virulent and malicious resentment of the Lawyers which they have pursued in a manner that shews they intend, that by the ruin of the only man, who has ventured publicly to oppose them, all others shall be deterred.

The Gentlemen of the Law some years since entered into an association with intention among other things to assume the direction of Government upon them, by the influence they had in the Assembly gained by their family connections and by the professions of the Law whereby they are unavoidably in the secrets of many familys—many court their friendship and all dread their hatred. By these means tho' few of them be members, they rule the House of Assembly in all matters of importance. The greatest numbers of the Assembly being common Farmers who know little of men or things are easily deluded and seduced.

By this association united in Interest and family connections with the proprietors of the great Tracts, a domination of Lawyers was found in this Province, which for some years past has been too strong for the executive Powers of Government. A Domination founded on the same principles and carried on by the same wicked artifices that the domination of Preists formerly was, in the times of ignorance in the Popish Countries. Every mans character who dares discover his sentiments in opposition to theirs, is loaded with infamy by every falsehood which malice can invent for that purpose, and thereby exposed to the brutal rage of the Mob nothing is too wicked for them to attempt which serves their purpose. The Press is to them what the Pulpit was in times of Popery, no man who reads the papers published in New York for some time past and what has happened there in consequence of them can doubt of what is now said, however improbable on first thought it may appear to be

The good natured Governor Clinton was cajoled into granting the Judges their Commissions during good behavior. After the Profession of the Law had obtain<sup>d</sup> such security to their Power they more barefacedly exercised it than ever had been done before; and on M<sup>r</sup> Clintons refusing to comply with all their measures, they served him as the haughty Preists in former times served their benefactors when they opposed their priestly lust of Power. Besides what is before related it is necessary likewise to observe that, for several years past the Assembly



grants the support of Government only from year to year—they increase and lessen the Salaries of all the officers at their pleasure; and the Bill for this purpose is allwise the last Bill past in the House of Assembly in the Session. The Parliament laying internal taxes in the Colonies, & paying all the officers of Government as it is suggested they may intend to do will destroy the great and undue influence which the Assembly has gained over the Administration, to the great prejudice of His Majestys just Prerogative in the Colonies, and it is chiefly for this reason that the popular Leaders so violently oppose the act for laying a stamp Duty.

A few months before the death of the late King, the administration of Government came into the Hands of the present Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor. By the Kings death the Judges Commissions became vacant tho' granted during good behavior The Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor refused to renew them otherwise than during the Kings pleasure, pursuant to the Kings Instructions. He was more firmly resolved in this, not only from the sense of his duty in obeying his Masters Instructions, but from the opinion he had of the danger the administration of justice is in when no case of any importance could come before them, in which they could be esteemed disinterested either from their own Tenures, Party or family connections, or similitude of Cases. Nor could men in this Province of proper character for Judges be found free from such connections This refusal brought the Lieutenant Gov<sup>r</sup> under great difficultys in his administrat<sup>n</sup> The Judges refused to act and threatened him with the shutting up the Courts of Justice and the Assembly refused any supplies unless the Judges had their Commissions during good Behaviour and the most abusive virulent Papers were published against the Governor by the Lawyers. But by the Kings appointing M<sup>r</sup> Prat, Cheif Justice a stranger in this Province, with a Salary out of the Quitrents, and the King confirming the former Instructions by an additional Instruction, the other Judges submitted and the administrat<sup>n</sup> went on in its usual tranquillity. M<sup>r</sup> Prat lived only long enough to shew the people the great advantage they might expect from an able honest & disinterested judge—and to turn the public antipathy, which had been excited against him into public esteem—He was received with contempt & displeasure He died beloved and regretted as the greatest loss the Province ever suffered.

In October 1764 Waddell Cunningham brought an appeal before the Governor & Council from a judgement in the supreme Court pursuant to His Majestys 32<sup>d</sup> Instruction. The Lieutenant Governor supported the right of appealing not only in obedience to the King's Instruction, as his duty required, but likewise from the opinion he conceived of this being the only legal method by which the Kings Rights and authority in the Colonies can be secured and the people can be protected from iniquitous and oppressive Verdicts & Judgments. The Judges joined with the practitioners in opposing the right of appealing, with such vehemence as if all had been at Stake and influenced the Gentlemen of the Council to take sides against the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor in a most indecent and unbecoming manner—notwithstanding of which the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> supported his opinion, under great disadvantages, with every reason which occurred to him, being fully persuaded that without the Right of appealing to the King, the dependancy of the Colonies can not be preserved. The Kings authority can only be maintained in his Courts of Justice and without appeal from the Courts in the Colonies his authority must be precarious. The Rage against appeals excited by the Judges and Lawyers is of itself a demonstrat<sup>n</sup> of the necessity that appeals be unquestionably established, for it shews how much they think the admitting appeals to the King will weaken or destroy their associations & Domination. On this account likewise the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> has incurred their hatred & malice



On this occasion a weekly paper under the name of the *Sentinell* was published in *Holts Newspaper* filled with the vilest and most abusive invectives which malice could invent, in order to render the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> odious to the people, but as no one Fact could be alledged to his prejudice, during any time of his administration other than his supporting the Right of appeal he bore their malice with Patience—It is generally beleived that these scurrilous abusive and malicious papers were wrote by two or three distinguished Lawyers in the City.

When the Kings order in his privy Council of the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, arrived in September last, it renewed all the rage of the Profession of the Law, and they taking the advantage of this spirit of sedition which was raised in all the Colonies against the Act of Parliament for laying a stamp duty in the Colonies they turned the rage of the Mob against the person of the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor, after all the other methods which their malice had invented for that purpose had failed. The malice of the Faction against the Lieut Governor is so evident that their inclination to expose every failing in his administration can not be doubted, and when they have nothing to charge him with besides his supporting the right of the subject to appeal to the King it gives the strongest presumption in his favor, that they can not otherwise blame any part of his administration

In the night of the first of November a great Mob came up to the Fort Gate with two images carried on a scaffold, one represent<sup>s</sup> their old grey haired Governor the other the Devil whispering him in the ear after continuing thus at the Fort Gate with all the insulting Ribaldry that malice could invent, the broke open the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>s Coach House which was without the walls of the Fort, carried his Chariot round the streets of the Town, in triumph with the images, Returned a second time to the Fort Gate and finished their insult in an open place near the Fort with all the indignities the malice of their Leaders could invent. Their view certainly was to provoke the Garrison then placed in the Ramparts to some act which might be called a commencement of Hostilities, in which case it can not be said what was further intended

Being disappointed in this, the Mob expended their Rage, by destroying every thing they found in the House of Major James of the Royal Artillery for which no reason can be assigned other than his putting the Fort in a proper posture of Defence, as his duty in his department required of him

While the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor was in the Country as usual during the heat of Summer, he received a letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, informing him that "the Public Papers were cramm'd with Treason—The minds of the People disturbed, excited and encouraged to revolt against the Governm<sup>t</sup> to subvert the Constitution, & trample on the Laws—that every falsehood that malice can invent is propagated as Truth to sow dissension and create animosities between Great Britain and the Colonies" concluding with an offer of such military assistance as the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> should think requisite in support of the Civil authority. The Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> immediately answered this letter, with his opinion that one Battalion would be requisite, with the Garrison of the Fort; but that he would immediately return to Town, and take the advice of the Council on the subject. The advice of the Council appears on the minutes of Council transmitted to M<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>ry</sup> Conway by the first Packet after the advice was given. Tho' this advice was contrary to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>s private Sentiments he thought it most prudent to submit the matter to the General. The Argument made use of by the Council that it would be more safe to shew confidence in the people than to discover a distrust of them by calling in any assistance to the civil Power in the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>s opinion goes too far as it discouraged every precaution The event has shewn that it was not well judged; for it is most probable

that had a Battalion of Regulars been brought to New York, all the Riot and Insults upon Government had been prevented. The acting with vigor seemed the more necessary, as the eyes of all the other Colonies were on New York where the King had a Fort allwise Garrison'd with Regular Troops—the General kept his head Quarters there and two Frigates and a sloop of War were in the Port

When the Lieut' Gov<sup>r</sup> came to Town he found the General had ordered Major James to carry in such artillery and military Stores, as he thought necessary for the Defence of the Fort, and two companys of Artillery having opportunely arrived at that time from England, they had likewise been ordered into the Fort to strengthen the Garrison. Major James is certainly a benevolent humane man, & has distinguished himself on several occasions in the late War, no objection could be made to him, but his daring to put the Kings Fort in a state of Defence against the Sover<sup>ty</sup> Lords the People, as they stiled themselves and for which offence the resolved to make him an example of their displeasure

Before these additional Defences were made and while the Garrison consisted of 44 privates and two subaltern officers The Fort could not have been defended against 100 resolute men, in which case the Governor must have submitted to every shamefull condition, which the insolence of the Leaders of the Mob should think fit to impose upon him ; They certainly had this in view while the Fort remained in its defenceless state : but after it was in that state of offence as well as defence in which the Engineers of the army put it after the first of November, the stile of the Leaders of the Mob was changed from threatning to deprecating and they only wanted some colour for desisting from their Designs, and save their credit with the deluded People—It became evident that the Fort could not be carried by assault, and that in the attempt the Town would be exposed to Decolation In the state the Fort then was it was the opinion of the Gentlemen of the army that one Regiment in the City would have been sufficient to have subdued the seditious spirit that then prevailed

The Authors of the sedition place their security in the number of Offenders and that no Jury in the Colonies will convict any of them. Were it possible that these men could succeed in their hope of Independancy on a British Parliament many judicious persons think (tho' they dare not declare what they think) we shall become a most unhappy people The obligation of Oaths daringly profaned and every Bond of Society dissolved The liberty and property of individuals will become subject to the avarice and ambition of wicked men who have art enough to keep the Colony in perpetual Factions, by deluding an ignorant Mob and the Colonies must become thereby useless to Great Britain

It may in the last place be proper to observe, that the authors of this Seditious Spirit in the Colonies have extended their views even to Great Britain, in hopes of raising a spirit of discontent among the Manufacturers there They publish in the Newspapers that the importation of British Manufactures are greatly decreased since the duties on the American Trade and that the Colonies are under a necessity of setting up the Manufactures which they otherwise would import from Great Britain The importation from Great Britain had surprizingly encreased during the War the lessening of them from what it was in that time is unavoidable—from the recalling or disbanding the greatest part of the Army but chiefly to the entire stop to the Trade with the French Colonies who were supplied from the British Colonies, while their Commerce with France was shut up

What has been published of the Manufactures lately set up, are absolute Falsehoods, and yet they are not ashamed to publish them where they are known to be such. All the wool in



America is not sufficient to make Stockens for the Inhabitants and the severe Winters in North America render the production of Wool, in great quantities impracticable

The Merchants in New York, and some other Places, have entered into an Agreement, not to import any goods from England the next year, unless the stamp act is repealed; this scheme is calculated solely to influence the People in England and should it be executed the people in America will pay an extravagant Price for old Moth eaten Goods, and such as the Merchants could not otherwise sell. The Merchants may likewise have views of getting Goods, in that case, from Holland and other Foreign Ports while the Mob can deterr the Custom House officers from attempting to do their Duty

In forming a Judgement of the subject of the above narrative, it may be impossible in many cases to procure what is called legal evidence, and at the same time numerous circumstances may give the strongest conviction of the Truth to the Mind

New York December 6<sup>th</sup> 1765

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*Secretary Conway to Lieutenant-Governor Colden.*

[New-York Papers, (State Paper Office,) CLVIII.]

Lieut. Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden

St. James' Dec<sup>ber</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1765

Sir.

I have received Your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of November by Major James,<sup>1</sup> & that of the 9<sup>th</sup> of the same month by the packet, with the minutes of the Council of New York from the 31<sup>st</sup> Oct<sup>ber</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>ber</sup> all which I immediately laid before the King. His Majesty was extremely sensible of the delicacy & difficulty of your situation, & very willing to make every possible allowance, & to suppose it owing more to necessity than want of Firmness in you, that the

<sup>1</sup> THOMAS JAMES became a captain in the Royal Artillery on the 1st of March, 1755, and a major in the same corps on the 23d October, 1761. He was brought, with his men, from Crown Point to aid the authorities in enforcing the Stamp Act. When his residence was attacked by the rioters on the 1st November, 1765, he occupied the house called the Ranelagh, which had extensive gardens attached to it and, previous to its occupation by the Major, had been the resort of the Citizens, having been a public place for entertainment. *Dunlap's History of New-York*, I, 423. The Ranelagh, called the Vauxhall Gardens in a map of New-York of 1767, was situated on the bank of the river, on the block now formed by Warren and Chambers, and the continuation of West Broadway and Greenwich streets. Though Mr. Colden acquits Major James of every imprudence, and bears testimony to his humane and benevolent character, yet in a letter to Mr. Grenville in 1768, he holds a singularly different language, and says: "He carried into the Fort without my knowledge, while I was in the country, several howitzers with their shells, and other artillery, ammunition and stores. This gave the first uneasiness to the people" "and some imprudent discourse he used at that time raised their resentment more against him than any man in the Province, so far that he did not think it safe to continue in it," and went to England. "After his return to this place," continues Mr. Colden, he "told me, in a private conversation between ourselves, that he had 400 guineas given him in England; that he had a paper of directions how to answer in his examination before the House of Commons," on the investigation respecting the consequences of the Stamp Act. He ingratiated himself by this means, with the Assembly. Mr. Colden insinuates, *Grenville Papers*, IV., 386, 387, so that in December, 1766, they voted him the sum of £1745.15.2½ *Sterling*, "in full compensation for his losses sustained on the 1st November, 1765." *Parker & Gaines' Laws of New-York*, 448. Mr. James was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel 1st January, 1771; Colonel in the army 19 February, 1779, and Colonel Commandant of the Artillery 6 July, 1780. *Army Lists*. He died, it is supposed, in 1781, as his name disappears from the List of 1782.—ED.



unjustifiable Demands of the People met with so much compliance; the unanimous advice of the Council & the concurrent opinion of the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces is a stronger justification of your surrendering the stamps to the Magistrates than any argument which suggests itself at this distance. There is one circumstance in your conduct which neither his Majesty nor his servants can at all approve which is that you should upon any perswasion have been induced to a Declaration & Promise of taking no step till S<sup>r</sup> Henry Moore should arrive. It is not comprehended upon what principle you could take upon you thus to suspend the Power of Government, till the arrival of the Governor; The Power and Authority of Government was certainly fully and compleatly in your hands; if circumstances made it impossible for you to execute Your powers in any Instance, Impossibilities are not expected from any man & such circumstances would have excused Your not having done anything; but I do not see how you can justify Your promise of not doing anything, till Sir H. Moore arrived, whenever that happened your authority ceased & you cou'd do nothing; so that in fact you engag'd that you Yourself would never Act; which it is conceived, without instructions from his Majesty you had no right to do; and considering too that in the Council of the 31<sup>st</sup> Oct<sup>ber</sup> You had solemnly engaged to do Your utmost for the observation of the Act, it will require very strong reasons indeed to justify Your engaging Yourself, within a few days after, to do nothing towards the execution of that same Act, when a change of circumstances might render it practicable.

From Your last letter I have hopes that Time will produce a Recollection which may lead these unhappy people back to a sense of their duty, & that in the mean time every proper & practicable measure will be taken, to awe that licentious spirit which has hurried them to these Acts of Outrage & violence, equally dangerous to the sober & well disposed part of the People, the ease and quiet of the City, & subversive of all order and authority among them.

Sir Henry Moore will be certainly arrived before this reaches you. It is expected therefore, Sir, from Your knowledge of the Country & people, that you should inform the new Governor of every thing necessary for his knowledge, as well respecting the state of the things, as the characters and dispositions of men in that Country; and in regard to what you particularly mention of those employed in the principal offices of the Law, he will see that by his Instructions, he is empowered to suspend Members of the Council, & Officers of the Law, who shall appear to deserve it, being in that case only obliged to send home immediately the reasons and causes of such suspension; It is not improbable that such times as these may require the exercise of that power; As it is not doubted the Governor will use it with discretion, so it is expected he should not want Firmness to use it boldly, wherever it may seem useful to the King's service & the publick peace.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

H. S. CONWAY.

*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX. ]

New York 21<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1765

Sir

In my letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> I had the honor to inform you of the Situation I found the Province on my arrival here, and of the Steps I had been compelled to take in consequence of the commotions which had been raised. As it was not in my power to employ open force, I had no other remedy left but to let the People be sensible of the inconveniencies which of course would attend the suspension they so much desired of the Stamp Act, and they begin already to be very severely felt, for all kind of business has stood still since that time. I have absolutely refused the holding of any Courts of Administration or Chancery which together with the Courts of Common Law are now shut up, and as no vessel will be suffered to go out of the Harbour all their Commerce here must be inevitably ruined if they persevere in their obstinacy much longer. These circumstances induce me to think that the face of Affairs will change very soon, and I hope in my next letter to give a more favourable account of our proceedings than I have hitherto been able to do altho' we are very far from being in a state of Tranquillity at present. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient

and humble Servant

R<sup>t</sup> H<sup>on</sup>ble

Henry Seymour Conway.

H MOORE

*Governor Moore to the Earl of Dartmouth.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 5. ]

New York. 21 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1765

My Lord,

I was extreamly concerned that the first letter, which I had the honour of writing to your Lord<sup>p</sup> from this part of the world (a duplicate of which is here enclosed) should be upon so disagreeable a subject as that of a popular commotion. Matters have now been carried to such a length, that it was hardly to be imagined where these disorders would end, and the whole Province is now smarting very severely for the late rash proceedings in regard to the Stamp Act; your Lord<sup>p</sup> may very well imagine this, upon being informed, that all our Courts are shut up, and that no Vessel is permitted to go out of the harbour, so that it is morally impossible, that the people here can subsist any time under such inconveniencies, as they have brought on themselves. As I had not the power to do, what my own inclination suggested on this occasion, I contented myself with shewing as much indifference as possible, being fully perswaded, that the distresses which must attend the suspension of the Act will facilitate the carrying it into execution, more than any attempts I could possibly make in its favour,

notwithstanding the tumultuous meetings and other disorders which still prevail, and of which we have very great examples. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect.

My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s most obedient & humble serv<sup>t</sup>

H. MOORE.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 57. ]

New York 13 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1766.

My Lords.

The inclosed Minutes of the proceedings of the Assembly of this Province, wherein, I am accused of endeavouring *to give success to that dangerous machinations* (appeals to the King in his privy Council) *destructive of the peace and security of the subject* etc. I flatter myself will excuse the trouble, which on this occasion I think myself obliged to give you.

This matter complained of, and which gave rise to the present resolves of the Assembly, came judicially before me in a court of Justice which would not be held but in my presence. I gave my opinion to the best of my judgement, without controuling the opinion of Judgment of the other members. I may have erred very innocently—the most malicious have not suggested that I was biassed by interest or favour. The King's order in his privy Council of the 26<sup>th</sup> of July last, directing an appeal to be admitted from the verdict and Judgment to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council, and from thence to the King in his Privy Council, confirms my opinion so much, that I expected it would have put an end to all disputes, but on the contrary, this very order has excited the resentment against me.

The King's Instructions, the Rule of my conduct, clearly directed an appeal on the whole merits of the case. In obedience to that Instruction, I did support the Jurisdiction of the Court to the whole merits, I was confirmed in my Judgment by considering that his Majesty's Rights and authority are only secured by his Courts of Justice, and if this should depend absolutely and finally upon his Courts in the Colonies, his Rights and authority might become very precarious. At the same time I perceived that appeals would be of the greatest security to the people of this Province, against an overbearing faction, then too plainly to be discovered in the Courts of Justice.

That such an overbearing Faction does really exist, is evident to every Man conversant in our Courts of Justice. The opposition to appeals in the manner it has been made, could not otherwise have happened. The Harrangues of the Judges—the indecent manner of proceeding in the Council, while the right of Appealing was in debate—these resolves of the Assembly, Dictatorially without any judicial authority, suddenly made without time for deliberation, on facts, unfairly and untruly stated in the Preamble, all of them combine to prove the existence of a dangerous Faction.

I informed your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s in a former letter, of the influence, which the Lawyers had obtained in the Assembly—these Resolves are a consequence of it. The People in general are very sencible of the dangerous Association and influence of the Gentlemen of the Law. Tho' every attempt was made, by publications continued for several Months in the weekly papers,



to render my person odious, by every insinuation their malice could invent, it proved ineffectual with the People. After the violent spirit was raised in the people ag<sup>t</sup> the stamp duties, a wicked intention was formed of turning the Rage of the Mob against my person, but it failed, and I now think myself very safe in my Country house.

How daring the Faction is, appears further in that vile insinuation couched under the Resolves of the Assembly, to the prejudice of the Lords of the Committee of appeals, that people may think the Prov<sup>ce</sup> would be ruined, by appeals to the King in Privy Council—such means are only made use of by bad Men for bad purposes.

The proceedings of the Assembly must have great influence on the minds of the People—they may render every order of the King, and every officer who endeavours to execute them, odious. The particular injury done to me by such a public exertion of keen malice, permit me to hope, My Lords, will entitle me to your protection and justification.

I am with the highest respect and humble submission—My Lords

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> and faithful serv<sup>t</sup>

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (State Paper Office), CLIX. ]

New York Jan<sup>y</sup> 14. 1766

Sir

The Design of the present ruling Faction in this Province is to make me an example, to deter all succeeding Gov<sup>rs</sup> and the Officers of the Crown from opposing their Domination. I have already informed you Sir, that this Faction is composed of the Lawyers, & men of enormous Landed Estates who have obtained an absolute influence in the Assembly. In the last act for granting Sallaries to the Officers of Government, the Assembly have deprived me of my Sallary from the time the preceding Act expired to the time Sir Henry Moore arrived, which at the rate the Governors Sallary is fixed by the last Act amounts to four hundred pounds in the Currency of this Province. At the same time that they granted the Governor his Salary they voted him a present of upwards of Six hundred pounds, and if I be truly informed gave him expectation of their liberal favours—Sir Charles Hardy and General Monkton both very well know that the whole Salary and emoluments arising from the Government of this Province was far from being sufficient to support them with that Dignity in which a Governor ought to live—much less will one half of them do it, which is all that I have enjoyed; the other half going to M<sup>r</sup> Monkton. During the time for which the Assembly have allowed me no sallary I lived at an expence exceeding the whole income of the Government occasioned by a double Garrison, and all the officers of the army in the Place doing duty in the Fort. In the night of the first of November the Mob broke open my Coach House, took out my Chariot and other Carriages with all the furniture of my Stables and burnt them. I had just reason to expect an indemnification for this loss, but so far from it tho' this Felony was committed in the sight of great numbers of the Inhabitants of the Town, not the least inquiry has been made into it in order to bring the guilty to Justice. Neither has any notice been taken by the Assembly of the great Loss Major James suffered at the same time.

No part of my administration is blamed except my obedience to the Kings Instructions for admitting appeals, and my endeavour to put the Act of Parliament in Execution for Stamp Duties in the Colonies. Allow me Sir, through your Mediation to lay my sufferings before His M<sup>ty</sup> in order to obtain such releif as His Majestys shall think proper

The Difficulties I have met with on account of Appeals and the Stamp Duties were quite unforeseen, and the manner in which I have been opposed still more unexpected, I was determined to do my duty tho' I was sensible of the Resentment from a most audacious & malicious Faction. It is from the confidence of having acted according to my duty and the best of my ability, that now in my old age I beg His Majestys Protection

Only one month is wanting to me to have lived 78 years compleat: above forty years of that time in the Council of this Province, in which I have on all occasions acted on the same Principles. I can not live many years longer while I was in the administration I endeavoured to preserve the dignity of my office. May it not be of public use, and for the honor of His Majestys Service, that I be enabled to live with some more dignity than I can upon my private Fortune with a numerous family of Children, especially in a Country where such attempts are made to debase Government. His Matys Quitt Rents in this Province, if no other Fund be thought proper, will allow a Salary or Pension for this purpose, without prejudice to any prior establishment

I humbly pray Sir, that you'll please to let me know His Majestys Pleasure in regard to this my request, which is made with the utmost submission by

Sir

Your most obedient &

faithfull Servant

Rt Honorable

Henry Seymour Conway.

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.), CLIX. ]

New York 16 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1766.

Sir

The day before I had the honor of your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> October, a vessel arrived here from England having on board some stamp'd Papers for this Province and Connecticut, which in the following night were forcibly taken out of the ship and destroyed this Proceeding so contrary to what I had reason to expect from the assurances which had so lately been given to me could not fail of being extreemly alarming and at the same time that the Council was convened on this account I took the opportunity of laying your letter before them. I have here inclosed the minute of that day which at once will shew our true situation, and how little I am to expect from an assistance which is given under terrors of the Consequences they seem to apprehend; and whatever good order may be kept up hereafter in this City must be owing to the greatest vigilance, but I am fully persuaded that the public tranquillity will subsist no longer than whilst I am guilty of a Breach of my Duty in the suspension of the Stamp Act which I have not yet been able to carry into execution, notwithstanding all the efforts which

have been made to enforce it. I have by every mild measure endeavoured to bring the people to a sense of their duty & have represented to them the risque of forfeiting the Charter of their city on which they set so great a value, together with the Calamities in which the whole Province must be involved in case of their disobedience and as not only the City but the Province is ready to acknowledge the Moderation I have hitherto shewn, nothing shall be wanting on my part to improve every opportunity which can offer of promoting His Majestys Service & representing to the Inhabitants the true Interest of their Country. In my former letters I have had the honor of informing you that all business was at a stand, and that no courts would be opened as long as this obstruction to the Acts of Parliament was made, but as the time now draws nigh for holding the Court of Common Pleas, some of the Judges have been wavering in their opinions and whether it proceeded from Fear or any other motive had determined to open the Court & do business in the usual way without taking any notice of the Stamp Act; They had gone so far as to draw up a kind of Memorial which they intended to present to me and request that it may be entered on the Council Minutes, as if so wretched an expedient could be any justification for their disobedience to an Act of Parliament; Upon my seeing a rough Draught of it, I immediately acquainted the Cheif Justice that a Proceeding of this kind must inevitably draw on them His Majesty's Displeasure, and that they might after having acted in open violation of the Laws, expect to be displaced not only from their Seats on the Bench, but from the Council also, two of them being Members of that Board, I therefore cautioned them of the distress they would not only bring upon themselves but on all those concerned in carrying on the business of the Court, and I flatter myself that what I said on that occasion will have the desired effect; there is at least an appearance of it at present, and I hope that a little consideration will make them sensible of their duty to His Majesty in so critical a point, and that a due regard to the Stations they are in here will induce them to set a better example to their country. I have not yet made any application either to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage or Lord Colville<sup>1</sup> for any Military assistance & nothing but a case of extreem necessity will force me into such a measure, as it must be attended with so very disagreeable consequences; From the conversations I have occasionally had with the General on this Head, I am convinced that he will give me every support in his Power on my demanding it, but His Majestys Troops are so dispersed over this vast Country, that no great body of them can possibly be collected in the short space of time they may be wanted—I have the honor to be with the  
Greatest Respect

Sir

Your most obedient &  
most humble Servant  
H MOORE

Rt Hônble  
Henry Seymour Conway

<sup>1</sup> DAVID LORD COLVILLE, who was probably Aid-de-camp, at this time, to General Gage, was a Captain in the 51st Regiment. He was appointed a Major in the same corps in 1778, and left the army or died, in 1782. *Army Lists*. Though Debrett gives some account of the family, which belonged to the Scotch Peerage, yet he makes no mention of this Lord. *Peerage*, ed. 1828.



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Dartmouth.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 7. ]

New York. 16. January 1766.

My Lord,

I am extremely sorry to find myself so disappointed in the flattering expectations I had formed of the affairs in this Country, and that after the assurances I had received here, so flagrant an insult on Govern<sup>t</sup> should be committed, as that of entering forcibly into a ship just arrived from England, and taking from on Board the stamped papers belonging to the Crown, and destroying them. By the Minute of Council here inclosed your Lord<sup>p</sup> will see our true situation, and that the disorders have become so general that the magistracy are affraid of exerting the powers they have vested with, and dread nothing so much as being called upon in these troublesome times for their assistance. The whole Country is in the same situation it was when I had the honor of writing to your Lord<sup>p</sup> last, and though every individual suffers greatly by the total stop put to all kinds of business, such is the general combination, that the execution of the Stamp Act still continues suspended, in spite of any efforts I can make to enforce it. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect

My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'smost obedient & humble serv<sup>t</sup>

H MOORE.

*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 14. ]

New York. 16. January 1766.

My Lords,

I had the honour of receiving by this packet a letter from your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s directing me to make out a Map of the Country wh<sup>ch</sup> had been lately taken out of New Hampshire and annexed to this Prov<sup>ce</sup>. Soon after my arrival here on finding that a great number of Petitions had been lodged in the office, and that many others were daily coming in for grants of those lands, in order to avoid a confusion, that would of course ensue in the making out those grants, without having a proper draught of that part of the Country, I directed the Surveyor Gen<sup>l</sup> to furnish me with all the materials in his power, and have been collecting from other quarters, all the intelligence I could get of the true situation of that part of the Country; this shall be compleated with all diligence and transmitted to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s together with the grants which already have been made by my predecessor in the Govern<sup>t</sup> here, for nothing as yet has been done by me in answer to the petitions delivered in, as the present disturbances in these parts have put a total stop to all business, for my orders, to the surveyors must be on stamped paper, and as the people here are not willing to take them as directed by Law, I have refused to issue them in any other shape. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lords.

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s most obedient

and humble servant.

H: MOORE

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, 25. ]

Johnson Hall Jan<sup>r</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> 1766.

My Lords

My last letters were of the 16<sup>th</sup> & 22<sup>d</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> last, which I hope your Lordships have received, since when I have received the agreeable news of our being in actual possession of the *Illinois*, the Indians in consequence of their engagements to M<sup>r</sup> Croghan having given no obstruction to Cap<sup>t</sup> Sterling or his party who arrived at *Fort Chartres* in October last and were well received.

As the possession of this fine Country has been earnestly desired, & often in vain attempted since the reduction of Canada, & now proceeds from the late negotiations of my Deputy with the Indians in that Quarter, it may not be amiss to offer my thoughts on the best manner for preserving so valuable an acquisition, and render it of real use to the Crown. It will be needless to enlarge upon the natural advantages of soil & scituation which this Country peculiarly enjoys, these being matters pretty well known, but to avail ourselves of these advantages, it is highly necessary that we should do all in our power to keep the Indians contented easy & reconciled to our manners and government, without which we can neither keep open the communication or retain it for any time, and the difficulties and obstructions which have hitherto prevented our possessing it, by way of *Mississippi* are a convincing proof of this neither is it in our power with any force to be spared for that service to ascend that River, or cross the Country by Land to that settlement, if the Indians are at all disposed to obstruct their progress.—The peaceable possession thereof will greatly promote our security at & about the Lakes, and the Satisfaction of the Western Nations will prove a security to *it*, the necessity for which becomes requisite since our acquisition of the *Illinois*.—The French in that Quarter cannot be well pleased at our arrival, having long engrossed all the Trade, & both their Interest & Inclination will doubtless induce them to increase the Indians jealousy & foment quarrels, during which they will have all the traffic to themselves, & likewise share in the plunder of our Traders, & these Indians, with whom the French were obliged to live on good terms, & who well know their own power & importance will expect due notice & attention, otherwise we can neither keep that country, or reap any advantage from it. The appointment therefore of an able & experienced Commissary, or some such Officer to inspect into, & transact Indian affairs there, is become immediately necessary, & I have recommended it to the General's consideration as it might be too late before I received your Lordships orders thereon.

The same reasons require the like appointments at the other Posts, and the Season is now approaching when they should be actually on the spot, for there is the utmost reason to apprehend that the want of proper management & attention to Indian Affairs at our first taking possession may occasion an enmity not to be easily removed, and which will be considerably augmented as well by the Artifices of the French at the *Illinois* &c<sup>a</sup> as by those on the West side of *Mississippi*, where they are now establishing themselves.—The French always allowed them Smiths & kept an Interpreter for each Language, & the present terms we are upon with the Indians, the bad character they have had of us, & their strong jealousy of our designs will require our doing the same, at least for some time, & will require the utmost exertion of

our abilities & address to conquer, so that the Man appointed to reside at the *Illinois* must be a person of parts, well versed in Indian Affairs and acquainted with the nature of their Commerce.—I have for some time made choice of the best persons for these Offices at all the Posts, & therefore no time can be lost after I may receive orders to appoint them.—In the mean time I purpose to invite *Pondiac* & the Cheifs in that Quarter to meet me next Spring at *Oswego* where I hope to put matters on such a footing as will give strength to our late Treatys, the duration of which must nevertheless depend on a regular Establishment of proper Persons at all places necessary, with a proper fund for the other expences of the Department w<sup>h</sup> I flatter myself experience will shew to be well applied, as it will prove a saving in many other articles, secure our frontiers, and extend our Commerce on more reasonable terms, and with much more solid advantages than any other System which I can suggest.—For these reasons I should be greatly wanting in my Duty if I neglected recommending it in the strongest terms to your Lordships as an object of the highest Importance requiring an imediate attention, & without w<sup>h</sup> nothing permanent or advantagious can be expected, & I hope y<sup>r</sup> Lordships are sensible that under my present circumstances & restrictions I can hardly be supposed answerable for mistakes or disorders arising from the want of that Establishment first proposed by your Honourable Board.

The Settlements at the *Illinois* extend for many miles above the *Kaskuske* River along the *Mississipi*, the Land is extremely fine & capable of raising any thing, some of the present Inhabitants may possibly incline to go home, and our Traders will I dare say chuse to purchase their rights, this may be a foundation for a Valuable Colony in that Country, which once established would prove verry beneficial to Great Brittain, as well as a great check to the designs of those who inhabit the other side of the River, this may be effected in time, & large cessions obtained of the Natives, but to effect this, & everry other purpose, their jealousies & dislike must be conquered, & they must be convinced by a series of good management and occasional generosity that their suspicions are groundless.

The forming a Boundary between us & the Indians Intended by the Plan will be of great consequence for the future preventing of Disputes about Land. The Traders who suffered during the War have desired my Interest for a Tract of Land which the Indians have agreed to, and therefore whenever it is settled I have no doubt your Lordships will think them entitled to that restitution. Concerning these & the other affairs of y<sup>e</sup> Department I doubt not your Lordships will give me your Orders and I shall esteem it as a high obligation if at the same time I may have the honour of your Lordships sentiments concerning my Indian Deed for Lands at *Conajohare*, a survey of which, was some time ago sent from the Surveyor General's office at New York, I have expended much upon it, & as it is the first application I ever made of y<sup>e</sup> nature & that I have not a foot of any Lands but what I formerly purchased from the White Inhabitants, I am induced to hope your Lordships will think me justly intitled to a grant for it, seeing it is the unanimous Desire & Intent of a whole Nation, unsolicitted by me, & on which I would verry soon settle a large number of poor people, as I have done during the War on the Estate I now live on.

The Disorders occasioned by our Riotous People here, it is not my business to enlarge upon, the Indians have heard of it, & desired to know the cause, I have given them an



answer with the utmost caution, well knowing their Dispositions, & that they might incline to Interest themselves in the affair, or fall upon the Inhabitants in revenge for old frauds which they cannot easily forget.

I beg your Lordships may  
be persuaded of the  
profound respect  
with which I am  
My Lords

your Lordships most Obedient

The R<sup>t</sup> Honble. the  
Lords of Trade.

& most devoted humble Servant  
WM. JOHNSON.

*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[New-York Papers, (State Paper Office), CLIX., 51.]

New York Feb 20<sup>th</sup> 1766

Sir

In my Letter of the 16 Jan<sup>ry</sup> I had the honor of informing you of some outrages which had been committed here, a Copy of which is transmitted by this opportunity. As the Members of His Majestys Council before whom these Proceedings were laid seem still apprehensive of acting in such manner as may put an end to these disorders, I have since the writing of that Letter been under a necessity of making a private Application to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage for some military Assistance (our present Force here not exceeding 160 men) which I should have done before, if I had not been fully persuaded that the moderate measures I was then pursuing would have had the desired effect, and I am extreemly concerned to find that nothing at present but a superior Force will bring the people to a sense of their Duty. As none of his Majestys Troops can begin their march in this inclement Season of the year, an earlier application for them would not have brought them down a day sooner, and nothing shall be omitted in my Power to enforce a due obedience to Government which the want of a sufficient Military assistance has made me incapable of attempting hitherto

M<sup>r</sup> Colden has this day favored me with a Copy of your letter of the 15 December in which it is mentioned "that it is expected from his knowledge of the Country & People he should inform me of every thing necessary for my knowledge, respecting as well the state of things, as the characters and disposition of Men in this Country." Had M<sup>r</sup> Colden thought fit to have done this on my arrival here I might have had an opportunity of serving His Majesty more effectually than I have done, but on my application to him before he quitted the House desiring that I might see his correspondence with the Secretary of States office, as well as with the Board of Trade he was pleased to decline both, but told me he would give me some extracts from his Letters which I have never had, for a few days after my arrival he went into the Country and I have never seen him since. By this you will see Sir, that I am left entirely to myself without the least personal knowledge of a single member of the Council or any other

person in office and without a possibility of getting a proper information of things as they then were, for as the whole city had rose up as one man, in opposition to the stamp act, I must have taken characters and opinions either from the Rioters themselves or from those who appeared to me to be their abettors tho' they did not dare to own it, I likewise find by your letter, as well as by that which I received this day from Mr Colden that some complaints had been made against the Judges; what the nature of those complaints are I am yet to learn and can not help thinking it very strange that if they had misbehaved, no caution should be given me concerning them, but that I should be left at this critical time to find out by their conduct whether they deserved the Posts His Majesty had been pleased to confer on them or not, In my last letter I mentioned my apprehension of their intention to deviate from their duty, in holding a Court for Civil Causes without taking any notice of the Stamp Act, but what I then said to the Chief Justice had the proper effect on him as well as on his bretheren, and nothing of the kind was attempted. Our situation is much the same as when I had the honor of writing to you last; our distresses indeed seem to increase, and can be equall'd by nothing but the obstinacy shewed on this occasion. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient &

Rt Honorable

Henry Seymour Conway.

most humble Servant

H MOORE

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O.), CLIX., No. 51.]

New York Feb 21<sup>st</sup> 1766

Sir

I have the honor of your Commands of the 15<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> I am extreemly sensible of His Majestys great indulgence to my conduct, under greater difficulties, than any Governor ever met with since I knew America. I was the least apprehensive of blame in that circumstance of my conduct which has been chiefly blamed. It often happens that when the reasons of Conduct are most evident and clear, we are apt to suppose them alike evident every where and therefore neglect to be sufficiently explicit

At the time the Mob demanded the Declaration from me that I would not distribute the Stamp'd Papers, they knew that no man would distribute them, and that no Man dared to receive a Stamped Paper, and therefore the Council thought I could be under no difficulty in saying I would not do what it was not in my power to do We had certain advice that Sir Henry Moore had been above eight weeks at Sea and his arrival might be expected every hour. I should therefore have been esteemed extreemly obstinate had I refused to quiet a dangerous Mob, at that time collected in the Streets on so easy Terms as not to issue the Stamps before Sir Henry Moore arrived and whatever consequences had followed I should have been loaded with the dangerous reproach of having occasioned it by persisting to act solely on my own opinion. My promise was founded on the supposition of the arrival of Sir Henry Moore in a

very short time. If any accident had happened to prevent his arrival on that supposition ceasing, the obligation of the Promise ceased, and I beleive no man would have thought me perpetually bound by it

It is true that this demand of a promise from me, was designed as an Insult on Government, for every man knew that I could not distribute the Stamps; and perhaps I had stronger reasons for submitting to that insult than any other Governor has had. No man in the administrat<sup>n</sup> would support me, and a Governors authority must be weak when it is expected to be at an end next day. On the contrary I was informed that some of the Council called me an obstinate old man in opposing the violent spirit of the people as I had done, and that such an opinion was every where propagated in Town. My whole fortune was exposed to the Mob, and they openly threatened to destroy every thing I had both in Town and Country. My eldest son who lives in Town, was obliged to bring all his Household Goods & effects into the Fort, came into it himself for security of his Person and sent his wife and children on board the Coventry for their protection, tho' he had done nothing to incur the displeasure of the People. The Fort was not then in a sufficient state of defence. No Breast Work on the Ramparts to cover the men from small arms, and the council refused their advice to countenance the putting it [in] a proper state of Defence. It was after this that the Breastworks were formed by the hard labour of the whole of the Garrison and the necessary precautions taken against setting the buildings on fire from without. It is true I had sufficient Force to disperse the Mob, but when neither the Council would advise nor the Magistrates ask assistance to do it, I must have done it on my single authority: the doing of it might have been fatal to many innocent people, and I did not think it prudent to risque the dangerous consequences which might have ensued

Sir Henry Moore has done every thing in his power to sooth and quiet the minds of the people, and yet since his arrival the insults on Government have been frequently and daringly repeated of which no doubt he will particularly inform you. A Governor in cheif just entered on his office when every one endeavors to gain his favor, must have more influence than a Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor at the time his authority is expiring. I am now in the Country, and can not go to town in this cold Season without evident danger of my health at my age. I have sent the Governor a Copy of your Letter to me which I make no doubt will encourage him in his firmness

After the most serious reflection I can make I can not imagine, that the Men who have excited this violent seditious spirit in the People, some of them men of large property, had formed any resolution to revolt—their design I beleive was only to intimidate the Parliament into a repeal of the Stamp Act. Some of them in conversation have mentioned this to me, and gave instances of several Laws which had been repealed to quiet the minds of the people, after they had discovered their utmost dislike by Riots & Tumults. When in answer to this I told them, that in the present case this would be renouncing the Sovereignty of Parliament over the Colonies they did not seem to attend to it, because probably they do not dislike it. It is now a question whether the Men who excited this seditious spirit in the People have it in their power to suppress it

The Seditious Spirit has not extended greatly into the Country. The City of Albany remained quiet, till after their members returned from the Assembly Then the excited most unaccountable riots in that place of which Sir Henry will inform you. From the effects in the Colonies it is become evident, that the means of produceing of them, were concerted in the General Congress at New York in October last.



I am of opinion Sir, with entire submission to better judges, that no great Force will be requisite to reduce the City of New York to obedience. After the Fort shall be restored to the state it was in when I left it, I beleive a thousand men may be sufficient. However it will be best to have such a Force as may destroy all hopes of Resistance. After such Force arrives, I am humbly of opinion, if Proclamation be made that all riotous assemblies, or open disobedience of the Laws shall be treated as Rebellion, the People will submitt without opposition and the whole Province will follow the example of the City

Now Sir, I write my opinion more freely than I did when the administration was in my hands, my thoughts were then continually interrupted by unexpected and striking events. I have had now time to reflect more coolly and Sir Henry Moore has had time to inform himself, and to correct where I may have erred. He may likewise have received Lights which I have not; and therefore I think that I may more freely give my opinion, without danger of leading into mistakes. Be assured Sir that it is done with the utmost submission, and diffidence of my own abilities in matters of so great importance. His Majestys approbation of me as a faithfull Servant, tho I may have err'd in some things will make me extreemly happy in my old age at the close of my labors, for I have strenuously endeavoured to perform my duty

May I obtain some share of your Esteem with the honor of being with the greatest Respect  
Sir

your most obedient &

faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

P S

Since I wrote what is above the enclosed Newspaper came to my hands and as it contains Sentiments of the opposition like to be made contradictory to mine, I am willing you should see in several instances it confirms what I wrote in my former Letters that the Lawyers were the original writers of the inflammatory Papers. This Printer has continually published the most pompous accounts of the Riots and insults on Government. A most numerous Riot with shamefull Insults on Governm<sup>t</sup> appeared last week, He has thought fit to give a very concise account of it.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O.), CLIX., No. 51. ]

New York Feb 22<sup>d</sup> 1766

Sir

After I had wrote my preceeding letter I received a letter from my son who lives in Town, whom I had directed to deliver my letter, with a Copy of yours as mentioned in my preceeding from his own hands to the Governor. Sir Henry asked my Son whether he knew the Contents; he did not. After reading both letters to him Sir Henry said this is the first scrip of Paper he had received from the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor, that he had desired a copy of his letters to the Ministry, but that the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor had declined it, and had only offered abstracts of them — He supposed the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor had been warm when he wrote. — This obliges me Sir to give you the trouble of some particulars which I did not intend. The day on which Sir

Henry arrived, the Assembly was to have met in order to enter into some discourse with him on the state of the Province I shewed him the Speech I had intended to have made at the opening of the Sessions he read it and returned it to me without speaking one word on the subject. Some time afterwards without any previous discourse he desired to have Copies of my letters to the Ministry The abruptness of the demand surprised me and after reflecting on some persons I had seen assiduous with him. I declined to give copies but offered him abstracts After that I had no opportunity of free conversation; and he shew'd such apparent neglect, both in Council and at other times. as could not but shagreen a person who had immediately preceeded him in the cheif command: and having ordered the Fort to be dismantled, without consulting me I thought it proper for me to retire to the Country. I waited on him told him that the fatigue I had lately undergone both in body and mind, made it proper for me to desire some ease, and therefore if he had no farther commands, I was desirous to retire to my house in the country which was about 15 miles from Town. My retiring seemed very agreeable to him and I took my leave. I know that his neglect of me might be of personal use to him with the Assembly, and I was willing he should take the benefit of it without in the least opposing any of his measures

I flatter myself you will excuse this trouble, which I would have avoided if I had not thought that justice to myself made it requisite

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

your most obedient &

faithfull Servant

Right Hônble

Henry S. Conway

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundie Qq., No. 15. ]

New York. 22 Febr<sup>y</sup> 1766.

My Lords,

By this Packet, I had the honor of your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of November inclosing the representation from your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s to his Maj<sup>ty</sup> on the alteration in my instructions, as likewise the Attorney and Solicitor General's Report to the Lords of Council. As the minds of the people were greatly disquieted by the attempt made of not confining the appeal to cases of Error only, I apprehend it laid the foundation in a great measure of many of the succeeding disorders here; but as the satisfaction is now so general on hearing your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s determination, I hope to avail myself of it, and bring back to a right sence of their duty those who seemed almost to have forgot it, by the extraordinary steps lately taken. The cause which gave rise to the appeal was intirely finished before my arrival and the money paid; By this opportunity copies of the Acts passed in the last session of Assembly together with journals of the Council and Assembly, are Transmitted to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s; the only matter of a new nature among the Acts is that: "for vesting the property of the Stone wall on the north side of the City of

"Albany in the Corporation of the said City for the uses therein mentioned." This wall was built at the time of the first settlement there, and was intended as a kind of Defence against the Ind<sup>ns</sup>, but upon the increase of the Inhabitants, the City was so much enlarged as to extend a great way beyond it, by which means it became useless, and was never repaired, and as great part of it was moulder'd away, the materials were granted by this Act to Inhabitants for building a Quay on Hudsons River. As the Assembly met immediately on my arrival, it might be expected that in my speech to them I should have taken notice of the disorder in which I found the Province, but the Council desired that no mention might be made of it, and that the Session might be opened without any animadversions on what had passed till the ferment which then prevailed had subsided, and this will explain to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> the reason of my silence on that head. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lords,

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> most obedient

and humble servant

H MOORE.

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*Report of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals on Appeals in New-York.*

[ New-York Council Minutes, XXIX., 106. ]

To the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of the Council for Plantation Affairs.

In humble Obedience to Your Lordships Commands signified by Your Order of the 3<sup>d</sup> of October last, which Recites, That His Majesty having been pleased by His Order in Council of the 2<sup>d</sup> Instant to refer unto this Committee a Representation from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations, together with a Draught of General Instructions, and also of those relative to the Acts of Trade and Navigation, prepared by them for Sir Henry Moore, Barn<sup>t</sup>; whom His Majesty has been lately pleased to appoint Governor of New York; Your Lordships had on the 3<sup>d</sup> of October taken the same into Consideration, and observing that the said Lords Commissioners have altered that Article of the General Instructions, relative to the Governor's admitting Appeals, from that which was given to the late Governors; You were pleased to Order, that the said Representation, together with the said Articles of the late and present Governor's Instructions, relative to Appeals (Copies whereof were annexed) be referred to us to Consider, and Report our Opinion thereupon to this Committee

We have taken the said papers into our Consideration, and beg leave to Observe to your Lordships, (upon enquiry) that we find, an Order has been pronounced by His Majesty, founded on the Report of Your Lordships upon the 26<sup>th</sup> July last, in the very Cause, in which the Contest arose between the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of New York and his Council, referred to by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; By that Order, Your Lordships have directed the Appellant to be admitted to bring his Appeal from the Verdict and Judgment of the Supreme Court in the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Province, with Liberty for either Party to Appeal afterwards to His Majesty in Council—This *Order* will give both Parties an Opportunity of being heard both in the *first* and *second* Instance of



Appeal, in Case they shall think proper; And on this Account (if no other Reason existed) we are humbly of Opinion, that it may be improper to make the Alteration proposed, lest it may prejudice the Question now depending as an Authoritative Interpretation of the former Instructions issued from the Year 1753, down to the present Time.

But we presume to say further to Your Lordships, that we are of Opinion the Alteration made in the Instructions to the Governor of New York in 1753, did not vary the Sense of them as they stood before that Time—The Words *in Cases of Error only* appear to us to have been struck out of those Instructions, as Superfluous and improper. For how, or in what Cases, can an Appeal lie, but *in Cases of Error only*? that is, Error in Law, upon the Record of a Judgment given in a Court of Common Law, (where according to the Course of proceeding in England, the Evidence of the Facts, on which the Jury give their Verdict does not appear;) and Error both in Law and Fact upon the Face of an interlocutory or decretal Order of a Court of Equity, (where the Evidence is written, and the Court judges upon both) The Expression in the 37<sup>th</sup> Article of the Instructions to the Governor in 1753 *of permitting Appeals from any of the Courts of Common Law in the said Province*, is clearly explained by the Clause, which immediately follows, where the Governor is directed *for that purpose to issue a Writ in the Manner which has been usually accustomed &c.*—Therefore the Custom and usage of the Province, ever since its Settlement, is the Rule for Construing the Instructions, and shewing in any case, whether a Writ of Error has been properly Framed and Issued—Upon the whole we humbly think it adviseable to suspend the alteration proposed, or any order for that purpose, 'till after the Merits of the Appeal depending, shall have been brought before Your Lordships and determined by His Majesty in Council; the Tendency of which Appeal and the Order already pronounced by His Majesty, must have been entirely unknown to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, at the Date of their Report (Sep<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup>:)

All which is humbly Submitted

C. YORK.

W<sup>m</sup> DEGREY.

November 2<sup>d</sup> 1765.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, XXV. ]

Johnson Hall March 22<sup>d</sup> 1766.

My Lords

In my last letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> of January I had the honor to inform your Lordships that possession of the *Illinois* was obtained in October, and to offer some thoughts and observations on the affairs under my Superintendence, and just now I have heard that Major Farmar<sup>1</sup> who proceeded by Missisipi arrived there the 4<sup>th</sup> of December and relieved Capt. Stirling.

General Gage and myself have received authentic Accounts and particulars relative to the Artfull measures taken by the French in that Country for securing the Indians affections and

<sup>1</sup> ROBERT FARMAR was a Captain in the army as early as 1740, and obtained a company in the 19th Foot in 1744. In 1761 he became a Major in the 34th, and served the following year in the expedition against the Havannah. *Beatson*, III., 395. The regiment was stationed in Louisiana in 1765, and he continued with it until November, 1768 (*Army Lists*), when he left the army either by resignation or death. — Ed.

engrossing the Trade, the better to accomplish which they have begun two settlements on the West side of the River above *Fort Chartres* where they have already large Magazines for Trade and Presents, with able agents to carry on their designs in which they will be farther aided by the French of *Illinois*, and it is added that many of the latter are withdrawing from their old abode to the side occupied by the French.

As I foresaw this I took the liberty of communicating my thoughts thereon to your Lordships in my Letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> last, together with the Account of their new Settlement of which I then had notice.—The General concurs with me in sentiments on the necessity of some imediate Expedients to prevent the growing danger to which end Mr Croghan is to set out from Fort Pitt in a very short time, The like necessity induces him to agree with me that no time should be lost in appointing Commissaries to go to the Outposts on the terms prescribed by the Plan for the future management of Indian Affairs, which I should not have undertaken to do without his advice and concurrence, and that I am very sensible the want of proper Officers can no longer be dispensed with, due regard being had to the security of our acquisition and the peace of the Country.

The making these Necessary Appointments were hitherto delay'd thro' daily expectation of your Lordships commands, but the present posture of Affairs here and the obvious tendency of the French conduct may not justify me if it is longer neglected. The Gentlemen I have made choice of are of good character & well qualified they will be of great service if they arrive in time and my intended Congress with *Pondiac* and the other Chiefs as mentioned in my last may contribute to consolidate what has been hitherto done with them.—The first public Interview with these people must be chargeable, without that words have but little weight when opposed to the Political Generosity of the French, and this will likewise render a handsome present necessary for Mr Croghan. I wish from my soul that peace and security might be enjoyed throughout the Frontiers without Expence or Trouble but Experience teaches the contrary.

I hope your Lordships will not disapprove of my conduct on this occasion.—That my present situation will occur to you, being restricted from undertaking or executing any thing without a Risque of my private fortune or receiving a Sanction which may come too late to answer the Exigencies of the Service in a Department the Expence of which depends on circumstances oft unforeseen 'till the moment which requires a proper application. Such is my present situation and as such I flatter myself it will intitle me to your Lordships patronage and favor.

I have been applyed to by the Merchants of Canada concerning a purchase lately made by Mr *Wm. Grant* from Mons<sup>r</sup> *Rigaud* and *Madame de Vaudreuil* of the Fort at *La Baye de Puans* in *Lake Michigan* with an extensive territory over which he is to have an exclusive right of trade with liberty to erect houses and make establishments thereon, to the infinite loss and detriment of the trading people and likewise to the General dissatisfaction of the Indians who cannot fail being greatly alarmed at such an Establishment beyond our Provincial Limits.

This Grant to Mr *Rigaud* & his Lady was from the Marquis de *Vaudreuil* in October 1759, and confirmed by the King of France in Jan<sup>r</sup> 1760, at a very critical period when *Quebec* was ours and *Montreal* only wanting to compleat the conquest of Canada, and therefore evidently intended as a perquisite well knowing some of our unwary people might be drawn in to give a valuable consideration for it, as it would be highly impolitic for them to make such a grant

or permit such Settlements if they continued Masters of Country since it would alienate the affections of the Indians, and of Friends make them bitter Enemies, which they will doubtless prove to us if the Grant is attempted to be enforced.

These considerations supported by the request of the Traders of Canada induce me to lay these General Heads of the affair before your Lordships, persuaded that you will discountenance the same from the dangerous tendency and fatal effects it may have on the Peace and Commerce with the Indians. And as I have reason to expect that many persons will be desirous to seize upon Indian Lands, particularly about vacated Garrisons, I cannot avoid hinting my Apprehensions on that Score and expressing my Wishes for the protection of the Indians rights as the surest means for enjoying their affections and fidelity.

I shall omit no opportunity of communicating the occurrences of the Indian Department to your Lordships or of testifying the perfect Esteem with which I am,

My Lords

Your Lordships, most

Obliged, and most

Devoted humble Servant

WM. JOHNSON

P. S. It is said the French are tampering with Pondiac &c<sup>a</sup> & using all their efforts to withdraw him from his engagements.

The Right hönble

The Lords of Trade &c.

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*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, ( S. P. O. ) CLIX., 51. ]

New York 26 Mar. 1766

Sir

Soon after my arrival here I wrote to the Governor of Connecticut, as directed by His Majesty's Instructions to inform him of my appointment to the command of the Militia, Forces & Forts of that Colony, and at the same time mentioned my intention of entering upon that part of my duty by making a Tour thither, as soon as the unsettled state of this Province would admit of my absence from hence. I have here inclos'd the answer I received from Mr Fitch by which you will see the true disposition of the People there, who have not only prided themselves in being foremost in the Riots and disorders which have of late prevailed in this part of the world, but seem desirous of withdrawing from any obedience to officers appointed by the Crown as I shall always to the best of my abilities endeavour to execute his Majestys commands with which I shall be honored, I beg to know in what manner I am to proceed on this occasion

Our situation here is still the same in regard to the stamp act, as when I had the honor of writing to you last, except that our distresses are increased in respect to the Indian affairs, for as the time now draws near in which the Traders usually sett out, for the interior parts of the



Country many applications have been made for the Letpasses given on this occasion, which I have refused to issue, since they will not take them as the Law directs. I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect

Sir

your most obedient

Right Honble

Henry S. Conway.

and humble Servant

H MOORE

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*Governor Fitch to Governor Moore.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., No. 51.]

Copy of a Letter from Thomas Fitch Esq<sup>r</sup> Governor of the Province of Connecticut to S<sup>r</sup> H Moore Bart. dated Norwalk 11<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1766.

I have been favored with your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> Féby acquainting me you were directed by His Majesty to inform me of your appointment to be Capt<sup>n</sup> General and Commander in Cheif of the Militia and all the Forces of the Colony of Connecticut This as you observe is no new appointm<sup>t</sup>, for the like Clause I suppose has been inserted in the Commissions to the sev<sup>l</sup> Governors of New York ever since Gov<sup>r</sup> Fletchers Commission, that included, which is upwards of seventy years;—before that it was inserted in Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Phipps Commission, Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Massachusetts Bay, but by M<sup>r</sup> Fletchers Commission, that part of Gov<sup>r</sup> Phipp's which related to Connecticut was revoked and given to Gov<sup>r</sup> Fletcher. He thereupon as I have been informed, came into the Colony and attempted to put in execution that part of his Commission which respected the Militia & Forces of the Colony; how he succeeded in his endeavors and what reception he met with it is needless for me to mention: However that affair occasioned a Petition to their Majestys in which the opinion of the then Attorney and Solicitor General was obtained who first stating the Case gave their opinion that the Charter of the Colony gave the ordinary Power of the Militia to the Government thereof but were also of opinion their Matys might constitute a Cheif Commander who might have authority at all times to command such proportion of the Forces of each Colony as their Mátys should think fit, and in times of invasion or approach of the enemy with the advice and assistance of the Governors of the Colonies to conduct and Command the rest of the Forces for the preservation and defence of such of the Colonies as should most stand in need thereof not leaving the rest unprovided of a competent Force for their safety, but in Times of Peace, and when the danger is over the Militia ought to be under the Government and disposition of the Governor of the Colony according to their Charter, this opinion was approved by their Majestys in Council; but while these Matters were in consideration an estimate of the proportion or Quotas of the several Colonies was exhibited in which New Yorks Quota was 200 Men and Connecticuts 120 to this the Agent for Connecticut agreed and on such concession the proportion of Connecticut was limited not to exceed that number, and that Rule to be observed only in times of War. Notice of this conclusion was given to Gov<sup>r</sup> Fletcher and the Colony of Connecticut with orders to conform thereto accordingly, This account is abstracted from a writing in my hands which I take to be a copy of those Proceedings, and tho' not attested yet I suppose authentic Copies

may be obtained. I can't learn that settlement has ever been practised or that any demand has ever been since made of any Forces from Connecticut by any Governor of New York in consequence thereof, altho' their Commissions as I have understood have all had the like clause in them but for what reason it is difficult to determine. Indeed that the supposed Power contain'd in that Part of the Commission considered at large or as restrained by King William should not be claimed or again attempted to be carried into Execution can't be matter of great admiration, for whoever considers the prior Grant in the Charter to the Governor and company of the Colony of Connecticut vesting them with the whole Power and command of the Militia and Forces of the Colony to be held and exercised by them for ever and compares it with a posterior Commission Durante bene placito only expressing a Grant of the same Powers to another while the former remains in Force may easily judge where the authority to exercise those Powers is lodged and by virtue of which Commission they may be legally exercised, the first can't be revoked by the latter nor by any means repealed or made void or declared so on legal Process, and as that has not been had it as yet remains good and consequently the other can be of no avail, and whether it is probable the Colony will think proper in any degree to submit to that Commission you may be able to judge—Thus Sir as these matters were as I suppose generally known; and whether your Excellency had been made acquainted with them I could not tell, I thought it might be expedient to give you this brief account how I understand that affair

Signed— THOMAS FITCH<sup>1</sup>

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*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq, No. 10. ]

New York. 28 March 1766.

My Lords,

The Commotion which happened in this Prov<sup>ce</sup>, having obliged the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> to putt off the session of the Assembly till my arrival wh<sup>ch</sup> happened very late in the year, the Speaker desired that I would give them leave to meet again early in the spring, as they had not then time to compleat all the necessary business, but mention'd nothing in particular; to this I readily consented and they had leave to adjourn to the 5<sup>th</sup> of March by which time it seems they expected some answers from their Agent in regard to the applications they made to the Crown to have the restriction on their paper money taken off. The Assembly has been since prorogued to the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, and afterwards to the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April next. By what I can understand from some of the principal people here, the chief intent of their meeting again is to raise money for the exigencies of Govern<sup>t</sup> by their paper credit, as all the present Bills in the prov<sup>ce</sup> will be sunk the next year, and the Country left without any medium of commerce,

<sup>1</sup> THOMAS FITCH was born in 1699; graduated at Yale College in 1721, and embraced the profession of the law. His legal knowledge is said to have equalled, perhaps exceeded that of any other lawyer in the Colony. He held the offices of Counsellor, Judge of the Superior Court, Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1754 was elected Governor of Connecticut. In 1765 he took the oath of office prescribed in the Stamp Act, and was, in consequence, driven into retirement the following year, having occupied the Executive chair twelve years. He died on the 18th July, 1774, and was buried at Norwalk, Connecticut, where a monument has been erected over his grave. *Sabine's American Loyalists*, 287; *Barber's Connecticut Historical Collections*, 531. — Ed.

for there has been very little silver to be met with since the interruption of the Trade with the Spaniards, and at present, the Province greatly distressed for want of a proper currency. His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s instruc<sup>tns</sup> on that head are so positive, as to preclude me from giving my assent to Acts of that kind, and I have here inclosed your Lord<sup>pps</sup> the extract of a letter sent to me, which shews that this Colony now labours under a greater difficulty than its neighbours, and I should be glad to know, if his Maj<sup>ty</sup> would be pleased to have the people here allowed an indulgence on this head, and how far I might, if this indulgence was given, have a permission to relieve them from their present difficulties, and endeavour to put them on the same footing in regard to the paper credit, as the other provinces. I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

My Lords,

your Lord<sup>pps</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup>

and humble servant.

II MOORE.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

New York March 28<sup>th</sup> 1766

Sir

I was extreemly surprized when Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy informed me that he was superseded in his command of His M<sup>ty</sup>'s Ship the Coventry, on a complaint of his having refused to take the Stamp'd Papers on board at my request. I did not mention Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedys name on any thing of the officers of the Navy in my letters of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of November which it is supposed has occasioned His Majestys displeasure. And in my letter immediately preceding of the 26<sup>th</sup> of October, you will find Sir that my sentiments were very different, by the following paragraph of it. viz *I am the more particular in this account that you may have some conception of the difficultys I labour under from the want of assistance where I had the best reason to expect it: at the same time I have the pleasure to assure you that, the officers of the Navy & Army with great allacrity give me every assistance I require.* This letter went by Capt<sup>n</sup> Dover of the Royal Artillery, in an artillery transport, which I am inform'd did not arrive till some time after you had received my dispatches of the 9<sup>th</sup> of November, in which the minutes of Council were inclosed, and which I suspect have given occasion to some mistake. In these Minutes a Minute of the Common Council of the City is recited, in which it is said that I was willing to deliver up the Stamps to M<sup>r</sup> Kennedy, and that he had refused their earnest request to receive them. It is true I should have yielded to the proposal of delivering them to Captain Kennedy had he consented to receive them; but as I did not think it necessary for His Majestys Service or prudent for Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy to receive them, I did not at any time join in desiring him to take them. The Corporation sent some of their Members to desire him to receive the Stamps but I suppose he thought he had no connections with them.

I have been obliged Sir, to give you the trouble of reading so much writing that I was unwilling to enter into a minute detail of the circumstances, where I did not apprehend it to be necessary: and I did not then imagine the circumstance of Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedys declining to take the Stamps to be such. But now justice to him makes it requisite to trouble you with a minute detail of that matter



The next day after the Mob insulted their Governor on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November in the manner set forth in my letters of the 5 & 9<sup>th</sup> of that month, they were the whole day collected in bodies throughout the Town which appeared to be in the greatest confusion and Tumult. I called together His Matys Council and laid before them the situation I was in and desired their advice as appears by the Minutes of that day, they unanimously agreed and proposed to me as an expedient which in their opinion would entirely quiet the Mob, that I should declare that I would not distribute the Stamps or act further till Sir Henry Moore arriv<sup>d</sup> who was the[n] expected every hour. They insisted that I could in no manner be blamed for declaring, I would not act in a matter, in which every man knew it was not in my power to act, as no man would or durst receive a Stamped Paper I was now near night and the Mob was become very numerous and riotous I was pressed to pacify the People, and the strong desire I had to deliver up the Administration in quietness to my successor with other reasons that I have mentioned to you Sir, in my letter of the 21. of February induced me hastily to comply with the unanimous advice of the Council. Who went out instantly to the Mob, and declared to them what I had agreed to: on which a general Huzza was given, and they dispersed in all appearance well satisfied. I am confident the Peace of the City would have been restored by this Concession, had Peace and quietness been consistent with the Purposes of the directors of the Mob, which by the sequel it plainly appear'd was not

The City remained quiet and easy one day, during which the Directors had found another expedient to excite Tumults by making a demand that the Stamped Paper should be sent on board the Coventry I then plainly saw their Intention that no yielding would satisfy them and that it only served to increase their Demands and insults. However I was desirous that the whole load should not lye upon my shoulders and I called the Council in hopes they would assist me by taking some share of it, when I told them plainly what I thought were the intentions of these Riotous Proceedings: but I was dissappointed. They advised me to write to Captain Kennedy to receive the Stamps. In my letter to Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy I mentioned the request of the Gentlemen of the Council that he would receive the stamps on board in order to quiet the minds of the People, I did not join myself in the request for the following reasons

1<sup>st</sup> I thought the Stamps at least as safe in the Fort, as on board his Ship, and that the Demand to have them sent on board the Coventry, was for no other purpose but to insult the Government

2<sup>dly</sup> I suspected that one view in desireing the Stamps to be sent on board the Coventry was with hopes of having them delivered up by Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy<sup>1</sup> to preserve his private property in the City which is considerable, and which otherwise the Mob would destroy. I was confirmed in this opinion when a gentleman who came into the Fort, with others that came to me to persuade me to send the Stamps on board the Coventry, openly said the he would sooner lose his Right Hand than advise Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy to take them. I knew he was Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedys friend and I beleived he was in the secret of the Directors of the Mob. I could not therefore desire Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy to do a thing which I beleived would bring ruinous distress upon him, when the public Service and his Duty did not require it

<sup>1</sup> ARCHIBALD KENNEDY became a Captain in the Royal Navy on the 4th April, 1757. *Millan's Register*, 1763, p. 120. He married, as his second wife, Anne, eldest daughter of the Hon. John Watts, of New-York. His property, above referred to, consisted of several houses situated at the lower end of Broadway and near the Battery. *De Peyster Genealogy*, 70. In December, 1763, Captain Kennedy was in command of the *Blonde*, 32 guns. *Beatson*, III., 435. The *Coventry* was only a 28 gun ship. In 1771 he obtained a grant of land in Addison county, Vermont, on the west side of Otter creek. He finally succeeded his great grandfather, who died in 1792, as 11th Earl of Cassalis, in the Scots peerage, and deceased 29th December, 1794, having survived his lady just one year. — Ed.

Lastly the Stamps could not be so safe on Board the Coventry as in the Fort The Winter approached when the Ship must be brought to one of the Wharfs in the Town, her guns must be put on shore and the officers could not prevent the men from leaving the Ship, or from being seduced by the people of the Town—it is well known sailors easily may be seduced

Captain Kennedy in his answer did not absolutely refuse to take the Stamps on board but gave reasons why he thought it unnecessary; and the Gentle<sup>mn</sup> of the Council did not advise any reply or further requisition of him. They even desired that no minute might be made of their request, which as the motion had come from them I consented to

The opinion which I had conceived of the purposes pursued by the Directors of the Mob, is strongly confirmed by what has happ<sup>d</sup> since the arrival of Sir Henry Moore. He has yielded every thing in order to quiet the minds of the People & notwithstanding of this, Riots and Mobs have continued as frequent and as much insulting on Government as ever. The only difference is they have not been directed personally against him as they were against me

I flatter myself you will Sir excuse this Trouble which I think in justice to Capt<sup>n</sup> Kennedy, an honest man can not avoid, but it is done with humble submission—by

Sir

Your most obedient

Right Honorable

& faithfull Servant

Henry Seymour Conway.

CADWALLADER COLDEN

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*Secretary Conway to the Governors in America.*

[ Plantations General, (S. P. O.) No. 251. ]

St. James's 31. March 1766.

Sir,

Herewith I have the pleasure of transmitting to you copies of two Acts of Parliament just passed. The first for securing [just] the dependency of the Colonies on the Mother Country; the second for the repeal of the Act of [the] last session, granting certain stamp duties in America; and I expect shortly to send you a third, for the Indemnity of such persons, as have incurred the penalties imposed by the Act just repealed, as such a Bill is now depending, and has made a considerable progress in the house of Commons.

The moderation, the forbearance, the unexampled lenity and tenderness of Parliament towards the Colonies, which are so signally displayed in those Acts, cannot but dispose the province, committed to your care, to that return of chearful obedience to the Laws and Legislative authority of Great Britain and to those sentiments of respectful gratitude to the Mother Country, which are the natural, and, I trust, will be the certain effects of so much grace and condescension, so remarkably manifested on the part of his Maj<sup>ty</sup> and of the Parliament; and the future happiness and prosperity of the Colonies will very much depend on the testimonies, they shall now give of these dispositions.

For, as a dutiful and affectionate return to such peculiar proofs of indulgence and affection, may, now at this great crisis, be a means of fixing the mutual interests and inclinations of

G. Britain and her Colonies on the most firm and solid foundations, so it can not, but appear visible that the least coldness or unthankfulness, the least murmuring or dissatisfaction on any ground whatever, of former heat, or too much prevailing prejudice, may fatally endanger that Union, and give the most severe and affecting blow to the future interests of both Countries.

You will think it scarce possible, I imagine, that the paternal care of His Maj<sup>y</sup> for his Colonies, or the lenity or indulgence of the Parliament should go further than I have already mentioned: yet, so full of true magnanimity are the sentiments of both, and so free from the smallest colour of passion or prejudice, that they seem disposed not only to forgive, but to forget those most unjustifiable marks of an undutiful disposition too frequent in the late transactions of the Colonies, and which, for the honor of those Colonies, it were to be wished, had been more discountenanced & discouraged by those, who had knowledge to conduct themselves otherwise.

A Revision of the late American Trade Laws is going to be the immediate object of Parliament; nor will the late transactions there, however provoking, prevent, I dare say, the full operation of that, kind and indulgent disposition prevailing both in His Maj<sup>y</sup> and his Par<sup>l</sup><sup>t</sup> to give to the Trade and interests of America every relief which the true State of their circumstances demands or admits.—Nothing will tend more effectually to every conciliating purpose, & there is nothing therefore I have it in command more earnestly to require of you, than that you should exert yourself in recommending it strongly to the Assembly, that full and ample compensation be made to those, who, from the Madness of the people, have suffered for their deference to Acts of the British Legislature; and you will be particularly attentive, that such persons be effectually secured from any further insults; and that as far as in you lies, you will take care, by your example & influence, that they may be treated with that respect to their persons, and that justice in regard to all their pretensions, which their merit and their sufferings undoubtedly claim. The Resolutions of the house of Commons, which, by His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Commands I transmit to you, to be laid before the Assembly, will shew you the sense of that house on those points; and I am persuaded it will, as it [most]<sup>1</sup> certainly ought, be, the glory of that Assembly to adopt and imitate those sentiments of the British Parliament, founded on the clearest principles of humanity and justice. I must mention one circumstance in particular which ought to recommend those unhappy people, whom the outrage of the populace has driven from America, to the affection of all that Country; which is, that unprovoked by the injuries they had suffered to a forgetfulness of what they owed to truth and their country, they gave their testimonies with knowledge and without passion or prejudice; and those testimonies had, I believe great weight in persuading the Repeal of the Stamp Act.

Your situation, which has made you a witness of the destruction of that Country, will enable you to form the best judgement of the behaviour which your Province ought to use upon this occasion, and of the Arguments which you ought to employ to enforce the necessity of such a behaviour as is suitable to their present circumstances.

I am etc.

H. S. CONWAY.

Circular to: Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey,  
Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia.

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets are added from the copy of this despatch in *Almon's Prior Documents*, p. 89. q. v. — Ed.



*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, ( State Paper Office ), CLIX., No. 51 ]

Fort George New York Ap. 30 1766

Sir

I flattered myself that the purport of a letter by this Pacquet would only be to inform you of our being in the same situation as when I had the Honor to write to you last, as we were waiting for the determination of the Parliament concerning the Stamp Act in a greater state of tranquillity than has appeared in this City for many months: But the disorders which began at first in the Towns have by degrees spread themselves into the Country, and inflicted the people with Notions that at this time every thing which had the appearance of resisting Government might be undertaken with impunity. An instance of this we have had within these few days in the two neighbouring Counties of Dutchess and West Chester, whereupon a dispute which arose between some Gentlemen and their tenants, the greatest disorders were committed by the latter who assembled riotously together and forcibly compelling many others to join them turned several Families out of their houses, and put others into possession to the very great loss as well as distress of many individuals A Bench warrant was issued in consequence of this and three of the principals taken up and brought to this Town where they were committed to Gaol: This was so far from putting an end to the disturbance that they assembled together in greater numbers and determined to march to this Town in a Body and take their companions out of Gaol by Force, If I should refuse to deliver them upon their being demanded, and in order to spread Terror, industriously propagated exaggerated accounts of their numbers, which were made to amount to some thousands, and at the same time made no secret of their Plan of operations proposed, part of which was to set the City on Fire in several different Places at the same time. They likewise gave out that they were to be joined by the Inhabitants of some other Counties, and by great numbers of the Connecticut People bordering on West Chester, and likewise by many residing in this City who only waited for their arrival that they might declare themselves in their favor. In this disagreeable Situation no measure was neglected for the preservation of the City and repelling the force with which we were threatned. The Regular Troops as well as the Militia had orders to be in readiness on the Alarm Bell being rung and every other precaution taken which common Prudence would suggest on such an occasion. The Majistrates of the above Counties not being able to succeed in their endeavours to prevent their marching to this Town they arrived yesterday at Kings-Bridge within the liberties of this Corporation where after halting some time, they proceeded with an intent of makeing their Entry into the City last night, which if they had done much Blood would have been shed on the occasion. In the interim I caused a proclamation to be published offering a Reward of one Hundred pounds for apprehending the Person who commanded in cheif, and fifty pounds a piece for some others who acted as officers under him; this had the desired effect, and has dispersed them much sooner than could be expected and I make no doubt but that in a few days I shall have all the persons mention<sup>d</sup> in the Proclamation lodged very fastly in the Gaol with their Brethren. I am extreemly concerned that every letter which I have had the honor of writing since my arrival should be upon so disagreeable Subjects, but I thought it my duty to inform you of these Particulars, and I hope that the People will now behave in such a manner that

my future correspondence may be more to their credit and your satisfaction. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect. Sir Your most obedient

& most humble servant

Right Honorable Henry Seymour Conway

H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Dartmouth.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 19. ]

New York. 30 April 1766.

My Lord,

In obedience to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s 47<sup>th</sup> and 48<sup>th</sup> instruct<sup>ns</sup> relative to the Quit rents of this Province, I have now the honor to inform your Lord<sup>p</sup> that soon after my arrival here I began to take the necessary steps for obtaining a due information of that branch of the Revenue, and not only had the Docquets made out from the Secretary's office of all the Patents which had been issued since the year 1708, but directed the Receiver General to give me a list of his receipts, that I might compare them with the Docquets, and at the same time ordered the Surveyor General to furnish me with all the materials in his Office which could give any light to the enquiry I was then making. It is not possible for me to express to your Lord<sup>p</sup> the difficulties I have met with in this Affair, and the discouragements which have been designedly thrown in my way, to deterr me from proceeding in it, all which has only served to convince me of the necessity of a further examination into it, and I have now begun my undertaking upon a plan wh<sup>ch</sup> although it will take up some time before the whole will be finished, cannot fail of making a compleat discovery of every Quit rent due to the Crown; I propose to make a Map of this Province consisting entirely of the Grants which have been made, and to place them according to the order in which they have been issued, by wh<sup>ch</sup> means, I shall not only make a discovery of some lands which I am informed are held by old purchasers from Indians, without any acknowledgement being paid to the Crown, but shall likewise get some information of the intermediate tracts of Land, which lay among the Patents already granted, and all held by the present possessors under no Title whatsoever, which I apprehend will be no inconsiderable addition to the work. To effect this, I must go back much further than the year 1708, as directed by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s instructions, for all the old Patents must first be laid down, before those granted since 1708. can be properly placed, so that your Lord<sup>p</sup> will see, that my plan must take in the whole Prov<sup>ce</sup>. One unavoidable difficulty will occur in the course of this work which is, that the frequent deeds of sale will create some confusion, since there is no Law here which obliges them to be registered in the Secretary's office, and from the constant change of property, the original Titles in many Grants will not be traced to the present possessors without much labour, & I shall frequently on this head be obliged to have recourse even to Mortgages, which are Registered by Law, to ascertain, what can not be obtained by any other method of proceeding. I must acknowledge to Your Lord<sup>p</sup> that upon mentioning a Map, I cannot help being under some kind of Terror, from the remembrance of what I suffered in my last attempt of this kind; the breach which was then made in my small fortune is by no means repaired, and would have been irreparable if His Maj<sup>ty</sup> had not been pleased to order some part of my demand to be paid, for nothing could be obtained from the Treasury after all my application, and the Board at which your Lord<sup>p</sup> so worthily presides, had it not

in their power to make me the least satisfaction; this matter was fully explained to your Lord<sup>p</sup> when I had the honor of presenting you my Map of Jamaica before I left London, and was not introduced here with any other motive than that of enquiring how far I might be allowed to go in regard to the expence which would attend this Project. I hope your Lord<sup>p</sup> will not imagine, that I am soliciting for any gratification for myself, or that I am desirous of being rewarded for what I look upon to be only doing my duty; this has never entered into my imagination, but as in the course of this Plan it may be necessary to employ Surveyors to measure some patents supposed to contain within the present bounds more land, than was originally intended to be granted to them, to the manifest prejudice of the Crown, or to settle any other kind of disputes, which may arise by claims not well founded; some means of satisfying this expence should be provided, to prevent any obstruction, and your Lord<sup>p</sup> will see that out of the scanty salary of £2000 p<sup>r</sup> annum currency allowed to the Gov<sup>r</sup> here which amounts to little more than £1100 sterl<sup>s</sup> no great sum can possibly be advanced for this service. If what I have here proposed sh<sup>d</sup> meet with his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s approbation, it will give me the highest satisfaction, and nothing on my part shall be wanting to carry the whole into execution with all possible expedition. In regard to the Court of exchequer of which, by His Majesty's 29<sup>th</sup> instruction, I am directed to report my opinion, I beg leave to inform your Lord<sup>p</sup>, that I think it absolutely necessary here, but that a continued session would not be required, as I apprehend that all the business might be transacted in four quarterly sessions. It is a Court much dreaded by the Inhabitants here, and one which they do not wish to see established among them, as it must necessarily bring to light many dark transactions, and discover various frauds which have been committed against the Crown, but as there are no salaries appointed for the executive Officers, it will be impracticable to obtain any thing of the kind from the Legislature here, for the reasons above mentioned, so that the Govern<sup>t</sup> will be obliged to pay its own Officers. Little can be expected either from the fines, forfeitures & recognizances in the Country Courts, where they are exceeding small (except in some particular cases) and serve more to mark the Offence, than to punish the delinquent; the Quit rents indeed, I apprehend will be so much increased as to be very capable of the expence, but experience will better shew this than speculation. I should be glad to receive your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s commands upon what I have here set forth, & have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord

Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient

and humble servant.

H MOORE.

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*Representation of the Lords of Trade on the Circulation of Bills of Credit.*

[ New York Entries, Q., 857. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty.

Sir Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup> your Majesty's Governor of New York having in a letter which we have lately received from him, represented the difficulty and inconvenience to which that



Province will be exposed as well in its commerce as in carrying on the ordinary services of government when the time fixed for the circulation of the paper bills of credit, now existing there, shall have expired (which he states will be in the year 1767) and therefore requested instructions how far he may be authorized to give relief to the people in this case, so as to put them upon a foot of equal advantage with the neighbouring Colonies where the circulation of the paper credit is extended to more distant periods; We have taken this letter into our consideration & humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty thereupon:—

That, if the relief which Sir Henry Moore represents the people there to be desirous of, implies a request to be released from those restrictions of the Act of Parliament of the fourth year of Your Majesty's reign, which does not allow paper bills of Credit in the American Colonies to be declar'd a legal tender, either in the case where new emissions shall be made or where the periods fixed for the circulation of those already existing shall be prolonged, it is evident that this relief, if it should be found expedient, can only be given by the same authority that enacted the restrictions. But if the relief desir'd extends only to a request that Your Majesty's Governor may be released from that restriction which he is under by his instructions of not assenting to any law for issuing any Paper Bills of Credit whatever but in cases of war or invasion, we do think that it may be expedient as well from consideration of general policy as well as of what is represented by Your Majesty's Governor, that this instruction should be revoked, and that the measures of government there, in respect to this object of their interests, should rest upon the general provisions made by the above mentioned act, under which we humbly apprehend no immediate inconvenience can happen in this Province, seeing that the whole of it's paper credit will not, as the Governor misapprehends it, cease in the year 1767, it appearing from the returns made to us by the proper officers, that the emissions of March 1758 March 1759 & March 1760, amounting to £260000 that currency will remain in circulation until the first Tuesday in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1768.

Which is most humbly submitted

DARTMOUTH  
SOAME JENYNS  
JOHN ROBERTS  
J. DYSON  
W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT.

Whitehall  
May 16<sup>th</sup> 1766.

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*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 21.]

New York. 26 May 1766.

My Lords,

The distressed situation of several unfortunate persons in this Prov<sup>ce</sup> occasions this application to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, as it is not in my power to give them any relief in their present unhappy circumstances. Many miserable objects have languished for a great length of time in the prisons here, not for crimes committed, but for having been so imprudent, as to become securities for others, who have not appeared at the time stipulated by the Recognizances, by

which means they have been forfeited, and the securities thrown into goal upon their inability to pay the whole sum, for which they became bound. Upon my mentioning this affair to a Gentleman of the Law here, he was pleased to give me his opinion in writing, which I have here inclosed to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, as it may place this matter in its proper light, and if approved of by your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s, that an application should be made to His Majesty, that the Instruction which limits the Govern<sup>rs</sup> power to fines of ten pounds, should be altered and a permission given to compound debts of the Crown, where it shall appear from the circumstances of the offender, that the whole cannot be obtained; by this means many subjects will be saved from total ruin, and some part of the Demand will be gained by the Crown, which in our present situation, often looses the whole debt. As it will be necessary, that proper restrictions should be laid upon the power solicited for, to prevent abuses of it, your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s will be the best Judges of that matter; it is only from a principle of humanity that this application is made, as I should be extreamly happy in having it in my power to grant relief to those, who by their long suffering seem intitled to it, and at the same time save them and their families from destruction.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lords

Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s most obedient

& humble serv<sup>t</sup>

H: MOORE.

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*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers, CLIX., No. 51. ]

Fort George N York May 27. 1766

Sir

I had the honor of receiving your letters by the hands of Major James, and at the same time dispatches for the rest of His Majestys Governors, all which were forwarded to them within a few hours after they were landed. As the General Assembly of this Province will meet in a few days I shall then have an opportunity of seeing what impression has been made on their minds by the signal favors so lately conferred on them by His Majesty & his Parliament and what returns of gratitude they are inclined to make. Nothing on my part shall be wanting to bring back to their duty, those who have been imposed on and misled; and I shall in the strongest manner recommend to the Assembly the case of those persons who were sufferers in the late Commotions that they may have a full compensation made to them for the losses they sustained by the hasty and ill timed Peoceedings of the Populace

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient

and humble Servant

Right Honorable

H. Seymour Conway

H. MOORE

*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 60.]

New York. 12 June 1766.

My Lords,

I am very sorry, that upon our first entering on business after so long a vacation, I should be under any necessity of making an application to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> to adjust any points in dispute between the Crown and any Patentee, but as His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> prerogative is concerned in this, I could not suffer it to be invaded by any person without first interfering as far as my duty required and then laying the matter before your Lord<sup>ships</sup> for your opinions. His Maj<sup>ty</sup> by his instructions having expressly reserved to his Gov<sup>r</sup> in Chief here, the Collating of the Benefices, granting of Marriage Licenses, and the probate of Wills, I apprehend that the whole business of the Court of prerogative was intended to be under the Direction of the Governor, who was to preside in that Court, and that it was as much in his power to appoint a Register as it is to appoint a surrogate. The Business of the Register has been constantly transacted at the Secretary's office here, but from whence that Authority is derived the Secretary neither can not or will not shew, for I set out with desiring to see what powers were granted by the Crown to the Secretary, that I might not infringe any rights of the Office, & all I can obtain is a sight of several Commissions granted at different times, which specify nothing in particular, but seem to refer to other powers formerly granted, which do not appear and are hitherto concealed from me. The Secretary of this Prov<sup>ce</sup> and his deputy have been frequently appointed the Gov<sup>r's</sup> Surrogates, so that the whole business of the office has then been in their hands. Upon this they have taken upon themselves an Authority wh<sup>ch</sup> they are not vested with without being appointed Surrogates, and have granted probates upon Wills sent up out of the Country which were proved there, without consulting the Gov<sup>r</sup> or making him acquainted with any such transaction, by which means they would wrest from him the power expressly given by His Maj<sup>ty</sup> in the Instruction above mentioned, and set up a right for such a proceeding from the office of Secretary. I have not appointed the Deputy Secretary to be my Surrogate, as I think he has employment enough in several other capacities, being not only Secretary of the Province, but Register in Chancery and Clerk of the Supreme Court, and have ordered the Seal of the prerogative Court to be delivered to me as the proper Officer in whose custody it should be kept, and have forbid any probates to be granted by any other authority than that which I hold from the Crown; as to the Office of Register, although no power has been produced to me for its being vested by the Crown in the Secretary, I have still suffered it to continue there, till His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> pleasure should be known, as the removing of Books might be attended with some inconvenience, and shall only beg leave to add, that as in England the ordinary, as I am informed, appoints all the Officers in his Court, for which he is responsible, I apprehend it might have been the intention of the Crown that the King's representative should have had the same power here, and not have an officer of that consequence in the Court nominated by a Patentee, who has not the least mention made of it in his Patent. The business of the Court will go on in the usual manner, till His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> pleasure shall be signified to me, with no other difference than that the Officers will be kept more strictly to their duty, and I hope your Lord<sup>ships</sup> will look upon this application as arising intirely from a sense of my duty to the Crown and in defence of an attack made upon the prerogative; and I am perswaded it is not the only one I shall meet with, for, in this Part of the world, where the levelling principles prevail so much



and the combination seems so strong, to reduce the power of the Crown as much as possible, I shall have many points to struggle for, and many difficulties to engage with; and if I do not meet with success I expect, I hope to let your Lord<sup>ships</sup> see, that it will be always my endeavour to deserve it.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect—My Lords.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> most obedient

and humble servant

H: MOORE.

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*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers (State Paper Office), CLIX. 51 ]

Fort George N York June 20. 1766

Sir

The Pacquet having suffered so much in her last voyage as to stand in need of some considerable reparations before she could venture to sea again I am enabled by the delay which this misfortune has occasioned, to transmitt to you some accounts of our Proceedings here, since I had the honor of your letter notifying the Repeal of the Stamp Act The General Assembly having desired at the close of the last Sessions to sit again in the Spring for the dispatch of some business, their meeting was put off by different Prorogations till the 11<sup>th</sup> day of this month, and I have here inclosed my speech at the opening of the Sessions & the Addresses of the Council and Assembly. From the General Satisfaction which was expressed here by all Ranks and Degrees of People, I had all the Reason to expect that the earliest opportunity would have been taken to shew their Gratitude for such signal favors received. You may then easily judge, Sir, how much I was surprized to find myself disappointed in my expectations, for upon Gen<sup>l</sup> Gages application to me for Bedding Utensils &c agreeable to the Act of Parliament for His Majestys Troops then under orders of march for this city, the consideration of the Message I sent was postponed till after the arrival of the Troops by which they were put to very great Inconveniencies and afterwards such resolutions were entered into that appeared to me as evasive as they were unexpected. After informing the General with what had passed, I sent a second Message, which was ordered in such a manner as to require a categorical answer which laid them under some difficulties for alltho' it appeared plainly that they did not choose to shew that obedience which was due to an Act of Parliament it was as evident that they were too apprehensive of the ill consequences which would attend their refusing to comply with it. They have now ordered a Bill to be brought in for providing Barracks, Fire Wood, Candles, bedding and utensils for the Kitchen as demanded, but the Articles of Salt, Vinegar, and Cyder or Beer are not to be included in the Bill, being furnished with this Pretence to leave them out that they are not provided in Europe for His M<sup>ty</sup>'s Troops which are in Barracks, and as the General is satisfied that nothing more can be obtained at this time I hope that I shall be thought to act for His Majestys Service in passing the Bill in its present State, for the difficulties which would arise in the other Colonies upon a like application from their Governors may by this Step be obviated, as I am persuaded from what I have seen that

the example of this Province in making the Provision required will have a greater influence on the Proceedings of the others than any other motion<sup>1</sup> what so ever and it will appear on the minutes of the Assembly that I made the same demand during their last Session, without being able to obtain the smallest sum for that purpose. This, Sir, is a bare relation of what has passed here without aggravating or extenuating any one circumstance, and as matters of fact speak best for themselves I thought it proper to lay the whole of the Proceedings before you, as it will at one view shew the deference here paid to Acts of Parliament and what may be our expectations on a future occasion. You will be pleased to observe that my Message is treated merely as a Requisition made here and that they have carefully avoided the least mention of the act on which it is founded, and it is my opinion that every act of Parliament, when not backed by a sufficient Power to enforce it will meet with the same Fate here I am sorry extremely sorry, that I am obliged to make such a declaration especially of a people with whom I have lived so short a time, or that they should in any shape meritt, but my opinion is founded on observation, and my duty to his Majesty and zeal for his Service will not suffer me to conceal my Sentiments on this occasion. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient

Rt Hônble

& humble Servant

H Seymour Conway.

HENRY MOORE

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Secretary Conway.*

[ New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51. ]

New York June 24<sup>th</sup> 1766.

Sir

The Governor in obedience to his Majestys command having laid before the Assembly of this Province the Resolutions of the House of Commons of Great Britain for the Payment of losses any person has sustained in the late Riots, for his deference to the Acts of the British Legislature. I sent in an account of things I had destroyed by the Mob in the night of the first of November last, when they broke open my coach House and burnt my Chariot &c. The loss, and value of the things lost were proved by my Son's oath, amounting to the sum of one hundred and ninety five pounds three shillings. Major James had petitioned to have compensation for his losses, sustained at that time, and his Petition being referred to a Committee of the whole House, my account was referred to the same Committee, together with the accounts of some other Persons who suffered at the same time by the Mob. The Method the assembly has taken of refusing my compensation to me, is by the Committee passing my demand over in silence, and reporting in favor of the others. It is probable they did not think it prudent to enter on their minutes, a direct negative to a resolution of the House of Commons of Great Britain, while at the same time they resolved to pay no regard to it so far as relates to me—and I am assured this is their Resolution—The printed journal

<sup>1</sup> motive. *Almon's Prior Documents*, 95. — Ed.

of the Assembly is inclosed, from which you may Sir, be more particularly informed, and see that even the Resolution for making compensation for Major James' loss was carried by one single vote

In my letter of the 14 January last, I informed you, Sir, that the Assembly had designedly neglected to grant me any Salary from the first of September to the thirteenth of November, the day when Sir Henry Moore arrived—that the Salary for that time amounts to four hundred pounds currency, so that the whole of my sufferings for my deference to an act of the British Legislature amounts to five hundred and ninety five pounds, current money of this Province

I know of no Method of compelling the Assembly to do me justice in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of Commons of Great Britain, but by Act of Parliament It will in some measure appear from the Assemblys address to the Governor, how unwilling they are to acknowledge the Authority of Parliament in the Colonies and this authority is acknowledged in the Councils address in very indetermined Terms. I beleive, Sir, you will not think it prudent to enter into a Dispute of such consequence as the extent of the authority of Parliament in the Colonies, on a subject of so little consequence as the compensating my losses on this occasion, at the same time I flatter myself that His Majesty will be of opinion that in justice I ought to have my loss recompenced and it will be encouragement to His Majestys Servants in the Colonies that I do not suffer, but receive some public reward for adhering to my duty, especially in a case where I clearly saw, that by doing so I must greatly prejudice my private Interest in this Country. For these reasons I humbly entreat that you'll be pleased to lay my case before His Majesty, and that you will allow me to renew my former request of having my losses recompenced by a pension. It may be done out of the Quit Rents of this Province without any prejudice to prior appointments. This method of recompencing me I humbly conceive will be most consistent with His Majestys honor on this occasion, and will be most agreeable to me. I am now in the 79<sup>th</sup> year of my age and it can not be of long continuance I inclose likewise a Printed Proclamation from which the Sentiments of People in Power may be discovered. The owners of the great Tracts of Land had for several years past harassed the Farmers in their neighbourhood with expensive & ruinous Law Suits. Differences have likewise arose between some of the Landlords & their Tenants Some of these were committed to Jail, others taking advantage of the licentious spirit every where propagated collected in great numbers broke open one of the Jails, set their associates at liberty and threatned the persons and effects of some of these Landholders. On complaint several of the Riotous Persons are by Proclamation declar<sup>d</sup> Traitors, and the 28<sup>th</sup> Regiment, as I am told at the Governors request is sent to suppress them—I am far from justifying these riotous Proceedings, I only observe the difference of Sentiment and Zeal in this case and in others where the authority of Parliament was contemned, and the Kings authority was continually insulted, for several months together, by most dangerous Riots, without the least attempt to suppress any of them, but rather with public applause.

As it must naturally be thought that the resentment in the Assembly against me, must arise from some signal misbehaviour in my administration, I beg leave to remark that only one thing has ever been alledged against me, and no other, I can confidently assert, can be—It is this—An Appeal was brought before me and the Council from a verdict and judgment in the Supreme Court of Common Law in this Province in pursuance of His Matys 32 Instruction: I supported in my Judgment the right of appealing as to the whole merits, and that the intention of the instruction was such, against the opinion of the Judges and of all the Gentlem<sup>n</sup>



of the Council. Nevertheless I submitted to the Judgment of the Court; but as an appeal from the judgment of the Governor & Council was carried to the King in Council, I thought it incumbent on me to give my reasons for dissenting from the opinion of the Council, in my letter to my lord Hallifax and to the Board of Trade—The judges assert that no appeal can be made from the verdict of a Jury. If this be the Case, the Right of appealing in every instance may be defeated. The Jury may in every case find generally Guilty or not Guilty—For the Plaintiff or for the Defendant, and in Cases where the King is concerned, such general verdicts may be encouraged by the Court—In such Cases no error can be assigned against the judgment, and it must be final in the Colonies. As the Kings authority & the rights of his Crown are only secured by His Courts of Justice it is evident that without an appeal to some Court in Great Britain the authority and Rights of the Crown in the Colonies may become precarious and likewise the dependancy of the Colonies on Parliament—I may have erred in judgement very innocently but I have good reason to think I have not since the King by His Order in His privy Council of the 26<sup>th</sup> of July last has confirmed my Judgement. The present Spirit which so generally prevails in the Colonies too clearly shews the reason the great offence taken against me, on this occasion by the present Demagogues, but I flatter myself this will be so far from doing me any prejudice in His Matys esteem that it will recommend me to His favor The Right of appealing on the whole merits appears to me so necessary for securing the dependancy of the Colonies and the Rights of the Crown as well as private property against powerfull combinations that it well deserves the interposition of Parliament if it should be thought necessary for confirming it and I hope this will excuse me for entering again upon this subject after what I have wrote formerly on the same subject

Allow me in the last place to entreat your good offices with His Majesty in my favor and that you'll please to let me know the Kings pleasure thereon

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient

R<sup>t</sup> Honble

& faithfull Servant

Henry Seymour Conway.

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Sir William Johnson to Secretary Conway.*

[ Plantations General (S. P. O.), No. 251. ]

Johnson Hall 28 June 1766.

Sir,

The present state of affairs here, particularly those of my Department, are so very urgent, that I flatter myself, they will apologize for my addressing myself to you without a more formal introduction.

I am no stranger, Sir, to your character, for which I have the utmost veneration, and the favourable reception with which you honored my son, induces me to hope that justice has been

done to mine, and that you will consider the subjects of this letter as coming from a person animated with the warmest zeal for the interests of His Sovereign and the public welfare, and as such I will not encourage a doubt of their engaging some part of your attention.

I have, Sir, during the long course of my correspondence with the Lords of Trade, taken the earliest opportunities of laying before that Board whatever was necessary for their information, which I frequently had the pleasure to find well received, and they generally appeared to be just in the sequel; I have now likewise wrote my thoughts to the Board, tho' I could wish that my present suggestions may prove ill grounded; but having good reason to think otherwise, I should perhaps be deemed wanting in duty if I neglected communicating my thoughts thereon to His Majesty's Minister in like manner as I have at some times formerly done.

There has lately arisen a fresh discontent amongst most of the Indian Nations throughout the Northern parts of this continent, occasioned by many late acts of oppression, by Murders, Robberies & encroachments on their Native rights and possessions, and as these Acts of cruelty and injustice continue or rather gain ground, the discontent and clamours of the Indians is daily increasing, and will in all probability end in a general War, the effects of which I am sorry to say seems only understood by those that have felt them, or those conversant with the state of the Indians, and the little losses they sustain on these occasions, whilst the generality are led away through ignorance interest or prejudice, to treat it as a matter of small importance, so that the Govern<sup>t</sup> becomes too late acquainted with the approaching storm, to apply timely remedies for preventing it.

In my several letters to the Lords of Trade, I have largely stated these matters, and represented as well the sentiments and views of the Indians, as of those who are the occasion of their discontent.

On the reduction of Canada, we became the sole objects of jealousy of the neighbouring Nations, and thro' means of our outposts and Trade acquired an alliance with many powerful Nations, before little known to us, who were equally jealous of our designs, having had their minds poisoned with the artful suggestions of the French, a practice still continued by many interested individuals of that Nation, which it was the business of all his Majesty's subjects here with equal zeal, to remove by their fair dealings and civilities, but the contrary has been too much the practice.

The Indians soon were confirmed in the stories they had heard from the avidity with which they pushed distant settlements; the avarice of low designing Traders, and the contempt, not to say the insults and indignities they daily experienced. These operating on the minds of a jealous people were the principal causes of the late Indian War, which was no sooner terminated at a considerable loss and expence, than the Frontier Inhabitants from Virginia to this Province (tho' they shewed but little alacrity at the time they ought) began under the spacious pretence of Revenge, but in violation of the British faith, to murder, Robb and otherwise grossly misuse all Indians they could find in small partys either on their way to, or from the Southward, or a trading amongst them, whilst these who avoided imbruing their hands in blood, added fuel to their jealousy by encroaching upon their rights and treating the Indians with contempt, much greater than they had ever before experienced; this has at length thoroughly confirmed their opinion of our having projected their ruin. The bounds of this letter will not admit of my being circumstantial, but the whole can be duly authenticated, and the particulars proved, should there any doubt arise concerning them. During the course

of the late Indian War (of which I had obtained previous notice) the Lords of Trade, in obedience to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Commands, drew up heads of a Bill, and transmitted the plan for my opinion for the future management of Indian affairs under our uniform general plan, for making such establishments as appeared necessary for carrying it into execution, in which provision was made against all abuses in Trade or otherwise, and my powers clearly ascertained, with the particulars whereof, you Sir, are doubtless acquainted as well, as that nothing has been done therein since, which I attribute to the late disturbances in the Colonies that required so much the attention of his Majesty's Ministers, so that with a good inclination, some experience and personal influence over the Indians, I have it not as yet in my power, to take the necessary steps for preventing the impending danger, which is daily increasing, occasioned by the ill conduct of numbers of the Frontier Inhabitants, who seem regardless of the Laws, and not only perpetrate Murders whenever opportunity offers, but think themselves at liberty to make settlements where they please, a number in particular have settled at *Red Stone Creek* near Fort Pitt where they bid defiance to authority, although if capable of thinking they must fall a sacrifice to their obstinacy; in this situation little can be expected from my endeavours, for neither presents, fair speeches and promises can reconcile the Ind<sup>ns</sup> to bear such encroachments and insults. Although the several Governors do all in their power to check them and punish the Delinquents, yet such are the prejudices of the people, that few would chose to apprehend them, or if apprehended to convict them, and the powers of Govern<sup>t</sup> are become really to weak for any material exertion of authority here.

Our People in general are very ill calculated to maintain friendship with the Indians, they despise those in peace, whom they fear to meet in war, this with the little artifices used in Trade, and the total want of that address and seeming kindness practiced with such success by the French, must always hurt the Colonists, on the contrary, could they but assume a friendship and treat them with Civility and candour, we should soon possess their hearts and much more of their Country than we shall do in a Century by the conduct now practiced which furnishes the ill disposed amongst the French (who are eager to Trade in the Indian Country from under the eye of a Commanding Officer or Inspector) with many spacious arguments to convince the Indians that they can expect no happiness till a change of Govern<sup>t</sup>, with the hope of which many of the French, and the greatest part of the Indians are buoyed up, which there is sufficient proof.

The weakness of the power of Govern<sup>t</sup> here, the disorders amongst the people, the present extent & sentiments of our Indian Allies, and the want of powers in my Commission render it absolutely necessary that I should apply to you Sir, that I may be properly supported, and that some regulations may be made and fixed in my department to enable me to discharge my duty with success, wh<sup>ch</sup> I cannot take upon me to do in my present situation, but these regulations once determined on, will I am persuaded create a saving to the Crown, and produce many advantages to the Colonies.

Permit me, Sir, to assure you of my profound respect, and to entreat for a favourable reception of this honest disinterested representation, which I have particularly addressed to you because it is calculated for the interests of the Crown & People.

I have the honor to be etc.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[Plantations General Papers, XXV., (K. 11.)]

Johnson Hall 28<sup>th</sup> June 1766

My Lords

My latest letter was of the 22<sup>d</sup> March, wherein I informed your Lordships of the Generals concurring with me on the immediate necessity of appointing the Commissaries, at such places as most required them, which has been accordingly done, and I daily expect to meet and hold a Congress with Pondiac and the Western Chiefs, who are now on their way agreeable to appointment, I wish it may prove of as good consequence as I hoped for last Winter but affairs being greatly changed for the worse, I think it needfull to give your Lordships immediate notice thereof.

Your Lordships will please to recollect that my former letters contained many accounts as well of the Artifices and Villainous Conduct of Sundry French Traders and Wanderers of that Nation as of the Licentious disposition of Numbers of our Frontier Inhabitants who tho' they in General did little or nothing durement the Indian War to which their own ill conduct had greatly contributed, yet afterwards in Violation of Treaty's, began to encroach upon the Indians rights and murdered several straggling Indians in Cold Blood.—I was in some hopes that this conduct of theirs would receive a check and that the Delinquents would have been apprehended and punished, but the increasing licentiousness of the People of late leaves me no reason to expect it, for they now bid defiance to Authority and think of settling where they please. A Number of them have now fixed themselves at Rid Stone Creek near Fort Pitt beyond the Bounds of any Province which has given occasion to a General Complaint, but what is still worse, they have murdered no less than 15 Indians within these few Months past, in the back parts of Virginia, Pensilvania and New Jersey, several of whom I personally knew to have been always faithfull and well disposed, and it appears from the Affidavits transmitted to me by the Governours that some of them were peaceably Trading with the Inhabitants, and other passing quietly to and from the Southward, but notwithstanding the pains taken by Governours Franklin,<sup>1</sup> Penn &c<sup>a</sup> the Delinquents cannot be apprehended and some of them have been rescued and Goals broke open to free them, and as almost every Nation has felt some part of their cruelty the discontent among the Indians is become general and they grow very clamorous for Justice, I have had Deputations from most of them to assure me of their inclination to preserve the peace, but that the Chiefs can no longer restrain the Warriors nor be answerable for any future consequences, and the private Intelligence I receive from all Quarters convinces me that they mean to renew hostilities forthwith.—the ignorant people who are guilty of all this without reflecting that they will first fall a sacrifice to their obstinacy still continue this conduct in so much that I can no longer amuse the Indians with promises of Justice as they see plainly that we either want the power or the will to redress them.

<sup>1</sup> Sir WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Knight, was the illegitimate son of the celebrated Dr. Franklin, and was born about the year 1731. He served as Postmaster of Philadelphia, and as Clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He held a captain's commission during the French war, and acted with great bravery at Ticonderoga. He afterwards accompanied his father to England, where he was so fortunate as to be patronized by the Earl of Bute. He received the honor of Knighthood and was appointed Governor of New Jersey in 1762. When the Revolution broke out, he adhered to the Royal cause, was taken prisoner in 1776, and sent to Connecticut. He continued a prisoner until 1778, when he was exchanged and soon after went to England, where he received a pension of £800 a year from the Crown. He died in that country in November, 1813. He was twice married. *Sabine; Duer's Life of Lord Sterling.*—Ed.

In short the Executive Powers of Government are so weakened, and the populace grown so confident that the Tenants of some Mannors within this Province have assembled in bodies, refused to pay rent and prescribed laws to their Landlords, which occasioned the Posse to be raised who with reluctance went against them when a skirmish ensued in which about 24 persons were killed or wounded on both sides, and more such doings are threatned. I mention this last affair because I apprehend it may not become public as it really happened for reasons which must appear obvious to your Lordships.

But with regard to Indians, there can be no Expectation of redress here, for our People as I have often observed are not at all calculated for gaining the Indians esteem and removing their jealousy, On the contrary the unconquerable aversion of some, & the Interests & prejudices of others will prove a means of protecting Delinquents from falling into the Hands of Justice, or acquitting them if brought to a tryal, I have very good authorities for this assertion or I should not make use of it, So that as the case now stands a remedy is immediately required, and the circumstances of Affairs are become so critical that I have taken upon me to transmit a Summary of them, to Mr Conway by this opportunity, in which I hope I am excuseable from the Urgency of Affairs here.—If the plan formerly proposed by your Lordships Board be carried into Execution or some establishment fixed as expressed in the letter I was then honoured with for the regulation of Indian Affairs both Commercial & Political upon one general system under the direction of Officers of the Crown so as to set aside all local interfering of particular Provinces, & the Powers of the Superintendant and his Officers clearly ascertained it would be a saving to the Crown and an advantage to the Public, and till then I cannot see how it is possible to remedy the foregoing evils or effectually prevent the seeds of discontent from growing into a rupture. I shall do every thing I can to still the minds of the Indians, but sensible of the weakness of my efforts against such a World of Complaints, I must again beg your Lordships support, and that you will be pleased to recommend it in such a manner as may be most conducive towards effecting it on that footing which promises the most success. Give me leave to add that the proposed Boundary between us and the Indians, for which I prepared them last year, is extremely desired by them, and so soon as I am authorized to settle it will I am hopefull prove in no small degree usefull for preventing disputes on that subject.

On the death of Mr Marsh in January 1765 I took the liberty to recommend Mr Richard Shuckburgh to your Lordships to succeed him as Secretary to Indian Affairs, he having been long conversant with subjects of that nature but not having yet been honoured with an answer I must beg the favour of receiving your commands respecting the vacancy which I hope will be filled up in favour of my recommendation.

I am my Lords, with the most perfect esteem—

Your Lordships most obedient & most humble Servant

The Right Honorable the Lords of Trade &c<sup>a</sup>

WM. JOHNSON.

*Memorial of Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General, XXVI., T. No. 1. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY in Council

The Memorial of S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson Bart. your Majesty's sole agent & Superintendant of Indian affairs for the Northern district of North America and Coll of the 6 united Nations their allies & dependants &c.

Most humbly sheweth

That your Majesty's Memorialist ever since his arrival in America hath with unwearied assiduity cultivated the esteem of the Northern Indians particularly of the 6 Nations whose influence over the rest has been and still continues very considerable

That the Interest of your memorialist, amongst the Indians, procured him an early appointment to the managem<sup>t</sup> of their affairs in 1746, a second appointm<sup>t</sup> in 1755 & a commission from your Matys Royal Grandfather for his present office in 1756 since continued by your Matys Commission at the commencement of your own auspicious reign these together with the Honors to which your memorialist has been raised have inspired him with the highest sentiments of Loyalty Zeal & duty and have at the same time emboldened him to implore your royal attention to the following succinct state of his case, in humble hope that he may be deemed worthy that notice which it has ever been his study & his ambition to merit

That at his first appointment in 1746 (at which time he received a Coll<sup>d</sup> Commission from the Governor of New York) he found the Indian Interest in so visible a decline that no person had Interest enough to obtain a Treaty with the 6 Nations, who were dayly withdraw<sup>n</sup> to Canada, and committing all manner of cruelties on your Majestys American subjects yet your Memorialist was so fortunate by his personal Interest & unwearied endeavors as to give a check to their inroads, to secure the fidelity of the remaining Indians and to animate many of them to proceed against the Enemy, from whom they took several prisoners, and scalps during the course of that war, all which will fully appear by the records of Indian affairs & other authentick proofs after which services your memorialist transmitted his commission to London hoping for a confirmation of his rank, which several officers bearing the like commiss<sup>ns</sup> from the Governor of this Province had then obtained but your Memorialist did not obtain such confirmation.

That in the year 1746 your memorialist undertook and at his own private hazard supplied the important (and that time) only Frontier Fort called Oswego and this at a period when the Garrison must otherwise have abandoned that place, That he continued to supply the same till the year 1750 at the particular desire of the late Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton, but nevertheless the House of Assembly objected to the payment of his just accounts as well as what he had expended on Flags of Truce for the redemption of Captives from Canada and in the entertainm<sup>t</sup> of several French officers on public business whose charges he paid by the Governors express orders on all which accounts there now remains due to your memorialist the sum of £2476 5 7½ Sterling

That in the year 1747. your Majesty's Memorialist was by the Governors commission appointed Coll of a Regiment of fourteen companies raised for the defense of the province, That he was at a considerable expence on that occasion in visiting the several quarters &



Cantonments of his Regiment during a year, but alltho' all his officers & men were paid by the Province he has never yet received either his Pay or any allowance whatsoever

That in the year 1751 upon receiving an authentick account of the steps then taken by the Governor of Canada to erect a Post at Onondago Lake in the center of the Country of the six Nations, to which a number of the cheifs of the Indians had agreed, your Majestys Memorialist (sensible how necessary it was to prevent an establishment which supported by the influence and address of active jesuits must not only totally alienate the whole six Nations from the British Interest but prove the ruin of the Frontiers) immediately summon<sup>d</sup> the Cheifs of the Onnondagoes to a conference when after laying before them the danger of such a settlement and exhorting them to lay it aside he desired that as a proof of the esteem they professed for him they would grant him that Lake with the Land about it of the distance of two miles for which they should have a handsome present, to this they agreed and accordingly affixed their signatures to a deed for that purpose, after which your memorialist paid them in the presence of witnesses the sum of £350 Sterling

That your memorialist having nothing in view but the securing the property of this important Tract for the use of the Crown immediately offered the same to the Government of New York who refused to reimburse your Memorialist tho afterwards a minute of Council was made that the said Tract should be granted to him and his Heirs by way of restitution for the debts due to him from the Province But your Memorialist has never taken any step to procure such grant being unwilling to engage in Land affairs lest the malicious might have a color to draw illnated inferences and your memorialist be thereby rendered less able to serve the Publick

That the Six Nations have given your memorialist by deed a Tract of Land on the Susquehannah River within the said Province for which he paid them a large sum of money and a Tract on the North side of, and at the same distance from the Mohawk River near Canajoharee hath been given him by a Deed from the whole Mohawk Nation in Testimony of their Friendship for him, for which he then paid them before Witnesses 1200 pieces of eight & the expences of surveying, and some Presents since amounts to as much more, these have involved your Memorialist in much expence for altho' the Indians expect their Presents be accepted they nevertheless require an handsome return with which your memorialist (to keep up his Interest and connections with them) has always complied, and yet your Memorialist hath not reaped the least advantage from any of his Indian Grants (which few of your Majestys subjects in these parts would have neglected) not being in possession of a foot of Land in America but what he has purchased from the white inhabitants thereof

That as this Tract of Land near Canajoharee lies contiguous to his own estate your memorialist is desirous of obtaining your Majestys Royal Grant for the same and hath transmitted a survey thereof to the Governor of New York to the end that the same may be sent to London your Majestys Memorialist saw the first Cause of the Indians defection from the Interest of Great Britain & how little pains were taken to cultivate a good understanding with them for this reason your Memorialist declined the management of Indian affairs on behalf of the Province and finding himself unsupported with the only means of securing the Friendship of the several Nations he did not chuse to enjoy the mere name of an employm<sup>t</sup> without the power of rendering it useful to the public & therefore your Memorialist would not reassume the exercise of his Department till requested thereto by General Braddock in 1755

That upon your memorialists appointment in 1755 no person conversant in Indian affairs could have expected the least success from Negotiations as these people found themselves

totally neg[li]cted from the time of his declining their management in 1751 & after repeated complaints thereof and of our neglecting to prevent the encroachments then intended by the French in 1753 in the presence of the Governor of New York they broke the Covenant Chain of Friendship between them and him which occasioned much uneasiness throughout the Province & the whole body of the Legislature earnestly entreated your memorialist to take upon him these affairs once more

That your memorialist beyond his most sanguine expectations had the satisfaction to change the unfavorable aspect of affairs by a constant & indefatigable application to business & by the success of that campaign in 1756 in which he commanded an army & was superintendant of Indian affairs but without any pay

That soon after your late Royal predecessor honored your memorialist with the Title of a Baronet of Great Britain appointed him superintendant of Indian affairs with a Salary of £600 sterling p<sup>r</sup> annum and a Colonel of the Six Nations, and your memorialist likewise was honored with a parliamentary reward of £5000, for all which he shall ever consider himself as under the strongest obligations & bound by every Tye of Gratitude Duty & inclination to the Crown & to his Country. But your Majestys Memorialist most humbly craves leave to remark that his appointment unsolicited by him and that the only motive he had for accept<sup>g</sup> it was the hopes of doing public service which his long acquaintance with and personal influence over the Indians gave him reason to expect, for your Memorialist was at the time of his appointment engaged in a considerable Commerce by supplying many Traders with Goods which brought him in large returns infinitely exceeding his appointment all which he was of course obliged to lay aside to the great prejudice of his private fortune & to embark in a department which from his ardent desire to discharge in a proper manner is attended with the most inconceivable trouble to which he is necessitated to devote his whole time & to sacrifice every domestic tho' interesting concern, your Majestys Memorialist most humbly begs leave to add that he has taken the field each campaign since 1755 in a Military capacity by virtue of his Colonel's Commission, and this at a great expence tho without any pay or allowance for that service

That in the year 1759 your memorialist had the honor to command the army after the death of General Prideaux at the siege and reduction of the important Post Niagara for which he never received the usual or any allowance whatever & yet even his commission & Rank as a Colonel has been disputed as it has not yet been confirmed in England, tho' it has subjected him to an expence far exceeding his salary as a civil officer

That the constant resort as well of Indians as of all other persons on publick affairs the increase of your memorialists own necessary expences incurr'd from his station the neglect of every opportunity of serving himself as a private man having no landed interest which for an age to come can produce an income of any considerable value renders it impossible for him to support the dignity to which he has had the honor of being raised by a Salary of £600 p<sup>r</sup> annum as Superintendant of Indian affairs, add to this that your memorialist's constant endeavours to preserve the Fidelity of the Indians to your Majesty compels him to prevent Frauds abuses & impositions upon them and in consequence exposes him to the malice of all those selfish Persons, who preferring their own private Interests to the honor of the Crown the security of the Frontiers willingly take all advantages of the Indians and are enemies to all those who oppose their designs



Your Majestys Memorialist therefore most humbly craves leave to implore your royal favor in consideration of the prejudice he has received in his private Fortune by the total neglect of his private concerns and of every fair and honest way of increasing his fortune as a private man in consideration of the sums of Money he has expended in the public Service of the additional expence he has incurr'd by his acting as a military officer without Pay Preferment or any other advantage all which greatly exceed the parliamentary Reward he was honored with, and lastly in consideration that he has acquired no Grants of the several Tracts of Land he has paid for. And your Majestys Memorialist flatters himself that if this just Representation of his case be deemed worthy of your Majestys Royal attention you will be graciously pleased to grant to your Memorialist & his heirs the said Tract of Land on the North side of the Mohawk River to which your Memorialist has an indisputable Indian Title, to confirm your Memorialist in his Rank, to augment his Salary as Superintendant of Indian affairs in such manner as to enable him to support the expence thereof, to grant him a recompense for his pay as an officer & for the money he has advanc'd for the public Service or to relieve your memorialist in such other manner as your Maty shall in your great Wisdom judge most fit

And your Memorialist shall as in duty bound ever pray.

8<sup>th</sup> of July 1766.



*Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( N., ) p. 12. ]

To Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the North District of America

Sir

As the Subject matter of the several letters we have received from you has reference to the whole state of that interior Part of His Majesty's Dominions in America which is by the Royal Proclamation of October 1763, precluded from Settlement and taken out of the Jurisdiction of the civil Governments; and that as that state is complicated with a great variety of considerations of the most difficult and extensive nature, it has been impossible for us, amidst the other pressing business that has occur'd, so to prepare our thoughts & opinion upon this important Subject, as to be able as yet to lay them before His Majesty we will endeavour however, before the next Packet, to bring on the consideration at least of such Parts of your correspondence as do in any respect stand detached from and independent of the general Plan proper to be pursued, in order that such regulations may be made, & directions given thereupon as shall appear to be necessary preparatory to that general Consideration which the present state of the national Interests in this essential Point, appears to require.

In the mean time we avail ourselves of the present Occasion to transmit to you the inclosed Petition presented to us on behalf of the French and English Inhabitants of Montreal, desiring you will examine into, and report to us, the Nature of the regulations at Michilimacnac therein complained of, and use your authority to redress any Grievance which the free Commerce of His Majesty's Subjects in that District may labour under.



As to that Part of the memorial which relates to the extraordinary Claim of certain persons to a right of the soil, and of an exclusive Right of trading in that immense District to the westward of Lake Michigan pretended to be purchas'd of Mons<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil we have not the least Doubt but that such claim will, upon an examination of every principle upon which it is set up, be found to be invalid, and without the least shadow of real title to suport it; but we conceive it will be necessary before any determination can be had upon this matter that it should undergo the examination of the Law Servants of the Crown. We are

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servants

DARTMOUTH

JOHN ROBERTS

J. DYSON

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

PALMERSTON<sup>1</sup>

11 July 1766.

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*Lords of Trade to Governor Moore.*

[New-York Entries, Q., 372.]

To Sir Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York.

Sir

The letters which we have received from you since your arrival in your government are severally dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of November and 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1765. 16<sup>th</sup> of January 22<sup>d</sup> of February, 20<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of March, 30<sup>th</sup> of April, and 13<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of May last.

The former part of your correspondence relates chiefly to the disordered state in which you found the affairs of the Province upon your arrival, occasioned by the intemperate opposition of the people to the execution of the Stamp Act; and as you will have been already informed of the result of the deliberations of Parliament upon this measure, we have only to express our approbation of your prudent conduct during those riotous proceedings, and our hope that the repeal of that Act will have been received with a proper temper, and the other act which accompanied it, with a due submission to the Legislative Authority of the mother Country.

Your recommendation of M<sup>r</sup> Cruger<sup>2</sup> to be of the Council of New York will not be forgot whenever a vacancy happens; but (M<sup>r</sup> Clarke having signified to us his intention of returning to New York early in the next Spring) M<sup>r</sup> Cruger's appointment cannot take place immediately.

<sup>1</sup> HENRY TEMPLE, 2d Viscount Palmerston, on the Irish Peerage, was born 4 December, 1730, and succeeded to his father's title in 1757. He was elected for the borough of East Looe, in Cornwall in 1762, and was appointed to the Board of Trade in December, 1765, but continued there not quite a year. He was named one of the Lords of the Admiralty in 1766, and died 17th April, 1808, in the 71st year of his age. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> HENRY CRUGER was an eminent merchant of New-York, and was, from 1745 to 1759, one of the representatives of that city in the Assembly, of which body he was an influential member. In August, 1767, he was called to the Council, and continued to have a seat in that board until August, 1773, when he resigned. *New-York Assembly Journal; Council Minutes.* In May, 1775, Mr. Cruger embarked at New-York for England, in the hope of obtaining some relief at the watering places in that country from a painful disease which threatened his life, and died on the 5th of February, 1780, at Bristol, which city his son Henry represented in Parliament. Mr. Cruger's remains were interred in the Cathedral of Bristol. *Van Schaack's Life of P. Van Schaack*, 48.

We wish you had been more explicit in your letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, as to the nature of the relief which you recommend to be given to the Province of New York in respect to the Paper currency. If the indulgence that is requested implies a release from the restriction in respect to legal tender, you must have been sensible that as the law now stands, that restriction, either as it refers to any fresh emission, or to the prolongation of the periods of what is already in circulation, could not be taken off without the interposition of Parliament, and therefore we could only construe your proposition as applying to the restriction contained in the 20<sup>th</sup> Article of your general Instructions; and as there did not appear to us any objection to the taking off that restriction, we have recommended the total revocation of that instruction, apprehending that no inconveniences can follow to the Province of New York from the temporary operation of the act of Parliament, seeing that the whole of its paper currency will not, as you apprehend, cease in the year 1767. it appearing from the Returns made to us by the proper Officer that the emissions of 1758. 1759 and 1760. amounting to £260000 will remain in circulation until the first Tuesday in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1768. before which time the further sense of Parliament in respect to the American Currency and the propriety of allowing it a legal tender, may be obtained.

Our report upon this subject has been approved in Council, and we have prepared and laid before His Majesty an Additional Instruction, allowing you in case you shall find it necessary, to issue a further sum of £260000 under certain regulations & restrictions; but we doubt whether this matter can be brought to a final conclusion so as to enable us to transmit the instruction to you before the sailing of the next packet. In the mean time we herewith inclose to you an extract of a Report of this Board containing a state of the arguments against legal tender, desiring you will communicate them to the principal merchants at New York and to such other persons to whom you in your discretion shall think it advisable to refer this consideration, to the end that if the question of legal tender should come again before Parliament, as we understand it will, we may be apprised of every thing that can be urged in opposition to those arguments, which at present carry with them great weight.

The Instruction to the Governor of Jamaica is in respect to Royal Mines to which you refer in your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of May was originally given in the case of a particular application made here, and has we conceive become a general Instruction by having been inadvertently inserted in the code of Instructions given to the Governor; but as no such authority is, or we think, ought to be given to the Governors of other Colonies and as the consideration of the conditions on which it may be proper to make grants of Royal Mines in New York is now before us upon reference from the Council of a particular application for that purpose, we do not think it advisable, under these circumstances to recommend your having general authority in this case, conceiving it more proper that all applications with respect to mines of Silver, should be referred to the consideration and decision of His Majesty's Council here.

We very much approve and recommend the attention you appear by your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of April to have given to the interests of the Crown, in respect to it's revenue of Quit Rents and the steps you have taken for coming at the knowledge of the true state of that Revenue; but as it does not clearly appear from your description of the Map you propose to make, what the nature of it will be, or how it will open the discovery you point out, it would be a great satisfaction to us, before any further proceedings are had in this business, or at least before any considerable expence is incurred which the Quit Rents in their present state are little able to bear, to receive from you a more full and explicit Account of the nature of your design than is conveyed by your letter above mentioned, accompanied with an estimate of the expence that

will attend the execution of it; & which we the rather recommend as we are already possessed of a very accurate and useful survey of the Province of New York by Captain Holland and others, in which the most material patents are marked and their boundaries described.

We are sensible that the establishing a Court of Exchequer would be for the interest and advantage of the Crown in many essential points, and in none more than in that which respects it's property in lands and Quit Rents; but it is a consideration of too great importance to be hastily taken up, and having a reference to the state of all of His Majesty's Colonies in America in general, ought not we think to be taken up with a view to the particular interests of one only. We shall however give all due attention to it in a proper time, and shall not lose sight of so desirable and important an object.

It does not appear to us that the proposition of giving a power to the Governors of His Majesty's Colonies to compound debts due to the Crown, in the cases and to the extent you mention in your letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May is, in the general view of it, liable to any material objection; but it is so much a consideration of law, that we have thought it advisable, before we make any report upon it, to refer your letter and the paper transmitted with it, to His Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General for their report whether they think it necessary to give such authority as you recommend, and if they do, in what manner it may be most properly given.

Inclosed we send you heads of Inquiry relative to the state of New York, such as are usually given to the Governors of other Colonies, to which we must desire of you to make a very full and explicit return, as soon as conveniently may be, recommending it to your careful attention as a matter of great importance to His Majesty's service. We are, Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servants

DARTMOUTH

JOHN ROBERTS

J. DYSON

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

PALMERSTON.

Whitehall

July 11. 1766

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*Governor Moore to Secretary Conway.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

Fort George N York 14 July. 1766

Sir

In a letter which I had the Honor of writing to you of the 30 April I mentioned a disturbance which had arose in the County of Dutchess here & at the same time my expectations that the Proclamation I then issued would put a speedy end to it. In this I was disappoint<sup>d</sup> and allthough the Rioters immediately changed their intentions of coming to this City yet upon their return home the disorders increased to such a Degree, that the civil officers of that county were under a necessity of petitioning for a military Assistance, in consequence of which orders were sent by general Gage to His Matys 28<sup>th</sup> Regiment which was on the



March to this Place, to go on that Service. The regiment is now come to this City after having restored good order to the County and made a considerable number of Prisoners in which are two of the principals many others are dayly surrendering & are to take their Tryal at a Court of Oyer and Terminer which will begin in eight or ten days; two companies of the Regiments at the request of the inhabitants are left in the County to guard the Prison, and prevent any further commotions there till the Offenders are tryed. It would be doing injustice to Major Brown<sup>1</sup> as well as the whole Corps not to mention their behaviour on this occasion, which has been such that the Majistrates of the Country and all the civil officers have given them the greatest commendations not only for the exact discipline they maintained but for their great readiness in going on any service required by which means the rioters were so soon reduced for some blood has been shed on the Occasion

I have taken the liberty of inclosing a Paper supposed to be wrote in Virginia but copied into all the other Papers of the Continent as I am informed which seems to speak the true sentiments of the Inhabitants of this part of the world in plainer Terms than any one else can do for them. If these notions were only adopted in Virginia I should not have presumed to trouble you with them but as they seem to be so general, I thought it incumbent on me in support of what I had already advanced in my last letter to let you see how small an impression has been made on them by the late signal instances of favor received from His Majesty and His Parliament, and how little gratitude is likely to be expressed for the Benefits conferred on them, I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient

Rt Honble

H S Conway.

& humble Servant

H MOORE

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*Lords of Trade to Governor Moore.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 382. ]

To Sir Henry Moore Bart Governor of New York.

Sir.

His Majesty having been pleased by an Order in Council to refer to us for our consideration and report, a petition of the present Ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the City of New York praying to be incorporated by a Charter under the Seal of the Province of New York for the purposes set forth in the said petition; we think it necessary not only from a consideration of the nature of this petition in general, but also as it refers to a like application formerly made by the said Ministers to Lieut Governor Delancey, and to proceedings had

<sup>1</sup> Hon. ARTHUR BROWNE, second son of the 1st Earl of Sligo, was appointed a captain in the 28th Foot in 1755, which regiment formed part of Lord Loudon's army in 1757; of the expedition against Louisburgh in 1758, and of that against Quebec in 1759. In 1762 he served at the siege of Havanna, and in 1763 received the commission of Major. He became Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment in 1757, when it returned to Ireland. The 28th came again to America in 1775, but Lieut Col. Browne did not accompany it, having left the corps in September of that year. He became a Colonel in the army in 1777, and died 21 July, 1779. *Army Lists; Debrett.* — Ed.

thereupon, to send you the inclosed copy of the said petition, desiring that you will, after having communicated it to the Council for such advice and information as they may be able to give you upon it, report to us in the fullest manner the present state and condition of this Protestant Establishment, and also all the proceedings upon the petition, alledged to have been presented in the administration of Mr Delancey, and the reasons why such petition did not succeed at that time, with your opinion whether from any particular circumstance in the present state of the Province of New York there are any objections to complying with a request, which in the general and abstracted view of it appears to us to be no ways improper or unreasonable

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient Servants

DARTMOUTH

JOHN ROBERTS

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

PALMERSTON.

Whitehall

July 29, 1766

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*Lords of Trade to the Governors in America.*

[Mus: Brit: King's MS., 206, Fol. 1.]

Whitehall August. 1<sup>st</sup> 1766.

In pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March last, and of His Majesty's Commands thereupon, signified to us by His Grace the Duke of Richmond, in a Letter to us dated the 11<sup>th</sup> ultimo, you are forthwith to prepare, and, as soon as possible transmit to us, in order to be laid before the House of Commons in the next Session, a particular and exact Account of the several Manufactures which have been set up and carried on within the Colony under your Government since the year 1734. and of the Public Encouragement which have been given thereto.

You are also from time to time Annually to transmit the like Account of any Manufactures which shall hereafter be set up, and of the Public Encouragement which have been given thereto.

We are &<sup>c</sup>

DARTMOUTH,

ED. ELLIOT.

JOHN ROBERTS.

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

PALMERSTON.

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*Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore.*

[New-York Papers, S. P. O., N. 1. CLIX., 61.]

Whitehall Aug 9<sup>th</sup> 1766

Sir

I took the first opportunity after His Majesty had been most graciously pleased to entrust me with the Seals of the Southern Department, to lay before him your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> June,

giving an account of the general satisfaction expressed by all ranks & degrees of People on the Repeal of the stamp act, and likewise your reasons for assenting to a Bill for providing Barracks, Firewood, Candles, Bedding and Utensils for the Kitchen for the Kings Troops, as demanded notwithstanding the articles of Salt, Vinegar Cyder and Beer, be not included under a Pretence that they are not provided for Troops lodged in Barracks in Europe.

I have His Majestys Commands to acquaint you of the satisfaction he feels in the happiness of His subjects arising from the tender care and consideration of the Parliament but I am ordered to signify to you at the same time that as it is the indispensable duty of his subjects in America to obey the acts of the Legislature of Great Britain, The King both expects & requires a due and cheerfull obedience to the same and it can not be doubted that His Matys Province of New York after the Lenity of Great Britain so recently extended to America will not fail duly to carry into execution the Act of Parliament past last Session for quartering His Majestys Troops in the full extent and meaning of the Act without referring to the usage of the other parts of His Majestys Dominions where the Legislature has thought fit to prescribe different Regulations, and which can not be altered any more than in N<sup>o</sup> America except upon a respectful and well grounded Representation of the Hardship or inconvenience. The[se] considerations I am convinced must of themselves have so much weight with the Assembly of New York not only in the present conjuncture, when it is natural to suppose the minds of men retain sensible impressions of what has lately passed, but upon other occasions which may call for a ready obedience, that I can not think it necessary for me to enlarge further upon their importance I must only Sir in general add that I hope and beleive that a very little time, together with that temperate Administration of Government which your regard to the People under it must make you naturally incline to, and that firmness which your duty to the King equally requires will allay whatever remains of those Heats which have so unhappily for America prevailed and which if continued must prove of the most fatal consequence to whatever Province they are suffered in I am therefore persuaded that the Assembly will lose no occasion that offers of convincing His Majesty that the People of New York will yield to no other part of his Subjects in duty, Loyalty, & obedience to such Laws as the King and Parliament have thought proper to enact for their benefit & Protection.

I am &c

Sir Henry Moore

SHELBURNE

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*Additional Instruction to the Governors in America.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( N. ) 21. ]

Additional Instruction to James Murray Esq: Gov<sup>r</sup> of Quebec. 9. August 1766.

Whereas we have thought fit by Order made in our Privy Council on the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant, to revoke and repeal an Order made in Council by his late Majesty our royal Grandfather, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1752, containing several Rules and Regulations relating to our Colonies and Plantations in America and elsewhere, particularly with respect to the correspondence to be carried on between our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations and the Governors of the



said Colonies and Plantations respectively. It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure to revoke and annul, and We do hereby revoke annul all and every such Part and Parts of our general Instructions, and of any additional Instructions to you, as do direct and require you to correspond in matters relative to your Government with Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations only; And it is Our Will and Pleasure that in all cases wherein you are directed & required to transmit any general or particular accounts of your proceedings, or of matters relative to your Governments, you do, for the future transmit the same to us, by one of our principal Secretaries of State, and also transmit Duplicates thereof to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for their information except in cases of a secret nature.



*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 66 ]

New York. 12. August 1766.

My Lords,

I informed Mr Secretary Cornway in a letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> April last of some disturbances which had arose in the County of Dutchess in this Province, and at the same time acquainted him with the steps taken to suppress them, which together, with a little Military Assistance, soon settled the tranquility of that County, and a Court of Oyer & terminer is now sitting there, in which some of the principal Offenders will be try'd. Since that, the infection has spread into the neighbouring County of Albany, but some of the Rioters have been already taken, and the greatest part of them fled into the Provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, where they appear to be protected by the Magistrates, as all the requisitions made to get them apprehended have proved ineffectual, notwithstanding they are so far from absconding that they appear publicly; so that we must expect to have them returned again into this Prov<sup>ce</sup> as soon as the Force is withdrawn which drove them out, and a new scene of disorder will of course commence. A Tribe of Indians settled at a place called Stockbridge in the Massachusetts Govern<sup>t</sup> seem to be the contrivers of these Riots, and from the information I have received have joined with some of the lower people in the irregularities which have been committed lately; about eight or ten of their Chiefs came to this City some months ago, and made a formal complaint that several persons in this Province were intruders on their Lands, and kept possession of them without paying the least acknowledgement for them, desiring that I would give orders to have them removed; at the same time they shew'd me an order of the Council here, which had been made some years ago on account of a simliar complaint, which directed that notice should be immediately given to the persons in possession to appear and answer, the complaint then made; on my enquiring what had been done in consequence of that order, they informed me that the breaking out of the war, prevented their taking the necessary steps in it, but that now they were ready to produced in the manner they should be directed, upon which I told them, that I could not make any order at present wh<sup>ch</sup> could be more in their favour, than what they had already obtained, and that if they would serve copies of that order on the present possessors, I would immediately upon proof being made of such service by the persons they

should employ for that purpose, fix a day for the appearance of the 'Trespassers here, and have the whole affair examined in their presence. This seem'd to give the satisfaction required, and they retired very much pleased, telling me at their going away, that no Gov<sup>r</sup> had ever taken so much notice of them as I had done, and that they did not doubt but they should now have redress; but redress in a judicial way I apprehend they did not require, as such a variety of strange proceedings must have been brought to light during the examination, that could not possibly turn out to their credit, for the Indians in general (as I am credibly informed) make no ceremony of selling the same Tract of Land as often as any one can be found who will purchase it, which has been constantly practised by them, and by that means they have opened the door to innumerable suits of Law in this Province; and since a practice of this kind prevails even amongst the best sort of them, it is no wonder that it should be adopted among the Stockbridge Indians, who are looked upon by the Six Nations, to be a very despicable Tribe & have shew'd plainly, what their true sentiments are on this occasion, by refusing to submit their claims to be examined by proper authority after having demanded it in form, and at the same time giving leases of Lands which are in the possession of others, and have been aiding and assisting in turning the tenants of them and their families out of doors by Force & putting in others, who have promised to acknowledge them for their Landlords, to the great prejudice and ruin of several families. Many well disposed persons who have refused to join in committing these disorders, have been threatened by them, and are at present afraid of returning to their habitations, so that they will be reduced to great distress. As Sir William Johnson is charged with all Indian affairs, I have wrote to him on this subject and acquainted him how much this Prov<sup>ce</sup> is likely to suffer, if a speedy check is not put to this proceeding. I propose to set out in a few days for the Mohawk Country, where several of their Chiefs are to meet me and shall then enter into an examination of the complaints which have so frequently been made of impositions on them in regard to the purchase of their Lands, and shall make it my business to enquire particularly into the sale of the Kayaderosseras Lands, which seems to give them the most uneasiness. As no pains shall be spared by me to procure them the satisfaction they require, I hope to get a further insight into this matter than ever has been yet obtained, and shall transmit to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> such particulars of my negociation with them as will be worth communicating. From the Mohawk Country I propose to go to the north End of the lake Champlain, in order to ascertain the boundary line between Quebec and this Province, which by His Majesty's order is fix'd at the 45<sup>th</sup> degree. The great expence which has been occasioned to this Prov<sup>ce</sup> by the neglect of so necessary a point, as that of fixing their boundaries, and the dispute still subsisting with the Provinces of Jersey and the Massachusets, have engaged me in this undertaking, and as the lands thereabout are intirely uncultivated, I shall have no disputes to encounter with, by the claims of persons, pretending to be proprietors of the soil, and a matter of this kind is of course much more easily settled than in a cultivated country, where the difference of the Quit rent and the other causes might give uneasiness, altho' the line should be settled with the greatest accuracy. I have wrote to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Quebec, to inform him of my intention, and desired to meet him at a place appointed, requesting at the same time, that in case, either health or business should prevent him, that he would send up some intelligent person, who might be a witness of our transactions there. I shall on this occasion endeavour to obviate any disputes which arise in futuro, and shall not trust to my own skill and judgement, but shall take with me the Mathematical professor of the College here, and a very fine instrument now in his possession, & every observation made, will be in the presence of several Gentlemen

of Fortune in this Province who have promised to attend me in this troublesome expedition Before I return from the Lakes I propose to take the opportunity of taking the latitudes of several places between Albany and the boundaries, that I may be able from thence to form a more correct Map of those parts than what has hitherto been obtained. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lords.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> most obedient

and humble servant

H: MOORE

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 26, No. 4.]

Johnson Hall Aug 20. 1766

My Lords

I have the Honor to enclose your Lordships a copy of the minutes of my proceedings with *Pondiac* and other Western chiefs whom I met at Lake Ontario last month agreeable to my last letter to your Lordships, from whence I am newly returned

At my arrival there I found that these Indians who are now the most considerable throughout the Northern confederacy were a good deal discontented as well thro' the artifices of the French at Detroit &c, who did all in their power to prevent their coming to meet me, as on account of the late murders committed on their allies, whose uneasiness thereat was come to such a pitch, that I judged it necessary to invite some six Nation chiefs to be present, to remove any suspicion they might at so critical a period conceive of my treating privately with the Western Indians, and I apprehend it had a good effect, for before this their clamours for justice were so great & urgent that I had the utmost cause to expect a recommencement of Hostilities, this I have happily prevented for the present, & I hope I shall be supported, and enabled to make good my different engagements and the reasonable promises of justice and favour which it was my duty to make them on the part of the Crown, if this can not be done from the disordered state of things here or from any other cause, the late congress and all my endeavors must prove to no purpose, for your Lordships will please to observe that the repeated misconduct of our people must defeat the end of my arguments and whilst their doubts and suspicions continue they will be ready to take the alarm when any Nation of the confederacy meets with ill treatment and can not obtain redress, for whatever enmity or dislike may subsist between some Nations and others they were too sensible of the advantages of an union to hesitate for a moment in what they think a general cause, their natural suspicions beget a credulity whenever they hear any disagreeable news— War is considered by them as necessary for preserv<sup>g</sup> their military spirit, this agreeing perfectly with their Genius, their young men are of course quick of resentment and ready to begin a war without looking forward to its consequences which they think cannot be more disagreeable than a state of doubts & apprehensions in which they have lived ever since the reduction of Canada, and to which the conduct of the Majority of our people did and does chiefly contribute. Thus as they suspect we intend finally to push them from their present residences, and to hem them in, they are



soon induced to gratify their Revenge on our Frontier Settlements and thereby retard the progress of our Colonies, and remove the immediate cause of their fears, this is at all times in their power and is alone of sufficient importance to induce us to prevent at any rate, for which there are but two methods in our power we must either destroy them all, or make them all satisfied & easy, the latter of which is not so difficult a Task as the prejudiced may pretend, and consists only in dealing justly with them in redressing their greivances, and treating them like Friends and allies or whatever they may be called, for they think themselves no more if to this was added some occasional acts of Generosity for a time it would highten the obligation, and piece we should thereby enjoy would repay the expence with Interest The opinion propagated of their perfidy and disregard to Treatys is founded on the ignorance of the majority of the injuries & slights they have met with. Our former negligence and disregard gave first rise to all the cruelties committed, and our misconduct since has continued their aversion to us, they have high Notions of Right & Wrong and we should have had little reason to upbraid them with the latter, if we had shewn that regard to justice on our engagements which we expected from them, and this can be proved in many instances besides doing them justice, and redressing their Greivances it is highly necessary to convene them after in order to repeat their engagem<sup>ts</sup> and recommend their observance, this practice so necessary amongst people who have no letters is strictly observed by them with one another, and the neglect of it is always considered by them as a disregard to the Treatys themselves. As my late congress regarded only the Western Indians Treatys and private affairs the Greivances which more immediately affect the 6 Nations and their Dependants were not enlarged upon in public, but they have been the subject of several private conferences, not incerted in the copy herewith transmitted and I find myself obliged to have a Congress with the latter in order to quiet their minds thereon, and prevent their prejudicing the Western Indians against us, which they had very nigh done effectually, and had not the four Onondagas mentioned to be killed to the Southward arrived safe & unexpected at opening the congress, hostilities would have ere now been committed. Alltho' the return of these four proved highly agreeable it did not obliterate the remembrance of near twenty murdered in a treacherous manner within the six months past. The same conduct has been in some degree practised in the Southern Governments as M<sup>r</sup> Stuart writes me, tho' not with such a violent Spirit, but in the Northern Colonies where it seems as if the people were determin<sup>d</sup> to bring on a new War tho' their own ruin may be the consequence. A fellow who has lately been executed for an unparalleled murder committed on two Squaws declaring at the Gallows that he thought it a meritorious act to kill Heathens whenever they were found, and this seems to be the opinion of all the common people, I hope his death may have some good effect, as it is the only instance of a persons having suffered for all the late murders, which have chiefly been occasioned by the want of proper Laws, and the mistaken prejudice of the people, The Indians have none but a superintendant to apply to who has it not in his power to redress the smallest Greivances, which must defeat the end of his appointment by lessening him in the eyes of the Indians whose cases are generally so ill circumstanced that they can not have a remedy at Law, and indeed were it otherwise I am bold to assert as I have often done they would have little reason to expect it, their evidence can not be admitted, there is no fund for conducting a suit, had they any prospect of succeeding and the greatest part of their greivances not coming within the strict letter of the Law, tho evidently requiring justice, they must of course remain unredressed, so that some powers vested in proper disinterested hands & confirmed by act of Parliament are absolutely and immediately

wanting for such peculiar cases where no provision has been or can be made in a judicial way for redress in support of which, I must further observe that when the Indians know their cause to be just & yet do not meet with justice they very naturally attribute it to our hatred and want of inclination to redress them, not being able to comprehend the nicetys of Law which caused them to fail or that justice can ever be denied to an equitable case, the consequences of which is that they will first complain, then intimate their resolutions, and afterwards put them in execution, and alltho' it may be in my power for a little time to prevent their having recourse to arms, yet finding my assurances to fail, they will not keep within bounds, and must in the end totally disregard what I say to them I do assure your Lordships that the much greater part of my time is occupied in composing differences occasioned by the lowest of the People who either from views of Trade, Lands or some other interested motives take upon them to convene Indians then say what they please to them, neither is it in my power to check it, the commissaries are in the same situation, they have an office and a duty laid down for them, but no power to execute it, so that it will be impossible for them to answer the purposes of their appointm<sup>t</sup> without being empowered to see commerce equitably conducted, and justice executed in such cases at least as the plan expressed, the Merchants Traders & inhabitants being so interested and connected, it is impossible that any thing can be done to the delinquents and many of them have taken and still take upon them to excite troubles & disputes with the Indians to answer their private views; some, particularly those trading from Canada are using every artifice to trade where they please without being restricted to the Posts by which means they would be free of all inspection which would occasion eternal complaints and troubles, yet notwithstanding this is contrary to the inclination of the much greater part of all the Indians, & against all good policy, I understand they have presumed to abuse the Ear of His Maty's Minister with false arguments and misrepresentations on that head. The great acquisition of Indians into our alliance since the reduction of Canada has produced a considerable alteration in Indian affairs this is a subject requires due observation. I have in several of my letters assured your Lordships that I can not do any thing effectual without my powers are ascertained, I am very unwilling to urge this matter further—but as I have for the present (I am persuaded) fully contented the Western confederacy and expect to do the same with those of the 6 Nations, I should be desirous that the benefits resulting from my Treatys were felt and found to continue but this can not be expected if my labors are constantly overset by the misconduct and injustice of others, or until the officers of the crown are enabled to check those abuses, which are the cause of all our quarrells with the Indians—The six Nations are very uneasy about and anxious to hear concerning the Boundary recommended in the plan, and many of their people are detained from hunting in daily expectation of my receiving orders on that head agreeable to what I informed them of at the congress last year, this boundary when settled will tend greatly to the preventing disputes on that subject I therefore take the liberty to remind your Lordships of it. I presume to write to your Lordships with a plainness and candour becoming a man whose every day, is devoted to promote the Interests of the Crown in the station to which he is appointed, and I rely on your Ldps countenance & support to enable me to conduct myself in a becoming manner therein

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect

My Lords,

Your Ldps most obedient &

To The Rt H<sup>on</sup>ble

most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

The Lords of Trade

W JOHNSON

*Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with Pondiac and other Indians.*[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 26, No. 5. ]  
T.

Proceedings at a Congress with *Pondiac* and Cheifs of the Ottawas, Pautawattamies,  
Hurons and Chippawaes begun Tuesday July 23. 1766

PRESENT — Sir William Johnson Baronet  
Captns. Rogers Claus Butler  
Lieut<sup>a</sup> Shalke of the Royal Artillery  
Hay Com<sup>r</sup> at Detroit  
Ensign Banks  
Norman MacLeod<sup>1</sup> Com<sup>r</sup> Indian affairs at Ontario  
Sundry other Gents & Traders

Sir William opened the Congress

1<sup>st</sup> With 3 Stgs of Wampum performed the usual Ceremony at Meeting

2<sup>d</sup> Condoled the death of *Aughstaghregi* cheif of all the Hurons in the usual form and gave  
3 Black Strouds &ca

3 Covered his grave with a Black Belt of Wamp<sup>m</sup>

Then adjourn<sup>d</sup> for that, the remainder of which was spent in private Conf<sup>a</sup> with the Cheifs  
of the several Nations there assembled

At a Congress with Pondiac &ca. July 24. 1766

PRESENT — as before

The cheifs being all seated Sir William Johnson caused Pondiac's Pipe to be lighted, which  
after having been handed round by the Interpreter to all present he addressed them as follows

Children

My own bad state of Health and the uncertainty of your coming (not having heard from  
you since may last till your arrival here) prevented me from meeting you sooner, I now  
however bid you all heartily Welcome to this place, and I hope the Great Spirit will enable,  
and allow us to meet and see each other often in this Country, as I have now opened the  
Door, and made the Road clear, smooth and easy for you, and all friendly Indians who chuse  
to make use of it, and you may be assured it will not be our faults should the Road be  
obstructed, this I confirm on behalf of the English, with this Belt of Wampum, and I desire  
you will make it known to all the Nations even to the setting of the Sun A Belt

<sup>1</sup> NORMAN MACLEOD, for many years Indian Commissary at Niagara, entered the army originally as Ensign of the 42d Highlanders, in January, 1756, and was promoted to a Lieutenancy in the 69th, in June, 1761. On the reduction of this regiment in 1763, he went on half-pay, and was some time after appointed Commissary at Niagara, under Sir William Johnson. On the breaking out of the troubles in the Colonies, Mr. MacLeod was recalled to active service as a Lieutenant in the 42d regiment, 31 August, 1775; he afterwards exchanged into the 71st in which he obtained a company in 1779. *Army Lists*. He joined the expedition against Charleston in 1780, and was wounded in that campaign. In 1781, part of the regiment was employed at Virginia, and surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown. *Tarleton's Campaigns*. Captain MacLeod's name is continued in the Army List until 1783. — Ed.



## Children

It gave me much pleasure to find that you who are present behaved so well last year and treated in so friendly a manner with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan one of my Deputys, and that you expressed such concern for the base behavior of those, who in order to obstruct the good work of Peace, assaulted and wounded him and murdered some of his party both whites and Indians, a thing before unknown and contrary to the Laws & Customs of all Nations, and what would have drawn upon those Nations that were guilty of so heinous a crime our resentment as also that of many Nations, but for the lenity and great humanity of your Father who pities you and does not delight in spilling or suffering his childrens blood to be spilt; when they make a proper acknowledgement and submission. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan now on his way to the Illinois, in order to settle all matters in that quarter on a proper footing, when I expect that those two Nations who last year behaved so ill, will give us and the Indian Nations whom they have struck a further proof of their sincere repentance and it is incumbent upon you to support him in it, and see that he returns without the least molestation.

A Belt.

## Children

I have now with the approbat<sup>n</sup> of General Gage (your Fathers cheif Warrior in this country) invited you here, in order to confirm and strengthen your proceedings with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan last year, I hope you will remember all that then passed, and I desire that you will often repeat them to your young people and keep them fresh in your minds as we shall do on our parts, as a proof of which here are your calumets and Belts which M<sup>r</sup> Croghan sent me from you, the rest are safe in his possession (here produced their calumets Belts &ca) and over and besides we commit every thing that passes to writing so that our words can not be lost or forgotten, and I do by this Belt recommend it to you to be punctual and faithful in all your engagements with your Father and not think of Trifleing with him

A Belt

## Children

You begin already to see & feel the Fruits of Peace, from the number of Traders and plenty of goods at all the Garrisoned Posts, and our enjoying the Peaceable possession of the *Illinois* will be found of great advantage to the Indians in that country, you likewise now see that proper officers, men of honor and probity are appointed to reside at the Posts, to prevent abuses in Trade, to hear your complaints, and such of them as they can not redress they are to lay before me, Interpreters are likewise sent for the assistance of each of them, and smiths are sent to the posts to repair your arms & implements, all this which is attended with a great expence is now done by the Great King your Father as a proof of His Regard so that casting from you all jealousy and apprehensions, you should now strive with each other who should demonstrate the most gratitude for this best of Princes I do therefore now confirm the assurances I give you of His Majestys good will, & do insist upon your casting away all bad thoughts, and shutting your eyes against all flying idle reports of bad people, who would be glad you lost our favor.

A Belt.

## Children

As you have your Interest much at heart, I felt great concern at finding that some of your people of late began to forget their engagements and murdered two of the Kings soldiers near Detroit, in the time of profound Peace for which two of the Pautawattamies are yet in confinement at the Detroit, they are safe and well taken care of, but it was judged necessary

that they (being of the same nation) should be apprehended and kept safe, untill those who had been guilty of the crime were delivered up to justice, and this is agreeable to their own engagements entered into two years ago. but notwithstanding you have not done so yet, and not doubting but that (on duly considering your promises) you will fulfill them; the General & I from the regard we have for those who remain'd true to their engagements, have thought proper to release them, and an order will be now sent for their enlargement, and they will be restored to their people on your return to Detroit, I therefore expect that you will in return see that proper satisfaction is immediately made for the murder of the two soldiers and that you will deliver up such of our people as may yet be in your Nations, and as to the murder committed lately by a negro on two of your women at Detroit, you know he is of a different Colour & disposition from us, so that his action can not be attributed to the English, on the contrary he will meet with the punishment adequate to the crime and your people may be present to see it inflicted

A Belt

Children

It is with infinite concern that the great men at the head of affairs in this country have heard of the murder of some Indians, by a parcel of lawless Banditti on some of the Frontiers, these mad people were possibly induced thereto from the cruelties exercised upon some of their friends during the late war, and probably many of the Indians have acted indiscreetly since towards them, but be the cause of their conduct what it will, His Majesty highly resents it and his great men in this country (particularly the General) are determined to find them out, and to prosecute them with the utmost severity, so as to deter others from being guilty of the like, let this therefore give you no further concern, as it is not a national thing, but rest assured of our inclination to do you justice and detestation of those who by acts like these would disturb the publick tranquillity so happily established for your Interest

A Belt

Children

I assure you of the King my Masters esteem for all faithfull good Indians, who duly regard their engagements and that he will by no means suffer them to be ill used, so that whenever you have any reason to complain you are to lay the matter candidly before one of the commissaries or other of my officers in your country, who if he can not do you justice, will report it faithfully to me, who having the entire management of your affairs, and the most ready inclination to serve you, will allways study your interest, and exert myself to procure you the satisfaction you may deserve I desire you will for the future wait patiently for redress without suffering your heads to turn, and give an immediate check to any of your people should they get drunk and forget their engagements should any of your people be guilty of murder, you will deliver them up to us in order to have their Trial in like manner as His Majestys English subjects in such case, you shall meet with the like satisfaction from us, and as his Majesty is sincerely disposed to support you, and to have no dealings with your enemys, you will in return, break off all connections with any Nation, who may by a quarrel with us disturb the publick tranquillity and you will assist us if we desire it in bringing them to punishm<sup>t</sup>

A Belt

Children

I earnestly recommend Hunting & Trade to you, which will now be more to your advantage and the happiness of your familys than ever before, as I have already told you that men of

probity & experience are solely appointed to have the particular inspection of it and to redress greivances, these gentlemen are to reside at the Posts that they may be the better enabled to get justice inforced and I desire you will all pay a due respect to them, but whilst Traders ramble thro' your Country without any check, you can not be surprized that some frauds will be committed & I expect that all Traders and other His Matys subjects whose business calls them to the Posts may meet with your Protection

A Belt

Children

I now with this Belt turn your eyes to the sun rising where you will always find me to be your sincere friend, and from me you may depend upon hearing what is true & good, and I charge you never more to listen to those bad birds who come with false stories to lead you astray and to make you break the solemn engagements you have in the presence of the Great Spirit (who detests lyars) entered into with the Great King your Father and his people, and I exhort you all to be strong and lay fast hold of this chain of Friendship with the English, that your children seeing the advantage of it, may follow your example and may be a happy people which I should rejoice to see

Then Pondiac spoke

Father

Your children heartily thank you for what you have said to them to day, and have heard every with pleasure as every thing is good and will give an answer to every article of it tomorrow if we should forget any thing beg you will remind us of our omission, as we would be sorry to forget any part of it.

Then Sir William delivered a copy of the speech to the Interpreter to be again repeated to them at their Quarters and adjourned for this day

At a Congress — July. 25<sup>th</sup>

PRESENT — as before

Tiata Cheif of the Hurons spoke

Father

We are come here to day to open our minds to you the Kings Representative, and hope you'l excuse us in case we are not able to make a minute answer to every thing you have said to us. Father when we get home to our village we shall shew you by our conduct the unanimity of our opinion. you expect perhaps that we may give an answer word for word to what has been spoken to us but we must content ourselves at this time to thank you for all y<sup>r</sup> goodness, for having opened the roads & made every thing smooth, and being willing to assist us in promoting Peace, which is the only means we can have, to see our children prosper, be persuaded of our fidelity and determination to follow your good advice as it is so much for our benefit and that of Posterity You may be assured that we won't omit giving the proper instructions to our Warriors & children, that they may be filled with the sentiments of Peace, and they pray the Great Spirit to aid & assist them therein

A Belt 9 Rows

Father

It is many years since you (Sir William) first instilled good things into our minds, and you repeated the same sundry times, particularly last year by your Deputy Mr Croghan, We are



very sensible of your kindness & good advice, which we often repeat amongst ourselves that it may not be forgotten We now perceive the goodness of the King our father, in sending so many Traders to the different Posts, and we shall do what we can to support them and use them as our Brothers I address my speech to all our Brothers of all Nations, and advise them to behave in the same way we do, for in truth there is nothing upon earth can persuade us to do ill, for me I am stedfast and resolve to quitt all evil and follow whats good, and I act with you as I did with my French Father. My sentiments are to hold the chain of Friendship as fast as I can, and I hope yours are the same and I advise all the rest of our Brether<sup>n</sup> to do the like, as its the only method to keep us in amity & friendship A Belt 10 Rows.

Father

We beg you will excuse us if we do not explain ourselves properly if our Language is deficient our hearts and sentiments are not and when we get to our Interpreters at home we can explain things better, We heartily thank you Father for hav<sup>e</sup> thought of every thing for our advantage for appointing Commissaries for each Post as we do for your appointing Interpreters, and smiths, and beg you by this string of Wampum, to order the latter to repair as well, our arms as well as all our other implements, and this we do in the name of all the Nations about *Detroit*. Father you see here before you *M<sup>r</sup> Crawford* whom you sent to us, and who has ever since Spring applied himself assiduously to his duty for which reason, and as *Detroit* is a place of great rendezvous for several Nations, we should be glad he was appointed to assist the commissary there. A String

Then Pondiac addressed Sir William

Father

I beg you will attend to what I have to say and that you will make allowance for my want of understanding Father, we heartily thank the great Spirit for affording us so a fine day to meet upon such good affairs. I speak in the name of all the Nations to the Westward whom I command it is the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet here to day and before him and all present I take you by the hand and never will part with it, and I call him to witness that what I now say I shall stedfastly perform, for since I took Coll Croghan whom you sent to us last year by the hand, I have not let it slip, from this day I am resolved to hold your hand faster than ever, for I perceive that the Great Spirit who has made all these Lands about us will have it so. Father while my Father of France was in this country I held him by the hand and never did any bad action now he is gone I this day take you by the hand in the name of all the Nations of which I will acquaint those at home and promise as long as I live no ill shall ever happen about *Detroit*, if in my power to prevent it. A Belt 7 Rows

Father

You told us yesterday to have sense and to avoid those bad people who delight in doing mischeif and disturbing the public tranquillity and you may be assured we shall observe what you said, you likewise advised us of *M<sup>r</sup> Croghans* journey to the Illinois, and desired that we would take care that he returned safe, Father be assured he shall meet with no insult, for on my arrival at my village I'll sent some of my Warriors to conduct him back in safety—You had no reason Father to be angry at the disasters of last year, the conduct of the Indians there was without my knowledge and contrary to my inclinations and advice, which was to

behave in the most friendly manner to all the English they met with, but their minds were afterwards poisoned by some other people which has since given me great concern

A Belt 9 Rows

Father

This day you have conferred a signal favour on us by releasing the *Poutawattamies* for which we all heartily thank you, and that Nation in particular. Father, it was contrary to my advice that the *Poutawattamies* acted this bad part, for I charged them the day I took your Deputy Mr Croghan by the hand to lay aside all their hatred to the English but they have not observed my advice, Father you told us yesterday that when the *Poutawattamies* were delivered up to us we should bring in every person belonging to you amongst us, and you may be assured as soon as I return I'll make a search among the several Nations, and should any yet remain amongst us, they shall all be delivered up to the commissary

2 Belts of 5 & 1 of 6 Rows

Father

We thank you for the goodness you have for us in sending plenty of Merchandize to Detroit, this will be a great means of promoting a good understanding between us, as it will enable us to cloath our children well we likewise heartily thank you for not letting the Traders to straggle thro' the woods to our villages, but to trade only at the Posts under the inspection of the Commissarys, it was not prudent to let them ramble where they pleased but as you have settled it, there will be no danger along the waters to the Forts & then we shall be justly dealt with

A Belt 6 Rows

Father

Tho' you address me yet it is the same as if you address all the different Nations — Father, this Belt is to cover & strengthen your chain of Friendship and I lay it over yours to shew you that if any Nation attacks you, or would trouble the earth, we shall feel it first and resent it. Father yesterday you told us to turn our eyes towards the sun rising, I do and when I get home, I shall desire all the Nations to do the same, and there they will always see their Father and by stretching out their hands they can always take hold of his

A Belt 10 Rows

Father

We thank you for having appointed Mr Hay our Commissary, as he is a man we know and esteem. Father, heres a man (meaning Mr Crawford) who has made a friendship with me and for whom I have a great regard, who brought me here, and who knows our customs and affairs, I beg therefore that as Detroit is a place where much business is transacted, you'll appoint Mr Crawford to be assisting to Mr Hay at any rate we expect you'll permit him to return with us.

A Belt 6 Rows

Sir William thanked them for their freindly answer, and then informed that he had a few words more to say to them which he would deliver the next day.

Saturday. 26<sup>th</sup> The *Bunt* Cheif of Onondaga at the head of a Party of Warriors came to Sir Williams Quarters and desired a hearing, on which Sir William accompanied him to the Arbor with the gentlemen as before when the Onondaga Speaker *Teiawarunt* made a long speech concerning the party then present, who returned with a scalp from the Cherokees. after painting the scalp Belt of Wampum which hung to it &c they delivered it to Sir William to be disposed of, which he promised to do next day in the presence of all the Nations he returned them thanks,

gave them tobacco Pipes and liquor, and sent them over the river to their encampment where they danced the whole night

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> . . . . 10 oclock Sir William summoned all the Western and other Nations to assemble, and being met in the Bower spoke to them as follows

Children

The badness of the weather yesterday prevented my calling you to council as I intended, I now acquaint you that the greatest part of your answe<sup>r</sup> of the 25<sup>th</sup> was very satisfactory, and I hope it may be as sincere and well meant as my admonitions to you of the day before, if so, and that you continue in that good disposition you will be a happy people and will always find the king a tender parent, and his subjects your firm friends, this I assure you of by this Belt of Wampum

A Belt

Children

I think proper to acquaint you that on my way hither I received letters from my Deputy Mr Croghan with his Proceedings at a meeting held at Fort Pitt last month with the Mingoes Hurons of Sandusky, Shawanese and Delawares at which the settled all affairs in the most amicable manner and in consequence thereof a considerable number of each Nation is gone with him to the Illinois in order to treat with and arrange every thing there between us and the Indians of that Country, as well as to make up the breach with the *Ricapous* and *Musquetens*, as they have now expressed the greatest desire for forgiveness, and for being received into the friendship of the English & their allies once more, after which, and what we have now done here, I hope we shall long enjoy the blessings of Peace, on your return to your several countrys you will be more fully informed of what passed thereat. I am to acquaint you also that the Spaniards have given up a part of their country to the French King for New Orleans, and that a Spanish Governor is now arrived and has taken possession thereof, and the French who lived there at liberty to remove to any other part of the French Kings Dominions they like, this is the true state of affairs at present, if you are told otherwise, you are imposed upon with a view to lead you and others into fresh troubles, which by this Belt I advise you carefully to avoid

A Belt

Children

I am glad my appointment of Mr Hay is so pleasing to your nations and as he has been many years amongst you and is pretty well acquainted with your customs Connections & Trade I am certain he will render you all the justice and service in his power It pleases me also to find that Mr Crawford has taken proper care of you in your way hither, and that he is so agreeable to you all and so particular an acquaintance of my child *Pondiac*, on whose account as well as his being an honest man, well versed in and acquainted with the manners and Customs of Indians, I shall take proper notice of, and make the best provision I can for him, and that as soon as may be, in the mean time he will see you safe home, and take care that you do not loose any of your things by the way—

A Bunch of Wamp:

Children

It would take up a great deal of your and my time to make you sensible of the many reasons which your Father the Great King of England had for limiting the Trade to the several Posts only, let it suffice at present that I assure you it was entirely to prevent fraud



and abuses therein which cannot any other way be effected; these Gentlemen appointed to superintend the Trade and other your affairs at the Posts, would be unnecessary was every man to trade where he pleased when you consider this properly, and impartially you must certainly be convinced that your Father could not have taken a more effectual Method of serving you, rest then satisfied with the present Regulation, the Posts about you being so contiguous it can be no inconveniency to you to repair to them when you have any thing to Trade and there you will be sure to have justice done you

A Belt

Children

Having now gone so far thro' the business of this Meeting to our mutual satisfaction, I think it highly necessary before we break up to remove every thing which has or may again create the least uneasiness betwixt us, and as your whole behavior here has been dutiful and open, I can have no reason to doubt your ready compliance. I am then to tell you that I have seen several and am informed there are many more Belts of Wampum in your possession from bad people and many from you in the hands of those who boast of them, as these all tend to what is bad, and to the disturbance of Peace now so happily settled over this extensive country, I must insist upon your withdrawing all such Belts out of the hands of those whom you sent them to in the time you were drunk and return those which you received from those who were foolish enough to quarrel with their brothers, and that as soon as possible, then you will convince the great King your Father of your duty to him, & me of the regard you have for your solemn engagements now entered into here in the presence of the great creator of this earth and also of the several Nations now present

A Belt

Sir William then told them he had finished what he had to say on which Pondiac replied

Father

I thank you for every thing you have said, it being all very good and true and meant for our interest and welfare I think with you its very necessary that all the Belts you mentioned should be withdrawn and thank you sincerely for your advice, we shall now take every thing you said into consideration and tomorrow morning answer you fully thereupon—

Then *Teiawarunt* the Onondaga speaker stood up and with a Cherokee scalp replaced *Ganughsadega* former speaker of Onondaga in Sir Williams name as he had given a large black Belt of Wampum for that purpose long ago. The scalp was taken by *Karaghiagigo* an Onondago Warrior & friend of Sir William Johnson.

PRESENT—

as before Monday 28<sup>th</sup> July

Pondiac speaks

Father

We thank you for the good advice you have given us since we have been here as it is all good and for our benefit. Father you may be assured we shall do every thing you have desired of us, we shall do nothing but what is good and reject every thing bad not only me but all the Nations of whom I am Master to the Northward you may be sure by this string I shall fulfill my promise

A String of 4 Branches

Father

You tell me there are Belts this way as well as to the Northward which I promise to recall agreeable to your request you have reason to desire me to call them in, I have but one amongst the six Nations which I should be glad they would deliver up, and I will send them theirs or bring them to you. Father all the Belts that are gone to the Northward passed by my village and came from the Senecas, and they are so dispersed that it will take a good while to gather them and when collected will be more than a man can carry. I shall upon my arrival at my village gather them together and send them to those to whom they belong, or from whom they came. I assure you that there is but one of the foresaid bad Belts belonging to me, and if any Indians say otherwise they assert a falsehood, & I beg by this string of Wampum that the Six Nations my brothers now present will return it to me, and I'll do the same by them.

A String 4 Branches

Father

Yesterday you told me that the Traders should all remain at the Posts, which gives me pleasure, as it is agreeable to the Great King our Fathers orders, but we hope that the Trader who is at present at Fort Erie called *Male* may be continued, as it will prevent the trouble we shall have in going over the carrying Place, this is all I have now to say or ask.

A String of Wampum

Teata of the Hurons spoke

Father

We are extreemly glad to hear the speech delivered by our brother Pondiac, particularly as he is entirely of your opinion with whom we join, and return thanks for the goodness you have shewn for us—Father we beg that you and the six Nations who are here present will hear us, we shall answer in a few words to all the articles that you proposed yesterday, which we found to our satisfaction for which we thank you, and by this Belt we strengthen your speeches, and assure you that we (the Hurons) will never cease doing of what is right in support of the public tranquillity and will hold fast the chain of freindship you have given us, you may be assured that what we say is from the bottom of our Hearts and that God is witness we don't speak from the Lips outwards, and if we do otherwise than we say we run a risk of being punished for our perfidy, be persuaded that upon our return to our village we shall do every thing in our power to unite all our Nation as far as to Sandusky, that we may act in conjunction in every thing that is good, but as there are some whose Hearts are not well inclined namely *Sondiscon* and *Canerghka* who do nothing but strive to disturb the earth, we can't be answerable for them they are however a small Number and incapable of doing much harm—These are the sentiments of the Hurons—You Father must have known us to be sincere and a people who do not listen to any thing tending to disturb the public Tranquillity

A Belt of 13 Rows

Father

We thank you for having thought of every thing that is necessary for us as our country is a place of consequence as we are liable to many impositions in our castles, and as the commissarys would be useless if the Trade went in the different Rivers, we rest satisfied with your prudent regulations and we hope you will regulate the prices of Goods 3 Strings

## Father

We are convinced you have done every thing for our advantage, even to a Smith to mend our Fire Arms, Axes and Hoes, but as there are some better and abler Workmen than others we beg you will allow us the one that suits us best, and he that has pleased us for twenty or thirty years past named *Chauvin* this we beg you'll not refuse us. This is all we have to say with Wampum

2 Strings

We beg you will grant us the person (meaning M<sup>r</sup> Crawford) who Pondiac asked for, to stay at Detroit under M<sup>r</sup> Hay, that when he has an occasion to send any where or should be by any accident absent, we shall always be sure to find one who we can apply to

When this was done Sir William order<sup>d</sup> the Interpreter to ask the 6 Nations if they were ready to answer to Pondiacs String upon which the Onondaga speaker lighted a Calumet of Peace, which Sir William left in their hands, many years ago for that use, and handed it about to the Western Indians, after which the speaker with a Bunch of Wampum addressed himself to the Western Nations as follows

## My Brothers

Sir William lighted a large Council Fire here, and desired a few of us to be witness of the good works to be done at it, and we have with the utmost pleasure heard what is past, and found every thing to our satisfaction, and rejoice to see the good work of Peace so happily settled, and by this Belt of Wampum we wipe you from the crown of your head to the sole of your feet, and we fix your hearts upright

8 Strings of Wampum

## Brothers Ottawas &amp; Hurons

You told us that after having put matters on a proper footing between Sir William and you, he engaged you to recall all your Belts that are in our villages, and you told us by a string of Wampum that you were afraid, that these Belts if they were not taken up, might be the cause of some bad consequences hereafter, as we some of the six Nations now assembled here are extremely satisfied with the manner you have treated with him, and will now acquaint you how we came by what Belts we have

3 Branches Wampum to Pondiac

## Brothers

Here is a Belt we received two years ago from the Miamis when we were going to the Illinois with Capt<sup>n</sup> Morris<sup>1</sup> of the 17 Regiment, which was to prevent our proceeding further on our Rout, least we might be insulted on the way We by this Belt thank the Miamies for their Belt if well intended and assure you that we shall inform the Senecas of what you have said, regarding the Belt you say you gave the Six Nations, as the Senecas keep all such things for they never come the length of our villages neither would we suffer them to come to our council Fir[e] which you (meaning Sir William) who know our sentiments may be convinced of

A Belt 7 Rows to Pondiac

<sup>1</sup> THOMAS MORRIS became in 1755 a Lieutenant in the 17th or Forbes' regiment, which served under Lord Loudoun in 1757; at the reduction of Louisbourg in 1758, under Amherst, and accompanied the expedition on Lakes George and Champlain, under the same General, in 1759. In 1761, Mr. Morris was promoted to a Captaincy, and in 1764 accompanied the expedition against the Western Indians under Colonel Bradstreet, by whom he was detached, with some Canadians and Indians, to the Illinois (as mentioned in the text), to persuade the Indians of that quarter to treat with the English. His subsequent adventures and sufferings are fully detailed in *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 464, *et seq.* He was senior Captain of his regiment in 1775, when he ceased to be connected with the Army. — ED.



Pondiac replied

I shall return this Belt to the Miamies myself and tell them your sentiments

Then the Onondaga Cheif Deiaquande spoke as follows

Heres a Belt by which we engage to follow the example of Manitoo Cheif of the Ottawas at Sandusky by which he proposed a general Peace, and as it comes from Warriors this speech is much stronger than those from old cheifs whose understanding are less clear, and we assure you that we are of the same sentiments, and exhort you to maintain and support the engagements you have now entered into before the Master of life and us (with your Father Sir William) as it is the sure and only means to preserve & continue that friendship and amity on which our mutual happiness depends

A Belt to Pondiac

Then addressing himself to Sr William he said

Brother

Heres a Branch of Wampum that Mr Croghan gave us & told us he was sent to the Illinois to settle all matters with the Nations there that he began last year and as it was reported to run a risk in going, he begged us to look after him till he arrived there and make a report of it to our brother Sir William as also if any accident should happen him

5 Strings of Wampum

Then he shewed a Belt which had been sent from a Nation beyond the Chichasaws to the Shawanese, which they were desired as they spoke all languages to send round to all the Nations to exhort them to be stedfast in their Alliances that the publick tranquillity might not be disturbed

Then continued

Brother

We of the Onondaga Nation with this Belt return you and the Mohawks many thanks for your good advice and consolation lately sent to us on the News of *Karaghiagigoe* and his party being killed by some of your People at Fort Pitt. and we have now the Pleasure to inform you that the account sent us by the Senecas of that affair is without foundation, our people who were supposed lost having now returned with 2 scalps from the Southward and are here present and glad to see you

A Belt 9 Rows

Lastly requested that the Frenchman now trading there for Ginsang, might be allowed to go among the Onondagas, Oneidas & or along the Oneida Lake

Then the Speaker produced a scalp and gave it in the room of a Seneca named Caniadarior, then finished

Tuesday 29 July 1766. The Indians being all assembled at the Bower Sir William spoke to the Western Nations as follows

Children

I was in the hopes that after what I had said to you all the day before yesterday relative to Trade, and the several reasons then given you for its being confined to the Posts you would have rested satisfied your desire of having a man trade at Fort Erie would be prejudicial to all the Traders at Niagara, and should they all go to, and trade at Fort Erie as well as that man which they have an equal right to do would not the Chippawas & Mississageys from the North side of the Lake have great reason to complain when they have no other place (as you have) to Trade at. this considered I hope you will say no more on that subject

As to the prices of our Merchandize and your Firrs & Skins at Detroit, they were settled by me when there, and if it is now (from circumstances) found necessary to make any alterations in them, the Commissary has power to do so and will doubtless act for your interest as well as that of the Traders, and I dare say to your mutual satisfaction.

I have it in view to employ Mr Crawford as soon as an opportunity offers, which I expect will be soon, and I desire you may urge it no further, as he himself is well satisfied of my inclination to serve him, here he is and he will tell you so.

A large Bunch of Wampum

Bretheren of the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Cayougas

It gave me a particular pleasure to have you yesterday exculpate yourselves so clearly and I wish our Bretheren the Senecas could do the same, but as you observe it is very probable that the Belt came no further than their Nation, if it is there I expect you will get it from them and let it be returned to Pondiac, or to me so that he may get it.—I am also to tell you that I am greatly pleased at the admonitions which you yesterday gave to the Western Nations now here and I hope you will be ever mindful of the many engagements entered into with me and that you will keep up strictly to them

A Belt

Bretheren

I am extremely happy to find that the report of four Onondagas being killed by our people proves false, indeed I thought as much at the time from the circumstances then mentioned, well knowing that none of the Kings officers or Troops in any of his Garisons would be guilty of so rash a thing, I put the General and several Governors to the trouble of making an enquiry about it, and yesterday had a letter from the former acquainting me that after having made the strictest inquiry about it at Fort Pitt &ca. he could learn nothing more than that Peace reigned every where as far as the Illinois. I shall on my return make the Mohawks acquainted with your answer to their and my Belt on that occasion, and I must desire that you do immediately recall your Belts and undeceive those people to whom you too precipitately sent the news

A Belt

Children of the Western Nations

To you I now address myself in particular and desire your attention

Having now finished the business of this congress to our mutual satisfaction as well as to that of my bretheren the Six Nations, and that without any Deaths or even sickness on either side since our meeting, which demands our thanks to the Great Maker and Preserver of Mankind. I am now to assure you that it affords me the utmost satisfaction to see this congress carried on with so much Sobriety, prudence & Solemnity on your parts, as it not only looks well but also denotes sincerity and good sense, which I must say (and that to your credit) you have manifested thro' the whole, and which will appear well when laid before the King your Father over the great Lake and his cheif men here. There remains then nothing now for me to add or do in order to compleat the great work we met for, but to tell you, that I do now strengthen & ratify all my Deputys Transactions with you last year, confirm all that I have now said to you at this congress, and bury in oblivion all past transactions disagreeable to our remembrance never more to be thought of so that we may all for the future live together in the strictest friendship & brotherly love & this I desire you to make publick

A Large Belt.

## Children

I have brought with me a present for you, which you will accept of as a mark of your Fathers bounty & regard it will be delivered to you tomorrow and Mr Crawford will take care of such part of it as you do not immediately use till you arrive in your respective countrys and I recommend it to you all to be carefull of your shares that your familys may benefit thereby and be witnesses of your Fathers Goodness

Then the Onondaga speaker replied with returning the Belt Sir William spoke upon with respect of their having acquainted all the neighbouring Nations with the News of *Carounghyatsigoas* death and said the[y] never sent any such message to any Nation, but kept their mouths shut

With regard to their withdrawing Pondiacs Belt from the Senecas he said that they the Onondages, never liked to have any thing to do with any Belts which had caused any disturbance and therefore would leave the withdrawing of said Belt to the Cayugaes & Oneidas being determined never to let any Belt of the kind come to their village or into their council.

handed the Belt to the Cayougaes

After this Pondiac spoke as follows

## Father

You may be sure that all my brothers to the Westward shall hear every thing that has so happily past here, and that I will as long as I live do nothing but what shall be agreeable to my Father, and that all the Nations over whom I have any influence shall do the same I shall at all times do every thing in my power to assist you (meaning Sir William) to preserve the public tranquillity from being disturbed. Father, all our Bretheren here present have heard your good advice, and are of the same opinion with me, and promise that since you have been so good as to bury every thing that was or might be disagreeable to us, that we shall reject every thing that tends to evil & strive with each other who shall be of the most service in keeping up that friendship that is so happily established between us. Father it will take some time before I can make known to all the Nations what has passed here, but I will do it even from the rising of the Sun to the setting and from North to South

Father We heartily thank you for your present and are well convinced thereby of the goodness of the Great King our Father and shall follow your advice in conserving it in the manner you mention Father we acquiesce in every thing you have said, both as to trade & every thing else being convinced you do every thing for our good. We heartily wish all the English may continue to us their promis'd Friendship and we hope to convince you by our future conduct that we are thankful for the good advice we have received, and determined to fulfill our Engagements

The whole being finished Sir William gave them a general admonition that he hoped all what had passed during the Congress might have a deep impression upon them all, and desired they would repeat it often amongst themselves, and hand it down to their posterity with great care, and under the strictest injunctions as on his part what was transacted could not be forgotten being regularly entered into the Records of Indian affairs

Wednesday the 30<sup>th</sup> Delivered the present to the Western Indians in 4 parts which pleased them greatly as it was at the desire of their cheif Men

Thursday 31<sup>st</sup> Sir William took leave of Pondiac and all the Cheifs who with Pondiac informed him that they proposed to wait upon next Spring at his House and hoped the



English would keep open the Road of Peace for them & not suffer any ill News to come that way, but that they might come as friends and hear no complaints from any Nation which might disturb the public tranquillity then shook hands & embarked after which Sir William set out for Johnson Hall

The foregoing is a true copy of Sir William Johnsons Transactions at Ontario compared with the Records

G. JOHNSON Dep agent  
Act<sup>g</sup> as Sec<sup>y</sup>

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*Governor Moore to the Duke of Richmond.*

[ New-York Papers, ( S. P. O. ) CLIX., 51. ]

Fort George N York 23<sup>d</sup> Aug 1766

My Lord Duke

I had the honor of receiving by this Pacquet your Graces letters of the 23<sup>d</sup> of May & 12<sup>th</sup> of June, and after offering my most respectful congratulations on his Majestys approvement of your Grace to preside over the Southern department, beg leave to give my assurances of my taking all opportunities of represent<sup>g</sup> the true situation of our affairs here, and of transmitting every information to your graces office which my zeal for His Majestys Service & duty of my station may require

In my letters of the 30<sup>th</sup> of April and 12<sup>th</sup> of July which I had the honor of writing to Mr Secretary Conway mention was made of some disturbances which had happened in the Counties of Dutchess and Albany and the Steps taken to establish Peace & tranquillity there again, which with the assistance of His Majestys Troops have had the desired effect. It was my opinion at that time from the Notions which the Common People here had adopted that the Spirit of Licenciousness which had so long prevailed would hardly be subdued without some further attempts on their side to regain their former Power, I have not been deceived in my expectations and since the arrival of the 28 and 46<sup>th</sup> Regiments in this Town (where their presence was much wanted) no means has been left untried by the Populace to make their situation uneasy to them and to excite them to committ some action, for which public censure might be drawn of them. The better sort of People see this with concern but have it not in their Power to prevent it and are afraid of exposing themselves to the resentment of the Mob in attempting it. The Magistrates on the other hand have lost too much of their authority in the late disorders to reassume it with sufficient vigor so that the Peace of the city seems to depend chiefly upon the Prudence and good Conduct of the officers. To effect this General Gage has given the strictest orders relative to the Troops, & declared to the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen in my presence that he would never screen any soldiers who should be concerned in any Riot, but deliver them up to be punished by the Civil Power, and hoped the Magistrates would endeavour on their part to prevent any further Insults being offered either to the Officers or Soldiers. I took this opportunity of explaining to the Mayor and the Rest of his brethren what I expected from them, for the preservation of the Peace of the city, and have received the strongest assurances from them of their readiness in following such measures as were then

recommended for so desirable a purpose. I hope it will not be supposed from what I have the Honor of mentioning to your Grace that any particular objection is raised to either of the Regiments now in this Town or that they have given any reason for the Inhabitants to be dissatisfied with their behavior. The great objection here is that of having any Troops at all for while they continue in this Town, those licencious Assemblies of the People (who call themselves the Sons of Liberty and were frequently committ<sup>e</sup> the greatest irregularities) must be suppress<sup>d</sup> and the hands of the magistrates so far strengthened that the Laws of the Country must again take Place; nor is it to be wondered that a Mob, which once had so much sway in a Town as to strike terror into the greatest part of the inhabitants should with regret see a period put to the power they had usurped and abused, and order and regularity again introduced which had been so long suspended. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's most ob<sup>t</sup>

His Grace

and humble Servant.

The Duke of Richmond<sup>1</sup>

H MOORE

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*Report of the Lords of Trade on the Petition of the Wappinger Indians.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( N. ) p. 23. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty

In obedience to your Majesty's Commands signified to us by a letter from the Earl of Shelburne, one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant We have taken into our consideration the several papers therewith transmitted to us concerning a complaint made by some Indians of America, known by the name of the Wapinger Tribe, in respect to a Tract of Land belonging to that Tribe the property and possession of which they state themselves to have been deprived of by your Majesty's Subjects; whereupon we humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty

That in the petition of these Indians address'd to your Majesty in Council, and in the Narrative or State of facts to which it refers, it is set forth, that the Tract of Land, the property and possession whereof is claimed by these Indians, and their Title disputed, is situated between Hudsons River and the line which divides the Province of New York from that of Connecticut, extending in length from East to West about twenty miles and in Breadth

<sup>1</sup> CHARLES LENOX, K. G., F. R. S., 3d Duke of Richmond, succeeded to the title in 1750. In 1756, he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 33d Regiment of Foot, and in 1758 was appointed Colonel of the 72d, which regiment he commanded the same year in the expedition against St. Malo and Cherbourg. On his return to England, he became a prominent patron of the fine arts; in 1766 he filled the office of Secretary of State for the Southern department during the short lived Rockingham administration, and was the friend of America throughout her subsequent struggles. He made a motion in 1780, in the House of Lords, for Annual Parliaments and Universal suffrage, which was negatived. In 1782, he became Master-General of the Ordnance, which post he held, with a brief interruption, until 1795. His Grace died on the 29th Dec., 1806, a Field Marshal and Colonel of the Horse Guards, blue. *Chatham Correspondence*, IV., 78, 501. — Ed.

from north to south about sixteen miles, and containing about two hundred four thousand and eight hundred Acres of lands; That they continued in the uninterrupted possession of this Land, and in the actual improvement and settlement of great part of it, by themselves and their Tenants, until the commencement of the late War, when the head Sachem accompanied by all the Male of that Tribe able to bear Arms, went into your Majesty's Service, under Sir William Johnson, and the residue removed to Stockbridge, for their greater convenience and accommodation That whilst the said Sachem and his people were fighting under your Majesty's Banner, all this Tract of Land was taken up by persons claiming under a grant thereof made by the Governor of New York to one Adolph Phillipse in 1697, and afterwards purchased by him from the ancestors of the said Indians, which purchase they alledge was not a purchase of the whole Tract comprehended in the grant of 1697, but only of a small Part of it; That finding themselves, by these claims, likely to be dispossessed of their patrimonial Lands, they chose a Guardian of their Rights, and proceeded to try their Title in various Suits and Actions in the Courts of Law of New York; That Judgement having been given against them on those several Suits and Actions (in the tryall of which they state great Prejudice and Partiality) they applied by Petition, in February 1765, to the Lieutenant Governor and Council of New York; and had a hearing upon their Case; That in the proceedings before the Lieutenant Governor and Council, they were treated with great supercilious neglect, the claims of their adversaries countenanced and supported with apparent Partiality, and a Decission given against them upon the Evidence of a Deed of Purchase of these Lands from their Ancestors, which Deed they suggest to have been fraudulent and counterfeit.

This, may it please your Majesty, is in general the substance of what is stated in the papers delivered to your Majesty's Secretary of State by these Indians as the Ground of their Complaint; But in order that your Majesty may have the fullest information on this matter, We have hereunto annexed an Extract of so much of the Minutes of the Council of New York as contains their proceedings on the Case of those Indians, together with a Copy of the Docket or Record of the Grant made to Adolph Phillipse in 1697.

These Minutes, (which together with the Docket of the Grant came to this Office properly authenticated) state a hearing of the Complaint of these Indians at the Council Board; on which hearing, a Deed or Instrument of Purchase from their Ancestors was produced by the claimants under the original Patent that it appeared that the lands therein mentioned were the same and described in the said words as those granted by the said Patent to Adolph Phillipse in 1697; and that the Lieutenant Governor and Council were thereupon of opinion, that the Ancestors of the said Indians had fairly sold their Right to the lands in Question, and that they, as their descendants, had no right thereto.

There further appears upon those Minutes of Council, a report made by a Committee to which a Counter Memorial of the Claimants under the Grant to Adolph Phillipse was referr'd; in which Report the Committee after deciding upon the Question of Right in favour of the claimants, advise prosecution against the Guardian of the Indians and several other Persons who appeared to have acted as Agents for them, upon pretence that they had spirited up the said Indians and their Tenants to set up a claim to these lands against the Rights of the Crown.

From this state of the Facts, as exhibited in the papers of the Indians, on the one side, and the Minutes of the Council, on the other, your Majesty will be fully informed of the whole Case on which the Complaint is grounded; and although the allegations & exhibits of the



Indians may not amount to a full proof of Justice done them, yet when the complection of them is considered, and that consideration combined with the complection of the proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor and Council of New York, and with the Frauds and Abuses in respect to Indian Lands which have so notoriously prevailed and been complained of in the American Colonies in general, and in this Colony in particular; We can not but be of opinion that there is foundation for further examination into the state of the facts and proceedings upon which the Complaint is grounded; and we are the more confirmed in this opinion, from the Acts of violence that have been committed since the Indians, now here, left the Province, the particulars of which are fully set forth in the Deposition and papers hereunto annexed, transmitted to us by your Majesty's Governor of the Massachusetts Bay: But in what method this examination can be legally taken up and entered into, after Judgement given upon the Case in the Courts of Law there, whether by the establishment of a special Court of Equity, composed of indifferent Persons, as was done upon a complaint of a like nature, made by the Mohegan Indians in 1703; or by what other Order or Process such Examination may be instituted, this is, we humbly apprehend a Question for the consideration of your Majesty's Servants in the Law Departments, and upon which it does not become us to give any Opinion: But we should be wanting in that Justice due to the Complaint of these Indians, and the duty we owe your Majesty, if we did not give it as our Opinion that the Conduct of the Lieutenant Governor and Council of New York, in directing prosecution against the Guardian, Agents, and Protectors of these Indians, upon the Grounds set forth in the Committees Report does carry with it unreasonable Severity, the Colour of great Prejudice & Partiality and of an intention to intimidate these Indians from prosecuting their claims.

As to that Part of the letter from your Majesty's Secretary of State, in which your Majesty's Commands are signified to us that we should consider of the properest method of having the four Indian Men and three Women, now here, taken immediate Care of, and of sending them back to North America; We humbly submit to your Majesty, whether any other method can be taken, than that of placing them under the Care and Direction of some prudent and discreet Person accustomed to their habits and tempers, until a favourable opportunity offers of procuring them a convenient passage to America upon reasonable terms; by which means we humbly conceive they may be secured from those inconveniences and that disgrace which attended the treatment of the Indians who were here last year.

It would have been our duty in pursuance of your Majesty's further Commands, to have settled with the Agents of the Massachusetts Bay an Estimate of the expences of the reimbarcation and presents to these Indians but the Agent not being in town, and the person who had appeared for him, having informed us, that he is unacquainted with business of this nature, We find ourselves unable to execute this Part of your Majesty's Commands, otherwise than by herewith humbly laying before your Majesty a Copy of the Estimate that was prepared by the Agent of Virginia in the Case of the Cherokee Indians, and which Estimate when the several Articles are increased in proportion to the number of Persons, may, we humbly conceive, be a reasonable Estimate whereon to form a Judgement of the expence that will be necessary upon the present occasion.

Which is most humbly submitted

HILLSBOROUGH

ED: ELIOT

J. DYSON

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

Whitehall

Aug: 30. 1766

*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*{ Plantations General Papers, <sup>Vol. 26.</sup> T. No. 16. }

Johnson Hall Oct 8. 1766

My Lords

My last to your Lordships was of the 20<sup>th</sup> of August with inclosures containing my transactions with Pondiac and the Cheifs of the Western Nations at Ontario, in July last to which letter &c I beg leave to refer your Lordships on the state of Indian affairs at that time

Since which I have been honor<sup>d</sup> with a letter from your Lordships of the 11<sup>th</sup> July inclosing a copy of a Petition presented to you on behalf of the Inhabitants of Montreal which you have been pleased to direct me to examine into and report the nature of the regulations at Michilimacanac therein complained of, and as my authority to redress any Greivances which the free commerce of His Matys subjects in that district may labour under &c.

In obedience therefore to your Lordships commands I now offer my thoughts on the whole of the memorial beginning with that part concerning Regulations made and acts done by the commanding officer at that Post

In Sep. 1761 I made the regulations for the Trade at that place, at a time when Goods being dearer than at present, a strowd was to be sold for 4 Beavers or 5 Bucks, and so in proportion for every thing else with due regard to the several distances of the Posts and expences of Transportation, but goods being now cheaper, and numbers of Traders and particularly the French of Canada resorting thither they now sell much below these regulations

Your Lordships by adverting to my former letters may observe that I have repeatedly represented the necessity there is for establishing the plan for Indian affairs, to prevent many abuses in Trade which abuses I have therein mentioned I have also in my letter of August last laid before your Lordships the artifices used by the Traders to sett up a few Indians to desire Traders in their Towns where they would be subject to no inspection, and that notwithstanding this was disagreeable to the much greater part of all the Indians, and contrary to good Policy yet I was given to understand that some had abused the ears of Governm<sup>t</sup> by misrepresentations on that head—I can therefore only say as I have formerly done that altho' in the time of the French, Traders were in their country it is a very impolitic step in us to permit it, because the much greater part of those who are calculated for embracing such an indulgence are busy Frenchmen who now almost engross the Northern Trade, and who tho very faithful and even useful agents to the French have for the most part since given sufficient proofs of their invincible dislike to us and their readiness to say any thing to the Indians however false as an excuse for the dearth of their Goods, or from some other interested motive and not only give us the worse character to the Indians, but even give them assurance that the French will come with a great Fleet and army & retake the country. The English Traders are many of them as imprudent in giving each other the vilest of characters to the Indians and say whatever they think proper for promoting their private Interest of all which I have such a variety of good proofs as leaves not the least doubt of what I now assert, & altho' I readily allow that many Canada Traders would not be guilty of doing any injury of a public nature, yet the low Agents mostly Frenchmen (as persons best known to the Indians) whom they must employ as Factors at their *Hyvernements* as they term them, are capable and will always be guilty of these & other infamous practices. I am further of opinion that if this was even



not the case, yet such is the Genius and revengeful disposition of the Indians that the fairest Traders should not be at liberty to go where they pleased amongst them, and to carry on their dealings free of any inspection whatsoever at the mercy of a few drunken Indians Your Lordships will please to observe that this is likewise in direct opposition to the plan for the better management of Indian affairs, and must render the same abortive in its most essential point, That when a post is established as therein expressed at *Chicoutime* on the *Saguinay* River it will be sufficiently convenient for the wandering Indians of that Country and that another Post about the Cedars or Carillon, on the Ottawa River as I took the liberty to propose will be sufficient for the other seven Canada Nations, whilst Michilimacnac and La Baye when established as the Indians have desired, will answer for all those in that country that then and not till then the trade can be carried on without the apprehension of Frauds, the hazard of perpetual Quarrels with the Indians on that score and the risk of having a number of them and their goods at the mercy of the Indians whenever they are provoked by any act of injustice and I apprehend I can not give your Lordships a stronger proof of the great and iniquitous profits, accruing from a general liberty than that the Traders of that country are ready to live in imminent risk of their persons & properties to enjoy that Indulgence which is contrary to the repeated sentiment of the Majority of the Indians & only desired by a small number who are sett up to ask it, and who can be very soon convinced of the advantages to be reaped from a Trade under due inspection

I know nothing of the acts they complain of at Michilimacnac or of late Regulations except those respecting the limiting Trade to the Posts which Capt<sup>n</sup> Howard<sup>1</sup> the Commanding officer excused himself from observing by laying before me the necessity he found himself under by letting a few Traders go amongst the Indians, this has disoblged the rest and I wrote him on the subject adviseing him to the contrary. If they have any charges of partiality or Interest against him, it may soon be made to the General as he is dayly expected from that post As a farther proof of what I asserted I have this moment received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Hay Indian Commissary at Detroit informing me, that the French at that place had taken infinite Pains to counteract my transactions with Pondiac and the latter has complained to him that they have been endeavouring to persuade him to insist on having a Trade at all their scattered Houses in that quarter or wherever the Traders may think proper to go I dayly receive farther proofs of this from every quarter

In a former letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> of March last I have communicated my sentiments to your Lordships on the subject of the claim made by some persons to Lands at and about La Bay and an exclusive Trade there by a purchase from M<sup>r</sup> Rigaud de Vaudreuille which is the principal matter of complaint contained in the memorial referred to me, as I understand the memorialists have laid the necessary papers before your Lordships and that I have already wrote upon that subject I can only say that should the claim of Trade & Property there succeed I have the utmost reason to think that it would not only be very destructive to the Trade in General, but would in all probability involve us in fresh troubles and a war on the Frontiers

In your Lordships letter aforementioned<sup>d</sup> you were pleased to direct that I should use my authority to redress any greivances &c. I beg leave to assure your Lordships that I have always done so to the utmost of my power, but I must take the liberty of observing upon this occasion, as I have repeatedly done that my powers are very trifling, uncertain and in general

<sup>1</sup> Captain WILLIAM HOWARD was commissioned a Captain in the 17th Foot on the 27th November, 1756. He retired from the Army, or died, at the close of 1767. *Army Lists*.—Ed.



disregarded and disputed here, insomuch that sundry persons do at pleasure call Indians together and transact any affairs they please with them, and thereby and by other misconduct and interested Stories do often overset all my transactions without its being in my power to prevent or punish them, which is doubtless contrary to His Majesties Intentions & must defeat the ends of my appointment so that untill the plan is established beyond dispute and my powers fully ascertained and supported by proper authority it will not be in my power to render His Majesty or the public those services which it is my ardent desire to perform and which I am persuaded I could accomplish to the satisfaction of both under the Countenance and Patronage of the Crown. and I have reason to beleive that your Lordships being thoroughly acquainted with my situation, and the critical state of affairs here will honor me with your protection & Interest for enabling me to discharge the important trust reposed in me. I have the Honor to be &c.

WILLIAM JOHNSON

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

Fort George, N York 11 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1766

My Lord

After my absence of some weeks from this City, during which time I have been employed in fixing the boundary Line between this Province and Quebec and in settling some uneasiness which had arose among the Mohawk Indians, I returned to New York about an hour before the Pacquet sail<sup>d</sup> which gives me just time to acknowledge the honor of your Lordships letters of the 10<sup>th</sup> of July and 9<sup>th</sup> of August and at the same time to offer my most respectful congratulat<sup>ns</sup> on your Lordships appointment to the office of Secretary of state; By the next Pacquet I shall beg leave to lay before your Lordship some claims made by the inhabitants of Quebec on the Lands of this Province, which occasion great uneasiness here and hope to be able by that time to procure a Map of that Part of the Country which may serve to put the dispute in a proper light; whatever else may occur in which his Majesty's Service may be promoted, shall be constantly laid upon your Lordship and I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and humble Servant

Earl of Shelburne

H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Qq., No. 65.]

New York. 7. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1766.

My Lords

I had the honor of informing your Lord<sup>ps</sup> in a former letter that I proposed to settle the Boundary line between this Province & Quebec as soon as I could conveniently leave this

City, and it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing it, for upon the arrival of Brigadier Carleton from England, I set out in company with him for lake Champlain, and after encountering with many difficulties occasioned by the badness of the weather, we fixed the limits on the River Sorell about two miles and a half below windmill Point, which is further to the Northward than we imagined to find it from the observations which were said to be made there by the French some few years ago; Upon our arrival at Windmill Point, several French Gentlemen came to us, there from Quebec, as well to pay their compliments to Brig<sup>r</sup> Carleton, as to request of me the confirmation of their Rights to those Seigneuries, which on our observations should be found in the Southward of the 45<sup>th</sup> degree, and which were granted to them before the conquest of Canada. To this demand I could make no other answer than, that His Majesty had by his instructions to me laid down such rules for the granting of lands in this Prov<sup>ce</sup> that I could not deviate from them without incurring his displeasure, and that the power of confirming what they now requested of me, was not at present lodged in my hands, as I was particularly restrained from granting to any one person more than one thousand Acres, whereas they demanded confirmation of Grants, some of which consisted of Tracts containing 100000 acres and others of 150000 acres; I further informed them that no land was granted in this Prov<sup>ce</sup> to any of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects without their paying a Quit-rent of two shillings and sixpence sterling to the Crown for each hundred Acres, and desired to know if they expected to have their Grants confirmed, without paying any such Quit-rent; to which they answered in the affirmative, and requested that I would not grant any lands on the Lake till I had laid their claims before His Majesty's Ministers. On the other hand the reduced officers, and disbanded Soldiers, many of whom are now in Actual possession of large Tracts of those lands, are gr<sup>atly</sup> alarmed at these Claims, and desire to be protected in the Grants made to them by Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden, as they have vested their whole fortunes in the settlements already begun on them, and must be reduced to beggary, on being dispossessed. I had the honor of informing M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Conway, soon after my arrival at New York from England that Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden had declined shewing me his correspondence with the Secretary of State's Office, and the Board of Trade, which I was desirous of seeing, so that if any order relative to the French claims have been transmitted they have not yet come to my hands. Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s will see at one view how great a prejudice to the settlement of the Prov<sup>ce</sup>, the present uncertain tenure must occasion, for several other persons who have obtained His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s sign manual for large Tracts are desirous of taking them up on the sides of Lake Champlain, and have already gone so far, as to make actual Surveys of the lands, but are now discouraged from proceeding farther, lest after a great expence incurred they might be turned out of possession. I was in hopes that I should have been able to have sent over to Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s by this opportunity an actual Survey of the Lake taken by a skillful hand, in which all the French claims were to be distinguished, with the number of acres which each of them contained, and likewise the grants made to the Officers and Soldiers, under the great seal of this Prov<sup>ce</sup> in consequence of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Proclam<sup>ta</sup> which would have shew'd at one view how far they interfere with each other. The Deputy Surveyor of Canada, who attended me the whole time I was employed in fixing the line of division between the Provinces, promised to furnish me with an exact draught of all the Seigneuries on the Lake, time enough to transmit to Your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s by the Packet, but I have not heard from him since my return hither. As this is a matter of very great importance to a considerable number of persons in this Province, whose whole Fortunes are vested in these

Lands, they have requested me to take the earliest opportunity of laying the State of their case before Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> and so set forth the distressed situation in which they are at present, that His Majesty's pleasure might be known on this head. During my absence from hence, two Packets arrived but as I was at so great a distance, they had sailed again, before I heard of their arrival, wh<sup>ch</sup> I hope will appologize for my not having acknowledg'd sooner the honor of your Lord<sup>ships'</sup> letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> July, and the receipt of the Queries sent by the same opportunity, which shall be answered with all expedition and in the fullest manner from the best intelligence I am capable of procuring.

I have the honor to be—ettc.

H: MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (B. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

Fort George New York Nov 8. 1766

My Lord

The sudden departure of the last Pacquet immediately after my arrival in this Town, put it out of my Power to mention any thing further to your Lordship at that time than the business I had been employed in during my absence from hence without descending into particulars. I have now the honor to inform your Lordship that the line of Division between this Province and Quebec is fixed in the River Sorrell about Two miles and a half below Windmill Point, so that no part of Lake Champlain is included in the Province of Quebec, except a small Portion of the Missicoui Bay; whilst we were employed in this Service, many French Gentlemen from Quebec came to us at Windmill Point and demanded from me a confirmation of those Grants which had been made to them from the French Crown which not only extend along the Lake Champlain and cover both sides of it but reach beyond the Carrying Place at Tisndorogh I very soon let them know that it was not in my Power to give any such confirmation as they required especially as they were desirous of having them without paying any Quitrents to the Crown and after having informed them of His Mátys orders in respect of the granting of Lands in this Province, They requested that I would not give out any Patents for Lands on the sides of the Lakes till I had laid this matter before His Majestys Ministers. Since the Peace very large Tracts on both sides of the Lake have been granted by Lieut<sup>Gov</sup> Governor Colden to the reduced officers and disbanded soldiers in consequence of His Majestys Proclamation, and the French claims now made have caused no small uneasiness to the Possessors of those Lands who having laid out all their substance in making settlements, are under the greatest distress at the thoughts of being dispossess<sup>d</sup> as such a Proceeding would be followed by inevitable Ruin to them and their Families Many other Persons who had obtained His Majestys sign manual for large Tracts which they had taken up in those Parts will be involved in the same calamity as they have already expended such large sums of money, and join in requesting to lay their case before your Lordship, that His Majestys Pleasure may be speedily known on a subject in which so many people are so deeply interested I have a very good chart of the Lake but have no draught of the French Claims which can be depended on



and did expect before this to have received one from the Deputy Surveyor General of Canada which I shall transmitt to your Lordship as soon as it comes to my hands, with all M<sup>r</sup> Coldens Grants under the great seal of this Province mark'd upon it, by which it will appear at one view how far the claims made by the Canadians and the Patents of this Government clash with each other

On my return from Lake Champlain I proceed directly to the Mohawk Country where I stayed four days, and during that time had opportunities of frequent Conversations with the Cheifs of that nation who mett me by appointment at Sir William Johnson's they made several complaints to me, some of which were very trifling, and others so ill grounded that I easily convinced them of the mistake they were under, the only thing which seemed to give them any real concern, and upon which they laid any stress, was the Patent commonly called Kayaderosseros, which they were very desirous that the Government would break, and gave me the following reasons for it, which I have taken the liberty of inserting here at full length, as I am not sure that all the Circumstances have been mentioned in the different representations made of this matter. 1<sup>st</sup> They deny that it was ever their intention to convey so large a Tract of Land as the Patent describes which according to some accounts contains 600,000 acres and according to others 900000 acres. 2<sup>ndly</sup> They acknowledge that some of their brethren did intend to sell a small Tract which is included in this Patent, but that it bears no manner of Proportion to that mentioned in the Deed. 3<sup>rdly</sup> That the Deed of Sale was executed only by two of their Tribes without the concurrence of the third, which makes it void, as no lands can be disposed of in a fair and equitable Sale, without the consent of all the three Tribes denominated by them, the Turtle, the Wolf, and the Bear. 4<sup>thly</sup> that they never received any consideration for the Sale nor do the Patentees pretend that ever they did. 5<sup>thly</sup> That they have been informed that some Goods were sent to Schenectady, which were to be given to them instead of Money, but the Person with whom they were intrusted gave it out that the House in which they were lodged was burn't, and the goods destroyed so that they never had the least gratification made to them for the Land either in Goods or money; They concluded these reasons by telling me that they would never permitt any settlement to be made on the Lands under the present Patent, and were waiting in expectation of having justice done them from England, since it had been denied to them in this Country; Since my return to New York I have seen one of the Principal Proprietors and after acquaint<sup>g</sup> him with what had passed with the Indians I proposed that the Patent should be surrendered to the Crown and that I would engage to purchase such a Part of the Land as would be most agreeable to the present Patentees and give them the Preference in the Grants before any others who should make application for that purpose, but no attention seemed to be given to the Proposal, nor do I imagine that any steps taken in this country can prove effectual for the following Reasons The Proprietors have long expected that some notice would be taken of this Patent in England, and the delay of it has given strength to their cause and made them beleive that nothing would be attempted against them but in this country, for which reason they have endeavoured to secure themselves against all attacks here by making so many divisions & subdivisions of Rights, that the original number of Proprietors which I am informed did not exceed sixteen, is now increased to one hundred and thirty; The consequence of this is, that every family of any consideration in the Province is concerned in it, as well as the principal Lawyers of the Country so that neither application is made to the Assembly, or to the Courts of Justice there is not the least probability of success as the very persons interested

in the event will in either case be the Judges in their own Cause: Had this Patent been granted under a Quitt Rent to the Crown of 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> for every hundred acres, the Weight of so heavy a Sum on Land which the Indians will not permitt to be settled would before this have obliged the Patentees, to come to some Terms or to have surrendered the Patent, but the very inconsiderable Quit rents annexed to it, is such a trifle when divided into 130 Shares, that it will always prove the greatest obstacle in the way of those who examine no further into matters of this kind than they are directed by private Interest. I beg your Lordships pardon for the great length of this letter, but as this Patent is particularly pointed at in my Instructions, I thought it my duty to be as circumstantial as possible in the intelligence I could procure and lay the whole matter before your Lordships in hopes that the poor Indians may (to make use of their own words) have that justice shewn them in England which has been denied to them here

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient

Right Honble  
Earl of Shelburne

& humble Servant  
H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers (State Paper Office ), CLIX. 51 ]

Fort George New York 11 Nov 1766

My Lord

I have already trespassed on your Lordship by a very long letter relating mostly to Indian affairs, but I there confined myself intirely to what had passed within the Limitts of this Province without so much as giving the least Hint of those violences & murders among the Indians as mentioned in the letter I had the honor of receiving from your Lordship dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of September. I am afraid that there has been too much reason given for complaint, by the reports I have heard but those outrages have been committed at so great a distance from hence and so far beyond the Bounds of the Province I have the honor to command, that my authority could not interfere in any shape, neither can I imagine that a stop will be put to such Proceedings till some kind of civill Government is established at the Detroit for the Tryal of such criminals; The delinquents are at present ordered to be brought from distant Posts to some of the nearest Provinces to be tryed, and in the course of a long and tedious journey if they are suffered to escape either by the neglect or connivance of their conductors, the whole nation suffers in the opinion of the Indians by a crime committed by a worthless individual; application was made to me in the beginning of the year for Indian passes, but I gave none The stamp Act prevented it at that time so that the Traders from hence must have obtained their passes from Canada from which Province I hear a very great number went up into the Indian Country, but your Lordships may be assured that no attention shall be wanting on my part either to discover or bring to justice those who shall be found to have offended. The

complaint of Settlements made on the Indian Territories does not affect this Province Since my arrival here I have purchas<sup>d</sup> Lands of them beyond all the settlements hitherto made, and yet strictly within the Limitts prescribed by His Majesty but I am afraid that our neighbours the Pensylvanians can not say the same, for I hear that a considerable number of them are gone beyond their Limitts, and settled at a place called Red Stone Creek which has given much umbrage to the Indians. Whilst I was among the Mohawks complaint was made to me of a man who had settled on their Lands without their consent upon which I directed them to give him warning that he must remove immediately and in case of his refusal to pull his house down without further ceremony; this order was given in the presence of several gentlemen who attended me thither and I then informed them that I should treat every one in the same manner who should dare to refuse obedience to His Maty's Proclamat<sup>n</sup> The Indians gave me many thanks for proceeding in this manner & told me they would remember it with gratitude I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient &

Rt Honble

Earl of Shelburne

humble Servant

H MOORE



*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 70.]

My Lords,

Our Session of Assembly having been opened but two days before the sailing of the Packet, I had it not in my power to send your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s the Addresses I received from the Council and Assembly in answer to my speech; they are all transmitted by this opportunity, and your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s will see by the Address of the Assembly that no bill will pass here in consequence of the late Instruction sent over, on account of the suspending clause; notwithstanding the difficulties we shall labour under by such a proceeding, I find upon enquiry that it was not their intention to strike Bills for more than one half of the sum mentioned in the Instruction, as they were sensible of the evil tendency of paper currency in general, and would have been glad as soon as they possibly could to have laid aside entirely all emissisons of paper money, although the exigencies of the Govern<sup>t</sup> will not allow of its being done all at once, and it is imagined that if they had a liberty of emitting the sum of one hundred and thirty Thousand pounds without any restriction and the time enlarged from five to eight years for doing it, that it would be the last time that the Prov<sup>ce</sup> would strike Bills for any such purpose. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect—My Lord

Your Lordpps. most obedient and  
humble servant

15 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1766.

H: MOORE.



*Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore.*

[New-York Papers, S. P. O. No. 2. CLIX.—51.]

Whitehall Dec<sup>r</sup> 11. 1766

Sir

As information was received as well from you as from Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage that the Insurrections in Albany and Duchess County had been wholly quelled and several of the Delinquents brought to Justice, it was hoped that those disturbances had entirely ceased, and that all causes of future dissensions on this occasion had been removed, and particularly that the differences between the two Provinces of New York and Massachusetts Bay, had received an amicable adjustment, but late accounts from Boston give room to apprehend that an event which ought be so desirable to both Provinces has not yet taken place

The disturbances which have arisen between the borderers of both Provinces are of a nature not to be suffered. It is to be hoped that the rights of the Parties were very well considered and ascertain<sup>d</sup> before the Military Power was called in to the aid of the Civil. The Exigencies ought to be very pressing indeed which can justify such a kind of decision, it being very seldom that moderate measures are not more eligible as well as more effectual than Force.

The complaints of the Massachusetts Province on behalf of the Inhabitants lying to the Westward of the Line, reported by the Lords of Trade as the Boundary of the two Provinces are very urgent for redress, and there is room to apprehend the Sheriff of Albany may have exceeded if not his legal Powers at least the bounds of discretion

It is recommend that a speedy and amicable adjustment of this matter may soon take place, I have recommended it particularly to M<sup>r</sup> Bernard, as I do to you, that the most effectual measures may be taken to settle every difference relative to the Boundaries of your respective Colonies by Commissioners appointed from each for that purpose, if men of sound understand<sup>e</sup> and moderate Principles are chosen for that purpose, they will easily surmount any difficulties which may arise for equity and a regard as well to public tranquillity as to private Property, which will teach them to make concessions on both sides and remove by a generous manner of acting, the cause of any future dissensions between the two Provinces; If this can not be effected you will then, Sir, take care to transmitt to me for His Majesty's Information, a full and authentick narrative of the ground & Progresses of those differences, carrying your account as far back as you can procure proper vouchers to support it, that the whole of this affair may be considered and determined here In the mean time it will be your care that the Inhabitants lying Westward of the Line reported by the Lords of Trade as the Boundary of the two Provinces be not molested on account of the Territorial differences, or disputed Jurisdictions for whatever Province the settlers may be found to belong to, it should make no difference in their property, provided that their Titles to their Lands should be found good in other respects, or that they have been long in the uninterrupted possession of them

I have laid before the King your letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> October recommending W. Prendergast, who was sentenced to death for treasonable Practices and Riots committed in Dutchess County, to the Royal mercy; and His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant him his Pardon, relying that this instance of his Royal clemency will have a better effect in recalling these mistaken People to their Duty than the most rigorous punishment.

I am &amp;c &amp;c

Sir Henry Moore Bart.

SHELburne

*Earl of Shelburne to the Governors in America.*

[Mus: Brit. King's MS., 206, p. 107.]

Whitehall. 11 December, 1766.

I am to signify to you His Majestys Pleasure that you will with as much dispatch as may be transmit to me for His Majesty's information, an exact estimate of the Annual charge of maintaining and supporting the entire Establishment of His Majesty's Colony of . . . . . distinguishing the different funds, and the different services to which those funds are appropriated. You will be very particular in specifying what funds are fixed and regular, from those which are annually granted, or which expire in a given time.

It is also His Majesty's pleasure that you transmit to me at the same time, a full and clear Account of the manner of imposing Quit Rents and of levying them, as also the mode of granting Lands in your Colony; specifying the amounts of the arrears of Quit Rents, and the number of Grants hitherto made, and to whom, how many Acres to each, and at what time the Grants have been made.

I am &amp;c.

SHELBURNE.

*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[Plantations General (S. P. O.), No. 232.]

Johnson Hall. 16 December 1766.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of September I had the honor to receive two days ago from the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia to whom it came through some mistake.

Permit me, My Lord to assure you of my most profound respect, and the deep sence I have of my obligations to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, particularly in his having honored my conduct with his Royal approbation, which I have always endeavoured to merit by a vigorous exertion of all my abilities, and a neglect of my private interests, allow me to hope for a continuance of your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s favour and countenance to support me in the execution of my difficult and laborious employment, & to point out with a candour becoming a faithful servant of the King, the nature of the difficulties which arise, and in great measure obstruct the execution of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s commands, and to assure your Lord<sup>p</sup> that from my first entering upon my Office, I have to the utmost of my power and influence endeavoured to execute the several parts of that duty expected from me and I shall continue to do so, tho' it should add to the number of my Enemies.—My Lord I have often laid before the Ministry and the Board of Trade the opposition I have met with, which is not to be combatted by one with my little powers; this opposition far from abating is daily gaining strength, and may shortly prevent me from executing the smallest part of what my inclination and duty require.

The thirst after Indian lands, is become almost universal, the people who generally want them, are either ignorant of, or remote from the consequences of disobliging the Indians, many make a traffic of lands, and few or none will be at any pains or expence to get them

settled, consequently, they cannot be losers by an Indian War, and should a Tribe be driven to despair, and abandon their country, they have their desire tho' at the expence of the lives of such ignorant settlers as may be upon it. It is much easier to assign the cause of this, than it is to find a remedy for it, and therefore the evil is likely to encrease, whilst every salutary remedy is liable to be construed into a violation of liberty, tho' this tenderness for the liberty of the People may be carried so far, as to loose sight of the Royal Prerogative or the constitutional powers of the British legislature, this may often produce misrepresentations to His Majesty's Ministers, who cannot at all times detect evasions arising from subjects not well known even here. The house of Assembly when directed to proceed ag<sup>t</sup> the enormous and fraudulent Patent of Kayderosseras assigned as one cause why they would not proceed against it, that it would be calling in question the character of the Governor, who granted it, tho' they have done that in eight other instances; and as a reason why it was not settled since 1708, say, that it lay too much exposed to the Enemy; whereas many of other Tracts, particularly mine, make a frontier to it, and was settled by me with a hundred familys during the heat of the War. This is one strong instance amongst many others I could produce in proof what I've remarked, at the same time it leads me to a subject of a private nature, which I beg your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s indulgence, namely to observe, that my Patent aforesaid, I formerly bought very cheap from the White people, for I have no Indian Lands, and though often pressed on that subject, have always refused any concerns that way for myself, one Tract excepted, contiguous to my own Estate given me in 1760 by a whole Nation, dearly paid for, and acknowledged by them in October before the Gov<sup>r</sup> at my house; this, has been some time sent to be laid before His Maj<sup>ty</sup>, who I am hopeful will honour me with a grant for it, and I flatter myself with your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s interest thereon.

After this short digression, I must beg leave to further add, that the majority of those who get lands, being persons of consequence in the Capitals, who can let them lye dead as a sure Estate hereafter, and are totally ignorant of the Indians, make use of some of the lowest and most selfish of the Country Inhabitants, to seduce the Indians to their houses, where they are kept rioting in drunkenness till they have effected their bad purposes, to prevent which, the Gentlemen of the Law here say, my Commission is not sufficiently expressive, nor will any Act of an American Legislature be obtained, that effects their private interest. Thus the affair of the extravagant Grant Kayaderosseras aforementioned, which has exasperated the whole Six Nations, remains still undecided, and truth obliges me to add, that tho' Proclam<sup>ts</sup> are issued, and orders sent to the several Governours experience has shewn that both are hitherto ineffectual and will be so, whilst the Gentlemen of property and Merchants are interested in finding out evasions or points of Law against them, and whilst many of these, and the much greater part of the commonalty entertain such contracted ideas of sovereign power, & authority and that this is daily increasing I could produce many proofs, but as they do not all relate to my Department, I shall confine myself to one instance on the head of Proclamations. An Inhabitant of this County, who has forced himself on the Mohawks low lands, and lives there without a Patent, has been repeatedly warned to withdraw, the Gov<sup>r</sup> has even severely threatened him for non-compliance; I have repeatedly (at the earnest request of the Indians) wrote to him, and personally shewn him His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Proclam<sup>n</sup> of 1763, and laid the matter before the Governour in Council and the Attorney General, all which he laughs at, well knowing the party that is ready to support him, in so much, that it would only weaken the prerogative to prosecute him, as may be evinced in many similar cases. The bounds of a letter will not permit me to



enlarge upon these heads at present. I shall only say, that the *plan for Indian Affairs*, seemed calculated for the future prevention of these & other abuses, and had it been put in execution immediately, I am of opinion, it would have had all the effects expected from it, but the time elapsed since has afforded several persons in Trade from the Province of Quebec sufficient leisure to represent to those at home, that it will be a check upon them, and the longer it continues unsettled, the greater will be the opposition, altho' it effects only Canada, or rather the French Traders, who were used to winter amongst the Indians, and are now the chief Factors with them, and for reasons that are obvious would chuse to be subject to no controul, but at liberty to raise the prices of goods, and lay the blame on the English Govern<sup>t</sup>, or practice some of their former artifices, for preventing which, the plan was principally intended. If the trade was confined to the Posts, the English would have an equal share, frauds would be timely detected, and the propagators of falsehoods discovered and punished, and if these places of Trade are too few to the Northward, more might be added to consist only of an officer and a few men for the maintenance of the police, as was the practice of the French. — If as the Traders of Quebec say, some of the most Northern people would perish unless they had Traders at their hunting Hutts in the Winter, a clause of exception might be made from the peculiar scituation of those north of the Ottawa River, and the Lakes: Superior, Huron and Michigan, for it is manifest it does not effect the other Nations Southward of the before mentioned River and Lakes, and as no Commissary can stay but where his authority is supported, that such Traders should before they set out, enter into recognizance to trade only at one place with specified commodities, and it is necessary to remark, that as all the best places of trade are out of any Govern<sup>t</sup>, the nicest persons cannot consider the liberty of the subject to be invaded by His Majesty's taking proper precautions, for putting it out of the power of ignorance or fraud to involve the continent in a War. Neither was this liberty expected in Canada till very lately, nor is it now hoped for, by those of other Govern<sup>ts</sup>, who have it not in their power to exaggerate the distressfull state of the Indians during the Winter season as the others have done.

These few hints my Lord, I have thrown together in addition to what I have before observed on the Plan to the Board of Trade, hoping they may be of some use at the settling of the proposed Plan. But give me leave, My Lord, to urge the great necessity there is for its being speedily put in execution, and my powers explained in such a manner as shall enable me to execute my trust as I ought, without which I am but too well convinced that all my endeavours will be fruitless.

Since my last, the French and Spaniards have sent several Belts of Wampum from the Mississippi to the Western Nations, telling them to be prepared to join them to fall upon our out posts, with many idle particulars of their intentions. Some of these Belts came from the Post commanded by Mons<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Ange near the Illinois, and it is added for certain, that the French have enlisted in the Spanish service, and their Partizans also continue with them. Pondiac received a Belt likewise but told all the Indians over whom he had an immediate influence, that he was resolved to abide by the engagements he made before me last summer. However, from the present disposition of the Indians, too much care cannot be taken to prevent the ill effects of such messages and Belts as are daily sent amongst them, which added to the misconduct of some of our Inhabitants and Traders, gives me reason to apprehend that the peace cannot long subsist.

From this unfavourable prospect of affairs the most I can do, is to endeavour at warding off the danger until the Plan is finally settled, and if I succeed herein, I shall deem myself very happy from a consideration of the difficulties I have to struggle with, from the artifices of the French, the indiscreet conduct of our own People and the enraged state of several of the Tribes.

This moment an Interpreter arrived here with several Tuscarora Chiefs returned from North Carolina, whither they went last spring in order to bring the remainder of their Tribe out of danger from that Govern<sup>t</sup>, which they have now done to the number of 160, and they have produced to me certificates of their quiet behaviour and decorum, under the Seals of the Magistrates of the several districts thro' which they passed; notwithstanding which, by the account, the Interpreter and they give me as also from the letters I received by them, I find that on their way, their lives were several times attempted by the Frontier People, who assembled for that purpose, to prevent which for the future, one of my Officers that way, was necessitated to put the Crown to the charge of an attendant Whiteman, and that on their return, having sold part of their lands in Carolina, and purchased sundry Horses, Waggon<sup>s</sup> ettc for carrying some effects, they were again used ill at Paxton in Pennsylvania & robbed of several Horses ettc valued at £55; of this the Tuscarora Chiefs complained to several of the Six Nations, and I have just now with difficulty prevented them from making a formal complaint to the whole Confederacy, on promising them, that it should be enquired into.—I am persuaded Gov<sup>r</sup> Penn will do all he can on receipt of my letter, but these sort of Lawless people are not easily detected, beeing screened by one another, there have been several instances of much the same nature lately in different quarters on the frontiers.

I hope your Lord<sup>p</sup> will pardon the length of this letter, that you will be assured of my exerting all my abilities for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and that as I lye under the deepest obligations, duty & gratitude to his Majesty, I flatter myself my conduct will entitle me to a continuance of his Royal protection, and to your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s favour and notice.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect and esteem—My Lord

Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient and  
most humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O., No. 2.) CLIX., 51.]

Fort George N York 19<sup>th</sup> Dec 1766

My Lord

The letter which I had the Honor of receiving from your Lordship dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of August was laid before the House of Assembly the 17<sup>th</sup> of last month accompany'd by a Message and it is with no small mortification that I am now to give your Lordship an account so unsatisfactory of the Proceedings of the House on this occasion. Yesterday the inclosed address was presented to me in answer to my message by which your Lordship will see that I had but too much foundation for the opinion I ventured to give in my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of

June, and could wish that the behaviour of those Gentlemen had been such, as would have obliged me to retract what I then advanced. Your Lordship will now ask what my reasons were for not dissolving the Assembly immediately upon the presenting such an address and trying the chance of a new Election: To this I must beg leave to answer that if I could have conceived His Majestys Service would have been benefitted by it, or that there was the most distant prospect of succeeding by a new Election, I should not have made the least hesitation in doing it, but as my Message had been for such a length of time under consideration I had frequent opportunities of making enquiries of what was intended to be done, and found that it never was a question whether they sh<sup>d</sup> comply or not, but that the whole of their deliberations related only to the Form in which their refusal should appear whether by resolution or address, and the Terms to be made use of on the occasion. The House was unanimous in this opinion and I am fully persuaded that they not only have given their own Sentiments but those of their constituents also, so that in case of a dissolution the same members would have been returned again, a Flame would have lighted up throughout the Country, and not a single advantage derived from it, when I found this to be the case, I endeavored by private conferences with some of the members to bring them to a sense of their duty & laid the matter before His Majestys Council desiring that their influence might also be exerted in a matter of so much consequence to the Country How I have succeeded the inclosed address will shew. I hope in laying this whole Transaction before your Lordship it will be thought that I have on this occasion acted for His Matys Service. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's

most obedient

& humble Servant

H MOORE

Rt Honorable

Earl of Shelburne

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*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[ New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 75. ]

New York. 19. Dec<sup>r</sup> 1766.

My Lords,

The house of Assembly was this morning prorogued to the 10<sup>th</sup> day of March next, and I have here enclosed the address which I received in answer to my message of the 17<sup>th</sup> of November, in which was included the letter from the Earl of Shelburne relative to the Quartering of His Majestys Troops here agreeable to the Act of Parliament. I should have been very happy to have sent home a satisfactory account of our Proceedings in relation to this Affair, but their sentiments were unanimous, and determined, so that all attempts made to influence their conduct on so interesting an occasion proved abortive. I have likewise taken the liberty to put under cover to your Lord<sup>pp</sup>s the draught of an Act relative to the paper currency of the Colonies which I understand is intended to be brought into the house of Commons this sessions; I have no other authority for what I here advance than this, that the paper was said to be sent over to the Committee of correspondence by the Agent for the



Colony, desiring to know what opinion would be entertained of it here, and it was delivered to me this morning by a member of the Assembly. — I can only say on this occasion that if it is the intention of Parliament to pass such an Act, it would be highly acceptable to this Colony, who do not desire to have paper money on any other terms, as they have always kept up the credit of their paper currency and taken particular care, that it never should be depreciated.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lords

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> & humble serv<sup>t</sup>

H. MOORE.

P. S. Brig<sup>r</sup> Carleton, having told me, that he intended writing to your Lord<sup>ships</sup> immediately upon his arrival at Quebec, to request on the Part of that Province, that the Boundary line which had been settled by us might be fixed by His Majesty's authority where we had mark'd it; I have the same request to make on the part of this Province, as it may be a means of preventing any Litigation hereafter, and quieting the minds of many who are going up early in the spring to settle in those parts.

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O. No. 1,) CLIX., 51. ]

Fort George, New York Dec 22. 1766

My Lord

I have taken the liberty to enclose for your Lordships perusal the extract of a Letter I wrote to the Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of August last in which after giving an account of some disturbances which had arose in two different Counties here mention was made of the Stockbridge Indians concerning whom I am just honored with a letter from your Lordship By this extract which was wrote before they had any intention of going to England, It may be seen how desirous I was of examining their Pretensions, and that it was entirely owing to themselves that nothing was done. About three weeks ago they arrived here and came directly to the Fort where they informed me that it was your Lordships intentions to write to me by the next Paquet concerning their affairs, and desire that their claims might be examined and justice done them, To this I answered that as they had found me ready on their former application to do them justice, I was still in the same way of thinking in regard to them, and that without waiting for the arrival of the Pacquet, I would enter immediately on their Business; At the same time I told them that the three gentlemen complained of were either in Town or not far off and that I should despatch Messengers to them that afternoon and appoint the next day for the examination; this they declined without giving any reason for it, and on my pressing them to fix a day they told me that they did not choose to enter upon it at present but would take some other opportunity; as they were sensible that this kind of behaviour would not be interpreted to their advantage They left the Town immediately upon going from me and the first news I have heard of them since is

that they have been forcibly turning some poor people out of Possession of their Houses, and have second time begun committing Disorders in the same part of the Country, where I was under a necessity last year of employing His Majesty's Forces to quell the Rioters During the little time they stayed with me I enquired into their reasons for going to England after the reception they had met with here, on their application for justice, and to this they made no other answer than that they were persuaded by some people to take the voyage but that it was not a project of their own, and indeed I have since heard that some persons in a very low station here had put them upon it in expectation that an order for the lands they claimed might be obtained without further examination which in case they succeeded were to be parcelled out among those who had proposed the voyage to them. Your Lordship may be assured that no pains shall be spared on my part to have justice done to them and to protect them in their Rights, but I am very much afraid that I shall see no more of them after so extraordinary a Behavior as what I have here mentioned. The Proceedings of the Lieut<sup>e</sup> Governor and council in relation to the Guardian and Agents of the Indians are transmitted to your Lordship by this opportunity as likewise a Memorial of the Council to me on the same occasion, to which I shall only beg leave to add that Munro the Guardian who was chose for this purpose and appoint<sup>d</sup> by one of the Judges of the inferior Courts in conjunction with a justice of the Peace of the same County, has been guilty of many misdemeanors has broke out of the Gaol of this City, and is, by all accounts I can obtain, as infamous a Person as can be found in the Colony: Brundige the Interpreter and Conductor to England was in Custody for a Riot committed in the Manor of Cortland but being admitted to Bail, he fled from it and was under a necessity of absconding as soon as he landed

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

H MOORE

Earl of Shelburne  
Sery of State.

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

New York Dec<sup>r</sup> 26. 1766

My Lord

In my letter to Mr Secretary Conway of the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, I informed him that the Assembly in their Session of June last would not recompense me for the losses I sustained by the Mob the first of November last year. They have again in their late Sessions, refused payment, with this reason annexed, that I had brought them upon myself by my misconduct, However I can make no doubt, your Lordships on consideration of my whole conduct, will think otherwise that I have done nothing but what my duty required of me. This patronising, & defense of the shamefull insults on their Governor, by a savage mob, in a manner destructive of all Government, such as have rarely happened in any civilized Country, gives strong Proofs that

the Riots and Tumults, which happened at that time, & continued for some months after I had retired, were instigated and promoted by a dangerous Faction, which now leads and directs in the House of Assembly, and that they have not abandoned the views which they then had

As this faction has and continues to asperse my character by Calumnies repeatedly published, and have likewise propagated them, by their printed Papers delivered by their direction to persons of distinction in London, I have thought it necessary, at the earnest desire of my children, and by advise of my friends to have a printed narrative of my conduct delivered to his Majestys Ministers and to some other persons of distinction, to whom as I am informed the Faction has endeavoured to give prejudices against me. His Majestys Ministers have formerly been informed of every thing contained in this narrative, but as this was done of the several matters separately, & at distant times, I think it may be of use to them, to have the whole reduced under one view

My duty required me to oppose the designs of this prevailing Faction, which I am confident, will appear from this narrative to be dangerous to His Matys authority and the Rights of his Crown in this Province, and that they likewise ardently tend to render private property and the administration of Justice precarious, This I did knowing that the doing of it, unless I be supported by His Majestys Favor, must be extremely prejudicial to my private Interest and of my family, who must remain in this Country

I informed Mr Conway likewise that the Assembly had refused to pay the Sallary which was due to me at Sir Henry Moores arrival. Application was made again in their last Session. They after referring the matter from one Committee to another broke up without doing me this justice

The methods taken to deterr the officers of the Crown from their duty certainly deserves the attention of the Kings ministers. Perhaps no officer at that time dare make a seizure in the Colonies where all restraints on Trade are unpopular, and where it may be in the Power of a single man to sett the Mob upon him

Your Lordship may beleive that I am under much concern that my conduct may appear to His Maty in its proper light: for no man (however I may have erred in any particular Instance) can have a more sincere desire than I had to perform my duty while the administration of Government was in my hands. This emboldens me to entreat your Lordships intercession with the King for some instance of His approbation & favour after having suffered so much by meer malice; as thereby the other officers may be encouraged in their Duty at a time when such incouragement seems necessary

Nothing can give me more pleasure than to know that I stand well in your Lordships opinion and that I may be allowed the honor of being

My Lord

Your most obedient

& faithfull Servant

Earl of Shellburne

CADWALLADER COLDEN



*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[Board of Trade, New-York, Qq., No. 55. Mus: Brit: King's MS., 206, p. 17.]

Fort George, New York, 12<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1767.

My Lords,

Having received your Lordships Commands in a Letter dated the first of August last, in which I was directed to prepare and transmit as soon as possible, an Account of the several Manufactures set up and carried on within this Colony since the year 1734, I took the liberty of giving Mr Peter Hasenclaver a Letter of Introduction to your Lordships, as he was then ready to sail for England, imagining that from his character and knowledge of the Country a more perfect account might be obtained from him of what was required in the beforementioned Letter, than I could possibly give by that opportunity. I have since made all the inquiries I could, and the whole of the Information given to me, may be reduced to the following Heads.

There is a small Manufactory of Linen in this City under the Conduct of one Wells, and supported chiefly by the Subscriptions of a set of men who call themselves the Society of Arts and Agriculture, No more than fourteen Looms are employed in it, and it was established in order to give Bread to several poor families which were a considerable charge to the City, and are now comfortably supported by their own daily Labour, in spinning of Flax. It does not appear, that there is any established fabric of Broad cloth here; and some poor Weavers from Yorkshire, who came over lately in expectation of being engaged to make Broad cloths, could find no Employment. But there is a general Manufactory of Woollen carried on here, and consists of two sorts, the first a coarse cloth entirely woollen  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a yard wide; and the other a Stuff which they call Linsey Woolsey. The Warp of this is Linen, and the Woof Woollen; and a very small quantity of it is ever sent to market. Last year when the Riots and Disorders here were at their height on the occasion of the Stamp Act, these manufactures were greatly boasted of, and the Quantity then made greatly magnified by those, who were desirous of distinguishing themselves as American Patriots, and would wear nothing else; They were sometimes sold for three times their value; but the Manufacturers themselves shewed, that they had more good sense than the persons who employed them; for they never clothed themselves with the work of their own hands, but readily brought it to market, and selling it at an extravagant price there, bought English cloth for themselves and their families. The custom of making these coarse cloths in private families prevails throughout the whole Province, and almost in every House a sufficient quantity is manufactured for the use of the Family, without the least design of sending any of it to market. This I had an opportunity of seeing during the late Tour I made, and had the same Accounts given me by all those persons, of whom I made any enquiry, for every house swarms with children, who are set to work as soon as they are able to Spin and card; and as every family is furnished with a Loom, the Itenerant Weavers who travel about the Country, put the finishing hand to the work.

There is a Manufactory of Hats in this City, which is very considerable; for the Hats are not so good as those made in England, and are infinitely dearer. Under such Disadvantages as these it is easy to imagine with what difficulty it is supported, and how short the duration of it is like to be; the Price of Labour is so great in this part of the World, that it will always prove the greatest obstacle to any Manufactures attempted to be set up here, and the genius

of the People in a Country where every one can have Land to work upon leads them so naturally into Agriculture, that it prevails over every other occupation. There can be no stronger Instances of this, than in the servants Imported from Europe of different Trades; as soon as the Time stipulated in their Indentures is expired, they immediately quit their Masters, and get a small tract of Land, in settling which for the first three or four years they lead miserable lives, and in the most abject Poverty; but all this is patiently borne and submitted to with the greatest chearfulness, the Satisfaction of being Land holders smooths every difficulty, and makes them prefer this manner of living to that comfortable subsistence which they could procure for themselves and their families by working at the Trades in which they were brought up.

The Master of a Glass-house; which was set up here a few years ago, now a Bankrupt, assured me that his ruin was owing to no other cause than being deserted in this manner by his servants, which he had Imported at a great expence; and that many others had suffered and been reduced as he was, by the same kind of Misfortune.

The litte Foundry lately set up near this Town for making small Iron Potts is under the direction of a few private persons, and as yet very inconsiderable.

As to the Foundaries which M<sup>r</sup> Hansenclaver has set up in the different parts of this Country, I do not mention them, as he will be able to give your Lordships a full account of them and of the progress he has already made; I can only say that I think this Province is under very great obligations to him for the large sums of Money he has laid out here in promoting the cultivation of Hemp, and introducing the valuable manufactures of Iron and Pot Ash.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

My Lords

Your Lordships'

most obedient and

humble Servant

H. MOORE

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*Earl of Shelburne to the Governors in America.*

[ Mus. Brit., King's MSS., 206, fol. 293. ]

Whitehall, Jan<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1767.

By my letter of 11 December, I signified to you His Majesty's pleasure that an exact estimate of the Establishment of the Colony of . . . . . should be transmitted to me for His Majesty's information, also a full and clear account of the manner of granting lands, and imposing Quit Rents. I am now to signify to you His Majesty's further pleasure that you transmit to me at the same time the Established fees of the different offices in the Colony, particularly, the Fees and other charges attending Grants of Land, whether legally established or received as perquisites, which have got a sanction by custom, and distinguishing each.

I am, &c

SHELBURNE.

*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

Fort George N York 13 Jan 1767.

My Lord

I had the honor to receive by this Pacquet your Lordships commands in regard to Mr Hasenclever, together with an inclosed copy of a letter from the Gentlemen principally concerned in supporting him to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Greeme,<sup>1</sup> and your Lordship may be assured that no assistance on my part shall be wanting on this occasion, and that I shall readily seize any opportunity of shewing him all that countenance and protection to which I think him justly entitled from Government for the public spirit which he has shew<sup>d</sup> here, and the great sums of money which he has laid out in promoting the cultivation of Hemp & the manufacture of iron and Pot ash. My opinion of Mr Hasenclever was such, that on his sailing for England about six weeks ago, I took the liberty of giving him a letter of introduction to your Lordships, as a person very capable of giving Informations which could be depended on in relation to the present state of the Trade and Manufactures of this Colony, and have since the receipt of your Lordships letter, seen Mr Seton his Partner here, and given him the strongest assurances of any services in my Power

One of the Indians who was lately in England having within these few days renewed his claims to some Lands here, His Majestys Council have at his request appointed the 5<sup>th</sup> day of March next for a hearing and issued the orders necessary for all the persons to attend that day whose names he had delivered in: Sir William Johnson has likewise been informed of it and desired to be present on the occasion. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient &amp;

R<sup>t</sup> Honble

humble Servant

Earl of Shelburne.

H MOORE

*Governor Moore to the Lords of Trade.*

[New-York Papers, Bundle Qq., No. 87.]

New York 14. January 1767.

My Lords,

I am very sorry that I should be under a necessity of writing any thing in the nature of a complaint to your Lord<sup>shps</sup>; but where incroachments are made on the power of Govern<sup>t</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> Major-General DAVID GREEME, of Braco, Scotland, at this time Member of Parliament for Perthshire, was sent to Germany in 1761 to select a Queen for George III., and it was on his recommendation that the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz was chosen to be the Royal consort. Walpole says he was a notorious Jacobite and had been engaged in the Scotch Rebellion. He was afterwards Secretary to Her Majesty and Comptroller of the Queen's household. *Grenville Papers*, III., 92. He was Colonel of the 105th Regiment in 1762; of the 49th in 1764, and of the 19th Foot in 1768. He rose to be a General in the Army, and died at Edinburgh in January, 1797. *Gentleman's Magazine*. He was one of the grantees in the Hasenclever patent, in the present towns of Schuyler and Newport, Herkimer Co., N. Y., issued 27th February, 1769, (*N. Y. Book of Patents*, XIV., 314), a circumstance which may serve to throw some light on the introduction of his name in the above despatch. —ED.



the Commander in Chief is not properly supported by the Legislature on such occasions, I think it is his duty to lay a State of the case before your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s pleasure may be known upon it. The situation of affairs in this Prov<sup>ce</sup> upon my first arrival here, is very well known to your Lord<sup>ships</sup>, and the steps I took have been duly transmitted and met with your Lord<sup>ships</sup> approbation; and I did apprehend that upon the Repeal of the Stamp Act, all kind of business would have returned into its former channel, but in this I have been disappointed, for, as I refused on my entering into the Govern<sup>t</sup>, to issue any papers from my Office which were not stamp'd agreeable to the Act of Parliament, I was obliged amongst other things to refuse the granting of Let passes to Ships clearing out from this Port; they ventured to sail without them and from the indulgence then met with in not being seized, they have since the Repeal of the Stamp Act, constantly gone to sea without Let passes; I laid this matter before the Council, and on examination we found that no Law had been passed in this Prov<sup>ce</sup> to compell Ships to take out Let passers, as had been done in other Provinces, but that the Custom was founded on a Proclamation of a very old date of the then Gov<sup>r</sup> and issued by advice of the Council, before the third branch of the Legislature was established here, which then carried with it the authority of a Law. I apprehended that at this time, it ought to have had the same weight, as it never has been contradicted by any Law since made, but the opinions of the Gentlemen of the Law are so far from being unanimous on this occasion, that I have not been sufficiently encouraged to try the determination of a Court of Judicature by prosecuting the Offenders. I afterwards resolved to bring it before the Assembly, and to endeavour to get a Law passed for that purpose, but upon private enquiry in what manner a Message from me on this head was likely to be received, I found that it would not be attended with the success I desired, for so great a number of the Members of the house of Assembly are engaged in Trade, that they were the Chief owners of the vessells complained of, and of course more inclined to protect, than to punish on such an occasion. As the Gov<sup>r</sup> of a province is generally looked upon to be the principal Officer of the customs and is particularly directed by His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Instructions, to be attentive to the due execution of the Acts of Trade, I apprehend that the General combination which is so evident in the present attack upon him, carries more with it than appears at first view, and requires a timely authority to be exerted in the suppression of it, which I should not have troubled your Lord<sup>ships</sup> with, if I had seen the least probability of succeeding in either of the methods of getting redress which I have before mentioned. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect. My Lords.

Your Lord<sup>ships</sup> most obedient & humble serv<sup>t</sup>

H. MOORE —

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*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General, (S. P. O.) No. 258. ]

Johnson Hall: 15. January 1767. No. 1.

My Lord,

Since I had the honor of answering Your Lord<sup>ship</sup>'s letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> Sept: which I did on the 16<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> I was honored with a second from your Lord<sup>ship</sup> of the 11<sup>th</sup> of October concerning the affairs of the Wappinger and Stock bridge Indians.

I should acquaint your Lord<sup>sh</sup> that the Wappingers and Stockbridge Tribes, with many others residing east of Hudson's River or in the New England Govern<sup>ts</sup> are upon a very different footing from the rest, being through length of time become Domesticated, and as they are now surrounded by the White Inhabitants, they have for the most part for several years laid aside Hunting, & whilst the industrious amongst them employ themselves in fishing, labouring or other work, the rest spend an idle strolling life, which many of them with difficulty support. The majority have submitted to the Laws, and as it is long, since they were possessed of any extent of Country, the circumstances of their case is extremely difficult to prove, and must meet with a general opposition in America from the number and interest of those who now reside on their antient Rights. The Stockbridge Tribe have many complaints; amongst the most recent, is that of *Nobletown*, which falling within this Province, and claimed by the great Patent of *Ranslear*, they have been deprived of, but they have not been with me on that subject for sometime. The Wappinger's case which I enquired into some time ago, is very extraordinary, and if truth be in the affidavits of sundry Inhabitants, they have formerly been greatly over reached, and a tract of several miles square taken from them, which they were unacquainted with for many years; the original Patentee not daring to let them know, how much was contained in his grant, until they dwindled to an inconsiderable Number; but I need not further to enlarge on a subject the particulars of which have been laid before your Lord<sup>sh</sup>; only to remark, that the affair is of so long standing, the proofs so difficult from the nature of the Law in these cases, here, and the Power and connections of those who oppose them, that altho' I shall in obedience to your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s commands, do all I can for the Indians, when it comes to be enquired into, yet I despair of obtaining any redress, especially as other matters particularly the Patent of *Kayadaresseras*, which is much more recent, a plainer case, and wherein the whole Six Nations are interested remains still a grievance, and whenever litigated here, it will in all probability be given against them, and they driven to despair, will certainly take some revenge.

The extreme difficulty of obtaining redress in such cases, I have often remarked in my letters to the Ministry and the Board of Trade. There is no provisional allowance in our Laws for the ignorance of the Indians in a variety of circumstances, for their extravagant love of liquor, by which, any thing may be had from them, and for their inability of procuring evidences as the Law requires, or any proofs or minutes from their illiterate state, so that Governors, Councils and Courts, have it seldom in their power to redress the fraud, much less can it be expected, when the Members of the Law, and the principal persons in the Govern<sup>t</sup> are interested in every valuable Tract, so that an opposition must arise, which few of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Representatives or other Officers can conveniently withstand, and there is in most cases a some thing wanting which prevents redress.

I have just received the agreeable news of Mr Croghan one of my Deputys having surmounted all the difficulties which the French created to obstruct his transactions at the *Illinois*. He has at length in a public Congress there with eight Nations divided into 22 Bands convinced them of the falsity of the stories with which they were formerly led away by the French and which is still daily practiced by them as Agents for the Spaniards, and having given them a present with repeated assurances of His Majesty's good intentions towards them with all which they appeared extremely well pleased, a peace was publicly made between the English and them, and notwithstanding the French (who failed this year in spiriting up any Tribes to attack him as they did last Summer) had interest enough to keep three Nations from attending the Congress,



yet the favorable Reports of the rest, supported by the good conduct of the Six Nation Deputies who accompanied him, induced those three to come and ratify what the rest had done before his departure from the Illinois.

Affairs are thus happily settled there for the present but allow me, My Lord, candidly to assure Your Lord<sup>sh</sup> that these and all other Negotiations will prove fruitless soon after they are made, unless equal pains be taken to preserve them in that pacific temper by a regular establishment, and by a proper support of the Officers of Indian Affairs. for there now are, and always will be amongst them, and the other nations many Frenchmen and other Foreigners whose interest it is to create disturbances, and to obstruct our Trade, besides the hopes that many entertain of Fleets and Armies, and a change of Govern<sup>t</sup>; there will always be besides some avaritious and fraudulent Traders, as well as some imprudent persons of other Denominations, who will neither treat them with prudence or humanity, and there will ever be amongst themselves some Indians of turbulent dispositions, impatient of wrongs, and ready of resentment, who, can in conjunction with the aforementioned persons & causes, operating in the credulous suspicions and revengeful dispositions of the Indians in General, produce a sudden war, on the most defenceless parts of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s American Dominions, bring a heavy charge of Men and Money on the Govern<sup>t</sup> and ruin the settlements and Trade.

Now, to avoid those disagreeable tho' certain consequences, we should employ Men acquainted with their mann<sup>ers</sup>, to put in force measures adapted to win upon their affections to coincide with their genius and disposition, to discover all their designs to prevent frauds and injustice, to redress grievances, and to remove their jealousies and apprehensions, whilst by annual or other stated Congresses, as practised amongst themselves, we mutually repeat our engagements, refreshing the memories of those who have no other Records to trust to—this, would soon produce most salutary effects, their apprehensions removed, their attachment to us would acquire a solidity not to be shaken, whilst time, intercourse with us and instruction in Religion and learning, would create such a change in their manners & sentiments as the present generation might live to see, together with an end to the expences and attention which are as yet so indispensably necessary to attain these great purposes and to promote the safety, extend the settlements and encrease the commerce of this Country.

The Persons I have appointed as Commissarys are Gentlemen of understanding and Character known to the Indians and acquainted with their dispositions—My three Deputies have each a District allotted for their Visitation, and transacting all business subject to my directions, but as yet their powers are not at all ascertained, the Commissaries have no authority, and it is not in my power to enable them to execute their Office as they ought, and as the plan directed from the many obstructions and disputes of their authority, and their inability to punish any frauds, or redress any grievances, my own case and that of my Deputies are circumstanced in the same manner, whilst reasonable powers supported by Laws, and the proposed expences for presents etc would enable me to pursue that uniform system from which alone I can hope for success. With this view I have used the freedom of trespassing on Your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s patience by so long a letter, to your Lordship's favorable sentiments, I must be solely indebted for its reception, as I can plead nothing in its excuse but my desire to render His Majesty my best services as a Tribute of gratitude and duty, and to approve myself



to your Lord<sup>p</sup> as in some measure deserving that countenance and protection of which I shall ever be truly sensible. As I am with profound respect

My Lord,

your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient and

most devoted humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

P. S. Agreeable to Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s desire this letter is marked N<sup>o</sup> 1. and I shall continue to Mark all those I have the honor to address to your Lordship persuaded of its propriety.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 26. No. 25. ]

Johnson Hall 15<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1767.

My Lords

I had the honor of writing to your Lordships on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October last in answer to your Lordships of the 20<sup>th</sup> August, on the petition presented on behalf of the Inhabitants of Montreal &c

I have now the pleasure to inform your Lordships that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan one of my Deputys is returned from the *Illinois*. after having surmounted all the difficulties created by the French to obstruct his negociations with the Indians whom he assembled there, consisting of eight Nations divided into 22 Bands These Indians he has at present convinced of their folly & credulity in attending to the artful stories and stratagems of the French arising from interested views, and they have after entering into several engagements publickly made peace. The French during the congress had interest enough to keep back three other nations who nevertheless from the favorable report made by the rest, and the assiduous endeavors of the six Nation Deputys that accompanied him were soon persuaded to come to the *Illinois* where they entered into the same engagements as the former and appeared equally sensible of the artifices with which they were abused, but these practices dayly increase, and since my last I am furnished with such a variety of proofs of the Belts (one of which is now in my hands) Messages &ca sent them by French officers, Agents employed by the Spaniards &ca as are sufficient to prove that they will leave nothing undone to renew a war whether from motives of Interest in Trade, private Instructions from some Courts in Europe, or their own vain hopes of those Fleets & armies with which they are repeatedly amusing the Indians, who sensible of the French kindness have a great attachment to them at the bottom, and will be excited to break their engagements whenever they are taught to beleive or find by experience that we neglect them, or suffer oppressions or Frauds in Trade or ill usage to escape with impunity, and these can not be prevented to any purpose in the present state of things here, and untill the Departm<sup>t</sup> of Indian affairs is settled on such plan, or in such manner as to ascertain the powers of its officers beyond the content of the lowest Indian Trader or country inhabitant.

One of the former within these few weeks having been convicted before a court of enquiry of officers at Detroit of having sold 80 lbs weight of lead for 100 pound and the like in proportion of Powder to some of the most trusty Indians, I know, and his Stilyards produced and found false 20<sup>lb</sup> in the 100 not only refused to make up the deficiency (tho several of the other Traders proved the Fraud) but also made use of threats when ordered not to trade by the commissary he having no pass nor having entered into any recognizance, but insisted that he would sell as, and where he pleased, till prevented by Force which he would be glad was made use of, as he would in such case make them repent it, and on the commanding officer placing a centry on his House, prepared to come down the Country to see him, who would probably be arrested when he came into the province from the disposition and prejudice of the Inhabitants—I have produced this among many other instances how these affairs are carried on in the eye of a Garison & Indian Commissary without their being able to prevent it. How much more will such practices & others much worse be the case if Traders go where they please under no inspection whatsoever. Yet such is the conduct of several English and the greater part of the French, that they are endeavoring all in their power to make the Indians Quarrel for such indulgence & draw us into the same war which their Frauds and misconduct would otherwise soon occasion had they the liberty they require.

If in addition to those mentioned in my last a Post or Mart was established on the *Miamis River* & the like on the *Ouabache* I can not conceive it possible for them to have any more to say, and if the department was once fixed by proper authority on the Plan or any other similar system these & the numberless other ill practices, private meetings & Leud schemes might be prevented, whilst the Indian affairs could be regularly & safely conducted from the manner I have put the Department under three districts each of which one of my Deputys is to transact all business under my direction & to visit the whole at certain times, whilst one Generals annual congress will refresh their memories, & the care & conduct of the officers (properly instructed) will prevent a Breach of their engagements, but as no funds are yet established and the powers are still wanting to animate this system, the utmost care and attention will hardly be sufficient to ensure a Tranquility of the least duration

I need not to enlarge on a subject which my duty has induced me so often to write upon, nor should I have extended it to this length, but on a persuasion that your Lordships will place it to my attention to every important object of my duty.

By letters I have this moment rec<sup>d</sup> from Gentlemen of note in Pensilvania I am informed that a Coll Cressop of Maryland held some time last year a Treaty himself with several Six Nation Warriors passing that way, whom he persuaded to grant him a considerable tract of Land out of the Governments down the Ohio & toward Green Briar &ca if this be true (which I have little reason to doubt) it is a flagrant instance of the little regard paid to authority & will (when known to the confederacy) be productive of dangerous consequences—My informants may have had wrong intelligence—However I shall make the necessary inquiry before I trouble your Lordships further thereon.

I am with the utmost respect

My Lords

Your Lordships

Most obedient

much obliged and

faithful Servant

W JOHNSON

To

The Rt Hônble

The Lords of Trade &

Plantations—

*Report of the Lords of Trade on the Memorial of Sir William Johnson.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( N. ) 73. ]

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council for Plantation Affairs

My Lords,

Pursuant to your Lordships Order, dated the 8<sup>th</sup> day of July last, referring to us a memorial of Sir William Johnson Bart Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the North District of North America We have had the same under our Consideration; and as the prayer of the said memorial consists of various Particulars, We shall in reporting our opinion to your Lordships thereupon, take up each particular according to the order in which it is recited.

The Petitioner, after stating his long and faithfull Services, and the prejudice he has received in his private Fortune, as well by the avocations of his publick employments, as by the expences, in which they have involved him, humbly prays his Majesty to grant to him and heirs, a certain tract of Land on the north side of the Mohawk River, conceded to him by the Indians of that Nation; to confirm him in the Rank of Colonel; to augment his Salary as Superintendant of Indian Affairs; And to grant him a recompence for his pay as an officer, and for the Money he has advanced for the publick Service: Or, in short, to relieve him in such other manner as His Majesty, in his great Wisdom, shall judge most fit.

With respect to the first of these particulars wherein the petitioner solicits His Majesty's Bounty, for confirming upon Him and his Heirs, the Grant of a Tract of Land, lying on the north side of the Mohawk River near Canajoharee, the memorialist sets forth that this Grant was bestowed upon him by a deed from the whole Mohawk Nation in Testimony of their friendship for him, for which he then paid them before Witnesses twelve hundred pieces of Eight, and that the expences of Surveying, and of some presents since made to the Indians amount to as much more.

Before we proceed any further in stating to your Lordships the several circumstances that seem peculiarly to distinguish the case of Sir William Johnson, it may not be improper previously to observe to your Lordships that there are certain general Objections, which have always been understood to take place against the Practice of private persons obtaining Grants and Concessions of Lands from the different Tribes and nations of Indians; a proceeding which the Policy and experience of all times have agreed to look upon in a very unfavourable light; in as much as the many fraudulent and irregular Courses that have been taken for inducing the Savages to alienate and dispose of large tracts of lands have been found not only highly injurious and offensive to them, but of very prejudicial Consequences to the Interests of the Crown, as well as to those of the particular Provinces within whose Limits such Grants have been obtain'd and in no Province have these inconveniences been more sensibly felt than in that of New York.

Upon these reasons it was founded as a principle, that no Subject should purchase Grants of Lands from the Indians and this Doctrine in general obtained throughout the Provinces, till his Majesty's Proclamation of the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1763, put a more effectual stop to the practice, by an express prohibition; strictly forbidding "any private persons to presume to make any "purchase from the Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those Parts of



“the Colonies where his Majesty had thought proper to allow Settlements;” Alledging it as the Ground and foundation of this Prohibition, “that great frauds and abuses had been committed in the purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of the interest of the Crown, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians.”

Having thus stated to your Lordships the General Objections and impediments which stand in the way of Grants of Lands obtained by Purchase from the Indians, We shall proceed to consider the Case in Question; by which your Lordships will more clearly distinguish, how far it is, or is not, affected by the circumstances above stated; and consequently will be better able to Judge what degrees of favour and attention is due to this Branch of the memorialist's Petition.

Had this transaction with the Mohawk Nation, for the surrender of a considerable Tract of Lands to a private Person, without licence from the Crown, taken place subsequent to the Proclamation above refer'd to, it is clear beyond all doubt, that such a proceeding would have been expressly disallowd, as contrary to the letter of the said Proclamation; It seem's therefore, in the first place, necessary to premise to your Lordships, that this Grant being obtained previous to the date of that Proclamation and the Lands in Question not lying within these Territories, which not being ceded to or purchased by the Crown are by the above proclamation reserved to the Indians and all settlements thereon expressly disallowed no absolute deprivation or disability can result to the Petitioner from the terms and Provisions of his Majesty's Proclamation

Upon these Grounds therefore it is that the Petitioner founds what he terms in his memorial an indisputable Indian Title to the Grant in Question: not a Title obtained (as has been commonly the Case) by base and fraudulent means, or which can be supposed to be productive of ill will and dissatisfaction to the Indians: not a clandestine or partial purchase from a few deluded Savages not specially empowered for such purposes; but a free voluntary and general Concession made by the whole Mohawk Nation, in Testimony of their friendship and esteem for his person.

The established Character and reputation of Sir William Johnson leave us no Room to doubt of the Veracity of his relation of this matter, as we have now stated it; and in this light it does not appear to us, that the Grant in Question can properly come under the discription of a purchase; since the money which the Petitioner alledges that he paid to the Indians, who bestowed these Lands upon him, seems not so much to have been considered as an equivalent by way of Bargain as a customary Present regularly expected by them in acknowledgement even of their most disinterested Benefactions.

As the peculiar nature of Sir William Johnson's connections with these Indians, and the extraordinary degree of influence which he is known to have over them, may well account for this mark of their friendship and favour to him: so we think this consideration not only exempts his particular Case from those general objections, that are founded in the apprehension of prejudicial consequences resulting from the dissatisfaction of the Indians, but leaves a doubt with us whether on the contrary they would not probably consider themselves as suffering an indignity and affront, by a disallowance and refusal of their Grant.

It must be observed to your Lordships, that the Grant in Question does appear, both by the returns we have received from His Majesty's Governor of New York as well as from the Survey of Sir William Johnson to amount to Sixty six thousand Acres of land; a larger portion than has been usually allotted professedly to any one individual

To this consideration we should naturally oppose the eminent merits of the Petitioner in the public service, if they were not already too well known to your Lordships to need any particular recapitulation or description; they will undoubtedly have their due weight and influence with your Lordships, and when taken into consideration jointly with the circumstances above related, your Lordships will then have every thing before you that can direct your Judgements in this matter, according to which it will be for your Lordships to determine what advice it may be expedient to give his Majesty relative to this Article of Sir William Johnson's Petition.

With respect to the Expediency or Inexpediency of confirming the Petitioner in his Rank of Colonel (which particularly forms the second Article in the prayer of his memorial) we need not observe to your Lordships, that this being a Question entirely foreign to the business and occupation of that Department which we possess, it does not lye with us to form any Judgement or Opinion thereupon.

The third particular which the prayer of this memorialist enumerates, is for an augmentation of Salary, as Superintendant of Indian Affairs.

The lucrative occupations which the Petitioner abandoned, in order to execute this branch of the public Service, and the great degree of labour and fatigue which accompanies its discharge, are represented as very incompetently repaid by an allowance amounting only to £600 p<sup>r</sup> a<sup>n</sup>n; upon these considerations he seems principally to ground his plea for a more suitable appointment.

Upon this occasion it is but Justice to Sir William Johnson's Conduct and behaviour as Superintendant of Indian Affairs, to represent to your Lordships, that his extraordinary Diligence and assiduity in that occupation, as far as they have come in course of Office to our knowledge justly deserve our particular recommendation; the discharge of these duties must no doubt be attended with considerable trouble & fatigue, and we think it very probable from the Zeal, which the Petitioner has ever exhibited in the public Service, that he might engage in this undertaking to the detriment of his own Affairs: upon the whole there can be no Question but that he is justly entitled to a competent and sufficient Salary, adequate to the station he fills, and proportioned to the toil and fatigue which he undergoes: But although we find that our Predecessors in Office, in their general Plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs, have given it as their Opinion, that a higher Appointment should be made to the Officer acting in this Station; yet we think that when the Consideration of these matters comes to be resumed, it will then be for his Majesty and his Council to determine at what Rate to fix the Salaries of his Superintendants of Indian Affairs.

The last Particular, which falls under our Consideration, is the recompence which the Petitioner prays for in consideration of his pay as an Officer; and for the money which he has expended on the public account.

The Memorialist sets forth, that he acted as Colonel of a provincial Regiment of fourteen Companies, during the year 1747, by virtue of a Commission from his Majesty's Governor of New York; that he served a Campaign in 1756; and Commanded the Army in 1759, after the death of General Prideaux, at the Seige and Reduction of Niagara; for which services he never received any Pay or allowance whatever. He represents likewise that in the year 1746 he supplied, at his own private hazard, the important, and (at that time) only Frontier Fort called Oswego; that he continued furnishing these supplies till the year 1750, at the particular instance of the late Governor Clinton; that he expended considerable Sums on Flags of Truce for the



Redemption of Prisoners from Canada and in the entertainment of several French Officers on public business, whose charges he paid by the Governor's express Orders; and that notwithstanding these Services, the house of Assembly objected to the payment of his just Accounts; in consequence of which there still remains due to him the Sum of two thousand four hundred & Seventy six pounds, five shillings, & seven pence half penny, Sterling.

We have thus briefly enumerated the particulars stated by the Memorialist in Recommendation and Support of this part of his Petition. With respect to such Part of the Expences he has incurred, as properly belong to the Province of New York to repay, We are at a loss to guess upon what motives the Assembly should continue to withhold from him a just and equitable Compensation for services performed at the express Requisition of their Governor, and for the special Defence and Security of their Frontiers.

As to the Recompense which he is entitled to for his acting in a military Capacity without Pay, and which seems to be the only Circumstance that properly falls under his Majesty's Consideration, we are inclined to think that as Sir William Johnson has already received a Parliamentary Bounty of five thousand Pounds, if your Lordships should think fit to advise his Majesty to bestow upon [him] the Grant of Lands above mentioned, such a mark of His Majesty's favour may well be considered by the Petitioner as an ample and sufficient Compensation for all such arrears and deficiencies on account of his pay, as in justice it may be incumbent on the Crown to make good

We are

My Lords

Your Lordships

most obedient and

most humble Servants

CLARE<sup>1</sup>

SOAME JENYNS

JOHN ROBERTS

J. DYSON

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

THOMAS ROBINSON<sup>2</sup>

Whitehall

Feb: 10. 1767.

<sup>1</sup> ROBERT NUGENT, of Carlanstown, county Westmeath, Ireland, 1st Viscount Clare, was at this time Member for Bristol. In 1754 he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury; in 1759 one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland, and in December, 1766, one of the Lords of Trade, when he was created Baron Nugent and Viscount Clare, and in 1776, Earl of Nugent. He is described as a man of parts and a poet. A volume of his poems was published anonymously in 1739, and several of his pieces are in Dodsley's Collection. Goldsmith addressed his "Haunch of Venison" to him. His Lordship died without male issue in 1788, and the title of Earl Nugent devolved on the 1st Marquess of Buckingham. *Chatham Correspondence*, II., 418. *Debrett*.

<sup>2</sup> Hon. THOMAS ROBINSON, son of the 1st Lord Grantham, (VI., 844.) was born at Vienna, 30 Nov., 1738; was Secretary of Embassy at the Congress of Augs-burg in 1761, in which year he entered Parliament as Member for Christchurch, Hampshire; was one of the Lords of Trade from October, 1766 to 1770, in which last year he succeeded to his father's title, and ambassador to the Court of Madrid in 1771; 1st Lord of Trade in 1779; Foreign Secretary in 1782, and in January, 1783, concluded the preliminaries of peace with France. His Lordship died 20th July, 1786. *Debrett*.—Ed.



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Mus. Brit. King's MSS., 206, p. 109. ]

Fort George, New York. 20<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1767.

My Lord,

In obedience to your Lordship's commands, received by this Packet, the enclosed Paper is transmitted, which shews the state of the Quit Rents in this Province, and I could wish that it had been in my Power to present them to your Lordship, under more favorable circumstances than they appear at present.

The conditions on which Grants of Land have been made here are very unequal, and some of them so very trifling, that they amount but to a bare acknowledgement; many families had vast Tracts granted to them in the Infancy of the Colony, which pay but a very inconsiderable Quit Rent at this day to the Crown, and it has been thought of very great disadvantage to the Community that the Property of so great an extent of Country should be in the Hands of a few persons. His Majesty's 46<sup>th</sup> Instruction to me directs, that no lands shall be granted under a less consideration than two shillings and six pence sterling, for every hundred acres which is the constant practice here, and has been so for a considerable time. Some years ago the conditions were two shillings and six pence Currency. Before that time a small sum in Gross was received for very large tracts of land, and to go farther back, the Grants express that such Quit Rents shall be paid as shall be afterwards established by Law. The consequence of this last manner of granting is this, that the Lands to this day pay no quit rent, notwithstanding it was evidently intended they should, no Law having yet been passed for establishing them.

By the very great arrear which is due upon the Quit Rents your Lordship will see how much they have been neglected. It is impossible to go into the common Law method of collecting them without infinite difficulty, for want of the regular Organization of the Court of Exchequer with proper Officers &c. and very bad consequences will often attend the method now in practice, by breaking up the Settlements in remote parts of the Province, unless there could be some summary way of relieving such persons who are liable to be distrained for the Quit Rents of others holding Lands under the same Grant. The present manner of collecting them under the Act of Assembly is very imperfect, and the Quit Rents will be always between four and five years in arrear before they can be recovered. The Attorney General has at my request drawn a Bill for the better recovery of them, in which it is proposed to collect them annually in the most easy way to the Landholders and Tenants and to give an expeditious and adequate redress to those who might suffer by the default of others, but I cannot take upon me to be answerable for the success it will meet with in the House of Assembly. If the Court of Exchequer was once established I make no doubt but they would willingly make proper regulations to give the joint holders of Land an expeditious relief against those for whom they are distrained beyond that which they have by Common Law; this would answer all purposes, the Quit Rents might be regularly recovered, and the settlements preserved and increased.

The mode of granting lands is entirely conformable to His Majesty's 49<sup>th</sup> 51<sup>st</sup> and 52<sup>nd</sup> Instructions which direct,

The Petitioner to appear before the Governor in Council.

The necessary steps to be taken in issuing the warrant to the Surveyor General.

The entering of the Dockets in the Auditor's and Receiver's Office, as well as the registering of them in the Secretary's Office.

The Proportions of Lands to be granted, not exceeding one thousand acres to each person.

The figure of the Platt when placed on Rivers, and

The Reservation in the Grants of all white Pine Trees, and others fit for Masts for the Royal Navy.

The remainder of the Queries in your Lordship's Letter, viz<sup>t</sup> what number of Grants have been hitherto made? To whom? and at what time they were made? will take up a considerable Time to answer, as the whole number of Patents which have been issued is very great, and Extracts must be made from each of them, but as your Lordship might want them for immediate inspection I beg leave to mention (from the information of the Secretary) that copies of all of them to the 30<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1765, were sent to the Board of Trade. Extracts of those which have been granted since that time shall be prepared immediately, which will compleat the work; but if the method followed by those which were sent to England should not be thought satisfactory; on receiving your Lordship's commands, they shall be drawn out according to any direction given

I am. &c.

H. MOORE.

The Annual Account of Quit Rents agreeable to the list of Patents in the Receiver Generals office. is in Sterling.....	£	s	d
	1806	7	9
The arrears of Quit Rents agreeable to the List in the said office amounts to	15,888	16	10

The above sums are as near as can be computed, the price of Wheat, Skins, Lambs, and Pease differing every year.

The following sums are paid out of the Quit Rents on the King's Warrants directed to the Receiver General.

To the Honourable Robert Cholmondely the Auditor General of the Plantations.....	£	s	d
	100		
To George Clarke Esq <sup>r</sup> Secretary of New York on two warrants for his Salary & Incidents.....		60	
To the Secretary for Indian affairs.....		100	
To the Receiver General's Salary.....		200	
To the Honourable Robert Cholmondely a Commission of £5 p <sup>r</sup> Cent for all monies received on Auditing the Accounts.			

The Incidental charges of the Rec<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>s Office.

The owners of Lands in this Province have ever been so backward in the Payment of their Quit Rents that the sum collected Annually has never been sufficient to pay off the above mentioned Salaries, and some other orders which were formerly granted to the different people by the Lords of the Treasury.

The present Receiver General upon his coming to Office, which was two years ago, by pushing those in arrears paid off all the money that was due on the Salaries; but the disturbances which happened last year in this Province prevented his proceeding. He is now advertising the different Patents in arrears agreeable to an Act of Assembly passed in this Province in the year 1762, which gives the Receiver General a Power to sell part of any Patent three years in

arrears, twelve months after he has advertised (in one of the Publick Papers for three months) the name of the Patent, and his intentions of selling the same to pay off the Arrears, so that for the future the Quit Rents will be more regularly collected.

Docquet of Lands Granted from 31<sup>st</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1765 to the 15<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1767.

Governor's name & date of the Grant.	Names of the Grantees.	Quit Rent in Sterling Money.	Situation of the Land & Quantity.
Lieut Govr Colden. 31st Oct <sup>r</sup> 1765.	Philip Embury Peter Embury. James Wilson, John Wilson George Wilson, Moses Cowen and Thomas Proctor.	2s   6d $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 Acres.	A Tract of Land in the County of Albany, backwards of, and adjoining to Lands granted to Ryer Schermerhorn & others &c. containing 8000 Acres and the usual allowance.
Do. 30th June 1766.	John Curten, a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 48th Regt	2s   6d $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 Acres to commence 10 years from the Date of the Grant pursuant to the Kings Proclamation.	A Tract of Land in the County of Albany on the East side of Lake Champlain, distinguished by Lot No. 123. containing 200 acres of Land.
Do 12th July 1766.	Saml Logan a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 80th Regt	The Like	A Tract of Land on the East side of Lake Champlain, distinguished by lot No. 124. containing 200 Acres of Land.
Do	Sutherland Hulet a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 80th Regt	The Like.	A Tract of Land on the East side of Lake Champlain in the county of Albany distinguished by lot No 125. containing 200 acres.
Do 14 July 1766.	Thomas Chandler John Chandler, Thos Chandler Junr Eliz. Chandler, Timothy Olcott, Joseph Lord, Junr Stephen Lord, John Lord, Nathaniel Earl, Josiah Farwell, Jabez Sargent, Ed. Johnston, Isaiah Johnson, Cyrus Whitcomb, Josiah Church, Ebenezer Holton, Jonathan Holton, David Hutchinson, Gershom Hobart, Wm. Hoar, Hezekiah Hoar, David Young Matthew Paterson, John Thorp, John Myer, Nathaniel McKinley, Alexr Lamb, Wm Swan, John Crosby Christopher Kennedy, and John Osborn.	2s   6d $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 acres.	A Tract of Land on the West side of Connecticut River in the County of Cumberland, erected into a Township by the name of Chester, containing 31,700 acres and the usual allowance for highways.



Governor's name & date of the Grant.	Names of the Grantees.	Quit Rent in Sterling Money.	Situation of the Land & Quantity.
Sr Henry Moor Bart. Captn General &c 19 July 1766.	David Taylor, a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 55th Regiment.	The Like	A Tract of Land on the East side of Lake Champlain in the County of Albany, distinguished by Lot. 125, containing 200 Acres of Land.
22d July 1766.	Samuel Wells John Arms, Seth Catling David Wells, Daniel Arms, Joseph Barnard Junr Joseph Smead, David Hoit, Susannah Arms, Hannah Wells, Elisha Hinsdale, Nathan Willard, Wildar Willard, Saml Taylor, Eliakim Arms, Wm Arms, Henry Wells, Remembrance Shelden, Elizah Shelden & Amasa Shelden.	2s   6d $\frac{2}{3}$ 100 acres.	A Tract of Land on the West side of Connecticut River in the County of Cumberland, erected into a Township by the name of Battleborough containing 19,500 acres of Land & the usual allowance for Highways.
23d July 1666.	Oliver Willard Samuel Hunt. Josh Willard, Zur Evans Wm Syms, Zadock Wright, Amaza Wright, Lucius Doolittle, John Hunt, T. Laton, Experience Davis, Thankful Hillard, Dan Goldsmith, Obadiah Wells, G. Hopson, Hy Reekman, John Depeyster Junr, John Stout, Benjamin Stout, James Wessells, Joel Matheur, James Harwood, Thomas Taylor, J. Hastings Junr and John Stevens.	2s   6d $\frac{2}{3}$ 100 acres	A Tract of Land on the West side of Connecticut River in the County of Cumberland, erected into a Township by the name of Hertford.
31st July, 1766.	Nichs Kaester a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 60th Regt	2s   6d. $\frac{2}{3}$ 100 acres to commence 10 years from the date of the Grant.	A Tract of Land on the East side of the Lake Champlain in the County of Albany distinguished by Lot No 41. containing 200 acres.
5th August 1766.	Hugh Munro a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 77th Regiment.	The Like	A certain Island in Hudson River in the County of Albany, opposite Fort Edward containing 48 acres.
Sr Henry Moore Bart Captn Genl &c. 15th Aug. 1766.	John Dunnaven Henry West & Richard Ford disbanded Soldiers	2s   6d $\frac{2}{3}$ 100 Acres. to commence 10 years from the date of the Grant.	A Tract of Land on the East side of Hudson's River in the County of Albany, beginning in the East border of a Tract granted to Duncan Reid & others containg 150 acres of Land & the usual allowance.

Governor's name & date of the Grant.	Name of the Grantees.	Quit Rent in Sterling Money.	Situation of the Land & Quantity.
Do	John Flinn & Thos Humphrey disbanded Soldiers	The Like.	A Tract of Land granted on the East side of Lake Champlain in the County of Albany being the South-ermost half of Lot No 128. containing 100 Acres.
Do	Jas Reid, and 5 others disbanded Soldiers.	The Like.	A Tract of Land in the County of Albany on the East side of Hudson's River, beginning in the No bounds of the lands granted to John Tabor Kempe and others containing 250 Acres.
Do	Richd Collier a disbanded non Commission Officer last of the 44th Regt	The Like	A Tract of Land in the County of Albany on the East side of Hudson's River, beginning in the No Borders of the Lands granted to John Tabor Kemp & others containg 200 acres.
17th Octr 1766.	Josh Whitehouse a disbanded non Commn Officer last of the Royal Artillery	The Like.	A Tract of Land on the East side of Lake Champlain in the County of Albany containing 200 Acres.
Do	Lawrence Regar, a disbanded non Comm Officer last of the 43rd Regt	The Like	A Tract of Land on the East side of Lake Champlain in the County of Albany, containing 200 Acres.
22d Octr 1766	James Eddington a reduced subaltern Officer last of the 42d Regiment.	The Like	A Tract of Land on the West side of Connecticut River in the County of Cumberland containing 2000 Acres.
Sr Henry Moore Bt Captn Genl &c. 30th Oct. 1766	Andw Hinnaman a disbanded Soldier last of the 77th Regiment	The Like.	A Tract of Land on the East side of Hudson's River in the County of Albany contg 50 Acres of Land, and the usual allowance.
	Thos Etherington a reduced subaltern officer last of the 49th Regt	2½d pr 100 Acres to commence 10 years from the date of the Grant	A Tract of Land on the East side of Lake Champlain in the County of Albany containing 200 Acres.

Governor's name & date of the grant.	Name of the Grantees.	Quit Rent in Sterling Money.	Situation of the Land & Quantity.
14. Nov. 1766.	Josiah Willard Joshua Hide, Danl Hubbard, Josiah Willard Junr. Lois Butler Thos Frink, Jerh. Hall, Joseph Hammond Thos Hill Eunice Willard, Elijah Alexander Sampson Willard, John Ellis, Henry Foster, Thomas Lee, Micah Lawrence John Gould James Scott, and Nehemiah Haughton.	2s 6d pr 100 Acres	A Tract of Land on the West side of Connecticut River, in the County of Cumberland, erected into a Township by the name of Putney containing 19,360 acres of Land, and the usual allowance &c.
5 Decr 1766.	John Nordbergh a reduced Subaltern Officer last of the 60th Regt	2s 6d pr 100 Acres to commence 10 years from the date of the Grant.	A Tract of Land on the West side of Connecticut River in the County of Cumberland containing 2000 Acres of Land &c.
13. Feb. 1767.	Joseph Casper & Andrew Ley disbanded non Commn Officers last of the 60. Regt	Do	A Tract of Land on the East side Hudson's River in the County of Albany, containing 400 Acres of Land.
Do	Thos Dunn & George Chinnery disbd Matrosses last of the Royal Regt of Artillery.	Do	A Tract of Land on the East side of Hudsons River in the County of Albany containing 100 Acres of Land &c.
Do	Jacob Huber John Griter and John Davis last of 60th Regt and Wm Johnson last of the 77th Regt disbanded non Commn officers	Do	A tract of Land on the East side of Hudson's River in the County of Albany containing 800 acres of Land.
Do	George Bremner late of the 42d Regt Chrstr Ashfield, Simon Naye and Martin Redmitter, late of the 60th Regt disbd Soldiers.	Do	A Tract of Land on the East side of Hudson's River in the County of Albany containing 200 Acres of Land &c.



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[Mus. Brit. King's, 206, p. 118.]

Fort George, New York, 21 Feb<sup>r</sup> 1767.

My Lord.

I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship an exact Estimate of the Annual charge of maintaining and supporting the Establishment of this Colony, which is comprized in a small space, as the sums at present raised are inconsiderable; there are no fixed and regular funds appropriated for particular Services, neither is there any settled Revenue here, if we except the Quit Rents, which are entirely at His Majesty's disposal. The casual Revenue arising from Fines for Offences committed by breaches of Recognizances for the Peace, is worth attention and will be daily more so, not only from the amount of the Sums if properly collected, but from the weight and stability it would add to Government. This Branch has been miserably neglected for want of the aid of a Court of Exchequer; and notwithstanding the Attorney General has several times attempted to put in on a better footing by suing and bringing the Sheriffs to account, yet as the Supreme Court cannot find time for this business, little advantage has been gained to the Crown. To this the ignorance of the Magistrates has likewise contributed which is so great, that most of the Recognizances are demurred to as insufficient. The difficulties which the present Establishment in this Province labours under at this time, are so many, that it would exceed the bounds of a Letter to animadvert on all the particulars, I shall therefore waive every thing relative to the Governor in Chief here, the Annual Appointment of whose Salery by an Act of Assembly will say more for him than he can for himself, and beg leave only to mention a few words concerning the principal Officers of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice is allowed £300 p<sup>r</sup> annum. The other Judges each 200. This allowance, scanty as it is, depends entirely on the Breath of the Assembly, who grant it but from year to year, and it may be of some Moment to consider, whether Judges, at a time when the popular Tide runs so high in this part of the World, ought in sound Policy to be so fettered. This provision is so inadequate that it falls much below what is necessary for their bare subsistence; and their fees of Office are trifling when divided among them all. If the Salary & perquisites cannot maintain the officer, such Persons only can be put into these Offices who have independent fortunes, for it is not to be expected until handsome salaries are established that our Judges will in general be good Lawyers, & no Gentleman of the Law, of any Reputation, will forego their Practice to serve the Public so much to their own Injury; nor can we expect to be better supplied from England for the same Reasons. The persons of most Independence here, are the Descendants of the first Settlers of the Country; and are generally related to all the best families in the Province; from such connections, and their own Landed Interests, it must frequently happen in causes of consequence where Land is the subject of contention, that they or some of their relations will be eventually interested & Justice delayed, by the Judges being unqualified to sit. This has happened lately more than once from this cause and the Infirmary of one of the present Judges.

In the Department of the Attorney General there is no fund to defray the charges of the Public Prosecutions, & of course the community suffers. In this Province the whole Burthen of every criminal Prosecution in the Superior Courts, as well as of every suit to be commenced and prosecuted for the Rights or debts of the Crown lyes on the Attorney

General. He must not only employ his care and labour, but must supply money when necessary out of his own Purse, or the Public Justice may stand still. The Business in his Department is continually encreasing so that for some time it has taken up all his time and attention (though formerly it was otherwise) and prevents him from entering much into private practice. The Perquisites of his Office joined to the moderate Salary which is annexed to it, might be sufficient provision for him, was he to receive Costs, or other payments for his real services. Yet as in all offences above a misdemeanor he is continuall[y] at the charge of prosecuting without ever receiving any costs, and in Misdemeanors seldom can get any even upon a Conviction, and in the Suits for Debts & other dues of the Crown never but upon recovery, and not then when he proceeds by Scire facias, which he is very often obliged to do, it is manifest his perquisites fall short of his Labors; and as there is no fund in this Province for paying these services, or indeed any other which the Government may call for, the Burthen of that expence falls on him, which the Public ought to bear, & must necessarily occasion a weakness in Government where Justice is so ill supported. The desire of power in the House of Assembly here, prevails so much, that except the sum of one hundred pounds currency, the Council have not the least Authority to issue any sums of money for the extraordinary exigencies of Government were they ever so great. During the late disorders which happened here, I was under the necessity of Issuing Proclamations & offering considerable Rewards for the apprehending some of the principal Offenders; but even at that time, when a delay might have occasioned fatal consequences, I was then informed that no funds were appropriated for such a service, & that it would be necessary to convene the Assembly. Our situation would not admit of it, as no time was to be lost, and I was obliged to be answerable out of my own Fortune, for whatever sums should be demanded of me in consequence of those Proclamations. I am afraid that I shall be thought to trespass too much on your Lordship by this detail; but as I look upon it to be a duty incumbent on me to point out any particular weakness in the Government His Majesty has been pleased to intrust me with, I have taken the liberty of giving my sentiments with greater freedom.

I am &c.

H. MOORE.

A general State of the Public funds in the Province of New York, and the uses to which they are applied.

Divers sums have been raised by different Acts of Assembly. We have an Act to lay a Duty of Tonnage on Ships, but the money is applied to sink certain Bills of credit. Another for licencing Hawkers and Pedlars, but it will expire soon and not be revived;—and a third, commonly called the Duty Act. This last raises the money and for support of Government; it was passed the 12<sup>th</sup> Dec 1753, and was limited to a year, but is annually continued. 'Tis entitled “An Act for granting to His Majesty the several Duties & impositions on Goods, Wares and Merchandizes imported into this Colony, therein mentioned.” The Dutiable articles are Slaves, Wine, Cocoa, Rum, brandy, shrub and other distilled Liquors, and European and East India dry goods, from the British Islands.

The Annual produce of the Duty Act for ten years past stands, as digested from the Journals of the Assembly to whom the Province Treasury accounts yearly.

In the year 1756.....	£3171	9	2
1757.....	3880	17	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
1758.....	5207	6	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
1759.....	8207	2	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1760.....	10,346	9	11
1761.....	10,318	16	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
1762.....	7108	12	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
1763.....	8574	0	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
1764.....	7596	12	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
1765.....	4920	5	4
1766.....	4811	8	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
In value Sterl. ....	£41180	12	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
		74125	3 1

The Light House was erected in the year 1764. A Duty of 3<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> Ton was laid on the Tonnage of Ships for maintaining it which produced the first year £487 6 9 & the Expences were..... £431 8 6

The second year 415 16 1. the Expences were..... 407 14 6

The last years amount being 4811 8 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ . is in Sterling at the usual Exchange of £180 p<sup>r</sup> cent..... £2673 0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Out of this money we pay

To the Governor.....	£2000
For fuel and Candles for Fort George.....	400
To the Chief Justice of Salary and Riding the Circuit....	300
To 3 Puisne Judges each £200.....	600
To the Secretary for enrolling the Laws.....	30
To the Clerk of the Council.....	30
To the Door keeper of the Council.....	20
To the Public Printer.....	50
To the Guager of Dutiable Liquors.....	30
To the Land & tide waiters.....	50
To the Treasurers standing Salary.....	200
To the same for Extraordinary Services.....	100
To the Agent in England.....	500
To the Attorney General.....	150
To the Clerk of the Assembly, each day of a Session 20 <sup>s</sup> suppose 50 days.....	50
To the Door keeper of the Assembly each day 6 <sup>s</sup> suppose 50 days.....	15
To the Gunner & Store keeper of the Colony stores.....	20
Allowed for contingents in the Service of the Colony.....	100

4645 value Sterl. £2580 11 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

£92 9 5 $\frac{1}{4}$



From this state of the civil List of the Province it appears that there is even this year a Surplus beyond the whole Expence of supporting the Government, and it was heretofore very considerable. This Ballance has always been either borrowed in Exigencies, or applied by particular Laws to Special Uses.

*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., No. 51.]

Fort George New York Feb 23. 1767.

My Lord

I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship Will<sup>m</sup> Smith Jun<sup>r</sup> as a person every way qualified to succeed his Father Will<sup>m</sup> Smith Sen<sup>r</sup> Esq<sup>re</sup> who is willing to resign his Seat as a member of his Majestys Council here in favor of his son.<sup>2</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smith Sen<sup>r</sup> is not only a Member

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM SMITH was born at Newport Pagnel, Buckinghamshire, Eng., on the 8th October, 1697, and arrived with his father's family, in New-York, on the 17th August, 1715. *Smith's New-York*, II., 38. He soon after commenced the study of the law and was admitted to the Bar on the 20th of May, 1724. *Commissions*, III., 256. He rose to distinction after a short time in his profession and was one of the Counsel for Zenger in 1732, on which occasion he came into collision with the Court, as related in V. 982 note. On the death of Mr. Bradley in 1751, he was, without any solicitation on his part, appointed Attorney-General, an office which he held, however, but a short time. He was called to the Council in 1755, by Sir Charles Hardy, when the latter assumed the government, (*Council Minutes*, XXV.,) and in 1763, was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. He died November 22, 1769. He was an able lawyer, an impressive and eloquent speaker, and a man of varied attainments. In addition to his high merit as a lawyer, he was an excellent theologian, a proficient in the French, Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages, and something of an adept in the Sciences; but was especially distinguished for his oratorical powers, having the unusual natural advantages of an impressive person, a fine voice, great fluency, and an active imagination. *Daly's Historical Sketches of the Judicial Tribunals of New-York*, 51. Dunlap (*Hist. of New-York*, II., xcxcviii,) confounds him with his son, mentioned in Governor Moore's dispatch.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM SMITH, Junior, author of the History of New-York down to 1762, was the oldest son of Judge W. Smith, *supra*, and was born in the city of New-York on the 25th of June, 1728. He graduated at Yale College in 1745; in 1748 was appointed clerk in the court of Chancery, and was called to the Bar in October, 1750. *Commissions*, III., 449, 505. An Act having been passed in November following to revise the laws of the Province, Mr. Smith was appointed, with his senior partner, William Livingston, to perform that duty. This revised edition was published in two volumes; one in 1752 and the other in 1762. In 1757 appeared his "History of the Province of New-York from the first discovery to the year 1732." 4to., 255 pp.; a work which reflects no small credit on the author, when it is considered that it was written and published before he had yet attained his 30th year. At the same time was also published, in London, "A Review of the Military operations in North America," in vindication of Governor Shirley and aspersing the characters of Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey and others who opposed his measures: this pamphlet has been supposed to have been from the pen of Mr. Smith. It was universally read and talked of, at the time, in London, and worked consequences of private and public utility. *Smith's History of New-York*, II., 256. He was called to the Council in 1769, and in 1773 was one of the Commissioners to agree upon a boundary line between New-York and Massachusetts. *Commissions*, VI., 79. On the breaking out of the Revolution, Mr. S. repaired to Haverstraw, but in June, 1777, was summoned before the Council of Safety at Kingston; on his adhering to the cause of the Crown, he was ordered to be confined within the Manor of Livingston and was afterwards sent into New-York, where he was subsequently named Chief Justice of the Province, an appointment, however, which has never been recognized. On the evacuation of the city, he proceeded to England and remained there until 1786, when he received the office of Chief Justice of Canada. He died in Quebec on the 3d December, 1793. He was connected, by marriage, with the Livingston family, and is represented as having been an eloquent speaker, remarkable for the soundness of his law opinions, many of which are collected and recorded in Chalmers' "Opinions of Eminent Lawyers." *Memoir of his Life*, x. As an historian, he has committed many errors of fact, and may be said to have been mixed up too intimately with many of the occurrences he relates, to be impartial in his opinions concerning them. — Ed.

of the Council but likewise one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and as he is far advanced in years will readily resign his place at the Council Board provided he can be succeeded in it by his Son. It is necessary for me to inform your Lordship that the proposal was not made by M<sup>r</sup> Smith Sen<sup>r</sup> but that it was mentioned to him at my instance and Request, as I was desirous of having his son in the Council, and it is on the terms of being succeeded by him that he consents to resign his Seat. I have heard that several persons have been recommended as members of the Council to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by others whose knowledge of them must arise chiefly from a correspondence of letters occasion<sup>d</sup> by Commercial Interest and that their names now stand upon the lists; But I apprehend that the persons so recommended tho' of great integrity in their private dealings, may perhaps not be possessed of those abilities necessary for the carrying on of Government, and be a means rather to distress than assist His Majestys Governor here: This is far from being the Case with M<sup>r</sup> Smith Jun<sup>r</sup> in whose favor this letter is wrote: He is now at the head of the Profession of the Law, and will be of great Service in the Council as his opinions may always be depended on, not only from his knowledge of the Law but his integrity. He is connected with the best families in this Province, is of unblemished Character & high in the estimation of every one here: after saying all this, your Lordships will not be surprized at my desiring to have this mark of His Majestys favor conferred on one who is so capable of meriting it by his Services

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

Rt Honble

Earl of Shelburne

H MOORE



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O., No. 6,) CLIX., 51.]

Fort George New York 24 Feb 1767

My Lord

In answer to the letter which I had the honor of receiving from your Lordship by this Pacquet relative to the Disturbances which had happen'd in the Counties of Dutchess and Albany I beg leave to inform your Lordship that in my letter to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Conway dated July 12<sup>th</sup> 1766. I informed him that the disturbance which had arose in Dutchess County had been quelled by the assistance of His Majestys 28<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which was then come to this city, and in a letter to the Lords Côm<sup>m</sup><sup>s</sup> for Trade and Plantations dated Aug 18 1766 I likewise informed their Lordships that upon the breaking out of some riots in the County of Albany, a detachm<sup>t</sup> of His Matys 46 Regiment had suppress<sup>d</sup> them and restored the quiet of that part of the Country; Since that time I have never heard of the least tumult in those parts, or that the inhabitants of the borders of the different Provinces were under the least apprehension



of fresh Troubles, I was for some time in the County of Albany in the months of Sept<sup>r</sup> and October, and the Assembly of this Province sate from the beginning of November til the latter end of Dec<sup>r</sup> during which time I had opportunitys of conversing with the members of both those Counties, and had there been the least surmise of any such thing I should certainly have been informed of it; Whatever did actually pass here was faithfully transmitted to the Kings ministers, and my regard for my own Character as well as the Zeal I have for His Majestys Service will not allow me to make any misrepresentation of Facts. After what I have here mentioned your Lordships must imagine how much I must be surprised to hear that the advices from Boston which have been transmitted to England represent us still in a state of War or near it at a time when we look upon ourselves to be in a State of the greatest tranquillity & can only express my fears that our neighbours have come to resolutions among themselves of disturbing the Public Peace again. As I apprehend that the origin of these disturbances has been misrepresented I beg leave to lay it before your Lordships in a few words; There has been no dispute in the present case between the Provinces in regard to any Territorial Jurisdiction but the whole has taken its rise from a Scene of Litigation among private Persons; Several Inhabitants of the Massachusetts encouraged by their countrymen, (as they acknowledge in some of their affidavits) passed over the line of Division and seating themselves to the Westward of it on the Lands belong<sup>g</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Renslaer<sup>1</sup> and acknowledged on all hands to be within this Province, began Settlements there without any invitation from him, or even permission first obtained; M<sup>r</sup> Renslaer unwilling to dispossess them offered them Leases on the same Terms which he had granted to his Tenants their near neighbours which were refused, and notwithstanding they could not shew any Right in themselves to the Lands refused to acknowledge any in M<sup>r</sup> Renslaer, who upon such behavior endeavoured to remove them by a due Course of Law; But as it never was the intention of these People to submitt their Title to a legal examanat<sup>n</sup> every opposition was made to the sheriff when he attempted to do his Duty and matters were carried to such a length, that they assembled armed in a great body, and attacked and defeated him in the Execution of his office, altho' supported by the Posse of the County & some lives were lost on both sides. After an action in justification of which so little could be said, many of the Delinquents thought proper to quitt this Province immediately and sheltered themselves under the Protection of the neighbouring Governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut. I did receive some letters from M<sup>r</sup> Bernard in August complaining of the treatment some people had met with who had taken refuge in the Province of Massachusetts, representing their case as deserving compassion, and desiring that I would interpose my good offices in their behalf. To this I made the following answer; that I thought it very extraordinary that any person in this Province who was aggrieved should before he made his complaint first withdraw himself from the Jurisdiction in which he had lived, then apply for redress to one who had it not in his power to give it, That I apprehended the Persons for whom he interested himself were those against whom the Grand Jury had found Bills for Riots, Murders and Treasons, in which case I hoped he would give the necessary orders to have them secured, that they might be brought to the punishment they deserved: But that if any persons had fled into his Government only under apprehensions of being ill treated he

<sup>1</sup> JOHANNES VAN RENSSELAER, proprietor of Claverack, Columbia County, N. Y., sometimes called "The lower Manor," which was conveyed in 1704 by Kiliaen V. R., to his brother Hendrick, the father of Johannes. The last mentioned gentleman resided, in his lifetime, at Greenbush. He was born in 1711, and died in 1783. He was the father-in-law of Major-General Philip J. Schuyler. *Holgate's American Genealogy*, 44. — Ed.



might assure them from me that on their return, they should be entitled to all the Protection which the Laws of the Country could give them and that any disputes they were engaged in should be examined into with the utmost candor. In order to sett this matter in the clearest light I enclosed to Mr Bernard the Proclamation I had issued, in which were inserted the names of the Delinquents and the rewards offered for taking them up but none of them were ever secured allthough they appeared publicly in the Provinces of the Massachusetts and Connecticut neither have those complainants thought proper to return to their Homes and submit their Cause to be decided by the Laws of their Country. As to the interposition of the military, I hope your Lordship will not entertain so unfavorable an opinion of me as to suppose that I should prefer Force to moderate measures; It was with great concern I saw the progress of these disturbances, but was still in hopes that the civil Power alone would be able to prevail, and it was at the earnest request of the Magistrates of both those Counties that the Troops were sent to their assistance; I beleive your Lordship will think that I should have been guilty of a neglect of my Duty had I refused the aid required especially in the County of Albany where the rebels had set the civil Power at Defiance, & had defeated the Sheriff at the head of the Posse of the County, by which rash act several lives were lost. In support of what I have here sett forth I have the honor of enclosing to your Lordship a minute of the Council which met this day and the copy of a memorial they delivered to Gen<sup>l</sup> Monkton when he returned to England, by which your Lordship will see the opinion which has been entertained here in regard to all the disputes they have been engaged in not only with the Massachusetts but other Provinces, and the desire they have expressed to have them determined: I shall write immediately to Mr Bernard to desire that Commissaries may be appointed to settle this matter and nothing shall be wanting on my part to bring it to a speedy conclusion If I should not be so happy as to terminate this affair in the manner now pointed out to me, I shall then in obedience to your Ldp's Orders state the whole case in as clear a manner as I can, and transmitt the account with the proper vouchers to your Lordships that they may be laid before His Majesty. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

H MOORE.

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*Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore.*

[ New-York Papers, ( S. P. O., No. 6, ) CLIX., 51 ]

White Hall M<sup>h</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1767.

Sir

Colonel John Bradstreet having caused to be presented on his behalf a Memorial to the Lords Commissioners of His Majestys Treáry by which it appears that in Spring 1764 the Assembly of New York made provision for the pay of 173 men to compleat the Quota the Province was to furnish for the campaign of that year, and in consequence thereof Colonel

Bradstreet was ordered to enlist the said men for the new York Battallion but at the close of the Campaign the Paymasters of the New York Troops refused to issue to the men so inlisted Provincial Pay. That application was thereupon made to the Governor and Council who referred the matter to the Assembly of New York but some difficultys having arisen concerning the enlistment being made by Colonel Bradstreet and not by the Provincial Officers—the Assembly have not yet taken effectual measures for issuing the money and applying it to the purpose of the Provision, and that in consequence thereof the men have commenced Prosecutions against Colonel Bradstreet for their pay I have therefore laid the said memorial before the King and it appearing just and reasonable that the pay of the men so inlisted by Colonel Bradstreet should be supplied by the Province of New York I have therefore His Majestys commands to direct you to recommend to the Assembly the making Provision for, or applying the money already provided to the full and satisfactory Payment of those men, and to the exonerating of Colonel Bradstreet from all expence incurred in the execution of his duty and in consequence of his zeal and activity for the public service

I am &<sup>ca</sup>

Sir Henry Moore Bart.

SHELburnE

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*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General ( S. P. O. ), No. 258. ]

Johnson Hall. 1. April 1767. No 2.

My Lord,

The 26<sup>th</sup> of February I had the honor to receive your Lords<sup>p</sup>'s letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> December which I delayed answering until the return of Capt<sup>n</sup> Johnson my Deputy, who was gone for New York to be present at the hearing of the case of the Wappinger Tribe of Indians, which your Lordship recommended to me to assist them in in your letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> October.

The Affair came to be heard on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March before the Governor and Council, who gave me previous notice of it, but I was obliged to send my Deputy, as the Ball I formerly received and is still lodged in my thigh, grows yearly more troublesome, and prevents me from undertaking a journey on horseback, which at that season was the only conveyance.

My Deputy being just returned has informed me, that the hearing lasted some days, and has presented me with the Gov<sup>r</sup> and Council's decision thereon, a copy of which I herewith enclose by wh<sup>ch</sup> your Lord<sup>p</sup> will find that they are of opinion, that the suit was vexatious, and that the Indians have no title to the lands in dispute.

As I was thoroughly sensible of the difficulties that must arise on the part of the Indians to prove so old an affair; I had presupposed, that this would be the case in my letter to your Lord<sup>p</sup> of the 15<sup>th</sup> of January last, I have not as yet been able to procure a copy of the whole proceedings, but I find that in answer to the objection against the Patent, namely, that it was obtained five years before the Indians had conveyed the Land, the Board were of opinion, that the Land was notwithstanding vested in the Crown, and that an Indian conveyance of the soil is unnecessary a point, which I shall not take upon me to offer any remark upon at

present, but only add, that the Indians are like to give me still more trouble herein, several of them with *Ninham* being now come up to desire my further interposition.

After the many letters which I have taken the liberty to write to his Majesty's Ministers and the Board of Trade, and from your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s perfect knowledge of the best system for the management of Indian Affairs, as expressed in Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s letter of December last, I have little left to add on that subject.

I am perfectly convinced of the justness of the reasons your Lord<sup>p</sup> has given in answer to Mr Stuarts request, why the correspondence of the Superintendant should be with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces, and I have been so well acquainted with the contrarieties of opinion, and the many other obstructions to the service, which must attend a fixed correspondence with the several Governors, that I cannot think it eligible.

I feel a most sensible pleasure joined to the deepest gratitude for the favourable expressions of his Majesty's good opinion signified by your Lord<sup>p</sup> and I shall always endeavour to improve the harmony subsisting between Major General Gage and myself in humble confidence that it may contribute to the advantage of that service, the interests of which, we are mutually bound to promote. Our combined efforts will, I persuade myself be always directed to the great objects recommended to our care, and had we fewer obstacles to encounter in the prosecution of so perfect and judicious a system, its effects would be immediate, and its consequences lasting.

Your Lord<sup>p</sup> is doubtless sensible of the many difficulties we must labour under in the execution of His Majesty's Royal Command, and you will pardon my enumerating some in my Departm<sup>t</sup> at present. I do not apprehend the Colonists are extremely fond of supporting officers immediately under the direction of the Crown. The Gov<sup>r</sup> are in a great measure dependant upon the People, and the latter are all concerned either in Trade or Lands, to limit them in either of which pursuits, produces an universal opposition, by which the good intentions of Govern<sup>t</sup> must be frustrated, and yet these are the two principal heads, on the conducting which, the success of all our endeavours depend.—The affairs of Lands are more immediately interesting and alarming to the Indians, than any thing else, yet the avidity manifested by most people here in pursuit of them encreases every day in so much that the American Govern<sup>t</sup> I believe find it impracticable to prevent them. I have in former letters given many instances of this, and although more might be produced, I shall content myself with informing your Lord<sup>p</sup>, that some persons from Virginia, have lately formed a plan for establishing a large settlement near to *Ohio*, and I am well informed, they are now prosecuting the same, and that they threaten, that if they meet with any opposition, they will cut off some of the nearest Indian Villages; an attempt of such a nature must prove fatal to those concerned, but its final consequences would be much more so, and if an American Govern<sup>t</sup> is either unable to prevent, or unwilling to discountenance such attempts, an Officer of the Crown can do nothing in it, and His Majesty's orders respecting those heads, must fail in their effects, through the want of power in the few, and the interested opposition in the many.

Trade is the next consideration, in which the difficulties are many. There are doubtless several honest Men concerned in it, but if we consider the low situation, and other circumstances of the majority, we may venture to pronounce that their conduct<sup>1</sup> be too closely

<sup>1</sup> The word "cannot" seems to be omitted here. — Ed.



suspected. This is sufficiently provided for by the Plan, if the latter be enforced, till, when as I have observed in former letters, there can be but a very little check upon them, and the Commissary's risque a prosecution for doing the smallest part of their duty.

I am under no small difficulty in preparing such regulations for the ensuing season as I think can be enforced, but the Traders have got such a habit of late of passing the Posts, and trading where they please, that it is impossible for me to prevent them, especially to the Northward, where they avail themselves of the complaints of the Indians on account of the severity of the Winter in order to carry goods to them.

I hope I have not in the foregoing, transgressed Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s directions to me for giving each subject a separate letter, as I apprehended the matter contained in this to be so connected, as not to require it; but in this, and on all future occasions, I shall pay due regard to your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s directions, as I have nothing more at heart than to testify my profound respect by a ready obedience to your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s commands and a faithful discharge of my duty. I have the honor to be with the utmost respect

My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient, most obliged  
& most humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers (8. P. O. No. 7.), CLIX., 51. ]

Fort George New York 3 Ap. 1767.

My Lord

The Minutes of the Council transmitted by this opportunity shew the Proceedings lately had in relation to the claim of the Wappinger Indians which was thoroughly examined in the presence of a great concourse of people. I did on this occasion spare no pains to come at the Truth; and the examination of the witnesses took up two entire days; Many affidavits were likewise read of persons so far interested in the contest that they could not have been admitted as legal evidences if they had been present, but this indulgence and every other they desired was granted that they might not have the least reason to complain a second time of Injustice done them; Sir William Johnsons ill state of Health did not permit him to be present at the examination but Capt<sup>n</sup> Guy Johnson his son in Law was deputed by him to attend on this occasion and was perfectly satisfied with the whole transaction. As the Resolutions of the Council are so full on this matter, I shall not trespass further on your Lordships time by any observations of my own, but shall only beg leave to assure your Lordship that I would for the sake of Peace and good order, by every due means, give a check to attempts of this kind, to which the Indians are incited by the White People who live in their neighbourhood in expectation of reaping some advantage from it, so I shall always think it my duty to protect them in all their Rights and Privileges and to discourage every appearance of a Design to oppress them, as such a Proceeding can not fail of alienating their affections from us and

making them declared enemies of the Government. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

Rt Honble  
Earl of Shelburne.

H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O.) CLIX., 51.]

Fort George New York Ap. 7. 1767.

My Lord

I hope I shall have your Lordships Pardon for what I have taken upon myself to propose in this letter, especially as it is done with no other view than that of promoting His Majestys service I have been credibly informed that some years past it has been a matter under deliberation of the Kings Ministers more than once whether it would not be both for His Majestys Service and the good of each Province in America that the number of the Council (now limited to twelve should be enlarged. It is not in my power to lay before your Lordship the state of any other Province on the Continent but that of New York, which is so particularly circumstanced at this juncture that if such a measure should be adopted, I apprehend our present situation would plead greatly in our behalf in regard to the augmentat<sup>n</sup>. Our Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> now between 70 & 80 years of age has not attended a single day since my Commission was published, but retired immediately to his own House on Long Island at some distance from this City, nor can it be expected from a person of his advanced age that much attendance could be given by him M<sup>r</sup> George Clarke has had an appointm<sup>t</sup> from the Crown to be of the Council here, for many years past, but has never yet qualified and resides constantly in England; as some application was made by me soon after my arrival here to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on this account. Their Lordships did write that in case M<sup>r</sup> Clarke did not come to New York in the Spring, an other gentleman whom I had recommended should be appoint<sup>d</sup> in his Room—Sir William Johnsons Situation makes it impracticable for him to attend the Duty of the Council not only from his residing at so great a distance from the Capital, but from the multiplicity of business he is engaged in with the Indians, neither is he ever sent for, but on very particular business, which was the case very lately to attend the hearing of the claims made by the Wappinger Tribe of Indians. Lord Stirlings residence is constantly in the Jerseys, and as he is a member of the Council in that Province as well as this, it can not be expected that we can have much of his company here, so that the number of the Council is in Fact reduced to eight Members, one of which lives constantly in the Country, and as His Majestys orders are that no Committee less than five shall transact any public affairs, We have frequently since my arrival been obliged to postpone Business, as we could not get together the number required, for some of the Members are very far advanced in years and of course infirm. This is the present State of our Council which I

thought it my duty to lay before your Lordship, tho' not in the nature of a complaint against any of the persons before mentioned but only with an intention to submit it to your Lordships opinion whether in our present Situation an addition of three more members to the Council Board would not be of benefit to the Province as well as advantage to His Majestys Service. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

your Lordships

most obedient and

Rt Honble

Earl of Shelburne.

humble Servant

H MOORE.



*Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore.*

[ New-York Papers ( S. P. O. No. 7.), CLIX., 51. ]

Whitehall April 11<sup>th</sup> 1767.

Sir

Two Petitions having been most humbly presented to the King in Council, One, by the incorporated Society for the propagation of the Gospel, and the other by Samuel Robinson of Bennington, in behalf of himself, and more than one thousand other Grantees of Lands on the West side of Connecticut River, under certain Grants issued by Benning Wentworth Esq<sup>r</sup> Governor of New Hampshire & praying for redress in several very great Greivances therein set forth, lest there should be any further proceedings in this matter, till such time as the Council shall have examined into the Grounds of it, I am to signify to you His Majestys Commands that you make no new Grants of these Lands and that you do not molest any person in the quiet possession of His Grant, who can produce good and valid Deeds for such Grant under the Seal of the Province of New Hampshire untill you receive further orders respecting them, in my letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> I was very explicit upon the point of former Grants you are there in directed to "take care that the inhabitants lying Westward of the Line reported by "the Lords of Trade as the Boundary of the two Provinces be not molested on account of "Territorial differences, or disputed Jurisdiction for *whatever Province* the Settlers may be "found to belong to, it should make no difference in their Property, provided that their Titles "to their Lands should be found good in other respects or that they have been long in the "uninterrupt<sup>d</sup> Possession of them" His Majestys Intentions are so clearly expressed to you in the above Paragraph, that I can not doubt of your having immediately upon receipt of it removed every cause of those complaints which the Petitioners set forth. If not it is the Kings express command that it may be done without the smallest delay. The Power of Granting Lands was vested in the Governors of the Colony originally for the purpose of accomodating not distressing settlers especially the poor and industrious any perversion of that Power therefore must be highly derogatory, both from the dignity of their stations and from that disinterested Character which a Governor ought to support, and which His Majesty expects from every person honored by him with his Commission. The unreasonableness of obliging a very large Tract of Country to pay a *Second time* the immense sum of thirty three thousand pounds in



Fees according to the allegations of this Petition for no other reason than its being found necessary to settle the Line of Boundary between the Colonies in question is so unjustifiable that his Majesty is not only determined to have the strictest enquiry made into the Circumstances of the Charge, but expects the clearest and fullest answer to every part of it

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

Sir Henry Moore Bart.

SHELBURNE

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*Representation of the Lords of Trade on certain New-York Acts.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( N. ) p. 91. ]

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty having been pleased by an Order in Council on the 3 of Dec<sup>r</sup> last to direct Us to proceed in the consideration of all the Plantation Acts then before Us, or which should be thereafter transmitted to Us, and that We should from time to time in the usual manner report our opinion thereupon to your Majesty in Council, we have in obedience to Your Majesty's Commands taken into our Consideration such Laws and Ordinances of the Plantations as either remained in our Office unexamined at the time when we received your Majestys Order, or have since that Period been transmitted to us ; And as far the greatest part of these Laws are such as have either from the Period of their own limitation of course expired, or which having relation merely to points of domestick Policy and Regulation, furnish no matter of observation or objection, we shall in this our humble Representation to your Majesty beg leave to recite such only as in our Judgement ought not to be allowed, or which do either from the Nature of them or from the Terms and Condition upon which they were passed require your Majesty's Confirmation

In pursuing this Plan we shall arrange the several Laws and Ordinances whereon we have any Observations to submit to Your Majesty under the general Titles of the respective Provinces to which they refer, begining with those Ordinances which have been passed in Your Majesty's Province of Quebec

NEW YORK

There are but three acts passed by the Legislature of this Province with respect to which We have any Observations to submit to Your Majesty ; the first of these is intitled

An Act further to continue an Act for granting to His Majesty the several Duties and Impositions on Goods Wares and Merchandizes imported into this Colony therein mentioned.

An Act for regulating the Militia of the Colony of New York.

An Act for erecting certain Lands lying on the West Side of Connecticut River within this Colony into a separate County to be called by the name of the County of Cumberland and for enabling the Freeholders & Inhabitants thereof to erect & build a Court House & Gaol in the said County

The first of these is an annual Act of Revenue, which imposes a Duty of five per Cent on all East India or European Goods imported into this Colony; This as we conceive is owing to a Deviation from the Terms of the original Act, which directs that these Duties of Imposts shall be levied upon all Goods and Merchandize imported from the British Islands in the West Indies, which last recited words, viz' "In the West Indies" being in the subsequent Act thro' mistake as it is probable omitted, and that omission since continued, We are of Opinion that His Majestys Governor should be instructed to cause the abovementioned Words to be restored upon the next publication of the Act, that so the distinction made in the original Law relative to the British Islands in the West Indies may be recited for the future and the Act no longer left open to so vague & general an interpretation.

With respect to the Militia Act We have only to observe that there is inserted a new & unusal Clause, which in the case of alarm or invasion directs, that provided His Majesty's Commander in Chief be absent the Command of the Provincial Military force shall be vested in the respective Colonels of the independent Companies, without any reference to the power and Authority of the Governor of the Province

The motives that may have prevailed with the Legislature of New York for the framing and inserting this new clause We are not acquainted with, neither has Your Majesty's Governor furnished Us with any observations upon it, we can therefore only in general submit to Your Majesty as a matter proper to be observed upon, and We further think, that as this Law for regulating the Militia has respect to a constant & permanent Establishment, such an Institution is not properly an Object for an Annual Act; And as any temporary regulations, by being put in force before Your Majesty's Approbation can be had upon them, to preclude Your Majesty and Your Council from making such observations and amendments as may seem necessary upon consideration thereof, We are of opinion it would be advisable that Your Majesty's Governor of New York should be instructed to procure such a permanent Act to be passed for regulating the Militia as shall be approved of by Your Majesty, and at the same time maturely to consider what is likely to be the effect of the abovementioned newly inserted Clause, whether any Objection lyes against it, and accordingly report his opinion thereupon.

The third and last Act for the institution of a new County, by which there is reserved to the Legislature of this Province a Power in the fixing the Choice of Members to represent this new erected County in the general Assembly, is liable to the objections stated against the Nova Scotia and New Hampshire Acts, and should for that reason in our opinion receive Your Majestys Royal Disallowance.

We have now in obedience to Your Majesty's Commands, gone through the examination of all the Plantation Acts and Ordinances, which were before Us, and We cannot conclude this our humble Representation thereupon without observing to Your Majesty how highly requisite it does appear to Us to be, that the strictest attention and regard should at all times be paid to these Acts of the several Provincial Legislatures, in which not only the welfare and interest of the respective Provinces wherein they take place are intimately concerned but with which also considerations of the highest importance to the Commerce and Manufactures of this Country to Your Majesty's Royal Prerogative and the Authority of the British Legislature are frequently blended and connected; Points which We observe with concern are not in general so strictly and constantly attended to by your Majesty's several Governors, as from their Importance they ought to be; nor has this neglect as We conceive been owing to the want of frequent Admonitions from this Board to the said Governors who have been from

time to time called upon by our Predecessors in Office to a more regular observance of their instructions relative to the passing & assenting of Laws, many of which being of an improper Nature, We are under the necessity of reporting for disallowance, and others, from the Governors neglecting to provide a suspending Clause to be annexed to them, being of a temporary Nature, of consequence have their full operation and effect, before Your Majesty's Pleasure with respect to them can be obtained

These few general observations we have thought it our duty to lay before Your Majesty that in case the subject of them should appear to Your Majesty of that consequence which it seems to us to carry, Your Majesty may in your Great Wisdom direct such means to be used for obliging the Governors to pay a more regular attention to their Instructions in this respect, as may to Your Majesty and Your Council seem best adapted to that end.

All which is most humbly submitted

CLARE

SOAME JENYNS

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

THOMAS ROBINSON



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers, ( State Paper Office, No. 11. ) CLIX., 51. ]

Fort George, New York Ap 20. 1767.

My Lord

I have by this Pacquet the Honour of your Lordships Commands of the 20<sup>th</sup> February mentioning the Receipt of two of my letters. One of which enclosed the address of the Assembly and the other directed to the Board of Trade accompanying a Petition of the Merchants of this City to the House of Commons ; On the first of these subjects I have already had the Honor of writing to your Lordship therefore shall not presume to trespass further on that head, but I must beg your Lordships indulgence in allowing me to explain in what manner I have been the means of transmitting so improper a Petition

A Committee of the Merchants of the city came to the Fort, and deliver<sup>d</sup> into my hands a Petition they brought with them requested that it might be forwarded to the House of Parliament telling me at the same time that as they had received Information that the House of Commons intended to revise the Acts relative to the American Trade, and to enlarge and extend some Branches of it, They had drawn up this Petition setting forth the present State of their Trade and the disadvantages which some parts of it laboured under in order to lay it before the Legislature for their information ; upon my telling them that I was directed by His Majesty's Instructions to correspond only with His principal Secretary of State and the Lords of Trade, and that I could not take upon me to address any public letters else where, they desired that the Petition might be forwarded to the Board of Trade, and it was accordingly put on board a Merchant ship then ready to sail & without my reading it, for I was at that time so much indisposed, that I could not enter into any Discussion of the Particulars, neither indeed (after what they had said) could I conceive that a Sett of men, who had the least regard to their



own Interests could with so much seeming deliberation act so imprudently. This, My Lord, is the true state of the Transaction, and I am extremely concerned that the particular situation of the Petitioners at that time should have induced me to entertain a more favorable opinion of their Proceedings than they deserved and that my indisposition should likewise in any shape have contributed to the forwarding without a previous examination, an improper representation I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

Right Honble  
Earl of Shelburne

H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Mus. Brit. King's MSS., 206, p. 326. ]

Fort George, New York, 25 Ap<sup>l</sup> 1767.

My Lord,

By the last Pacquet I had the honour of informing your Lordship that I should by the next opportunity transmit the accounts of the Fees established here; and Directions were immediately given to have them drawn out; but as the Order I received was so general as to take in all the Fees of the Province, it was not in my power to accomplish so soon what I then expected, & have only been able to forward what regards the grants of Lands, as the greatest stress seemed to be laid on that article. I think it my Duty at the same time to acquaint your Lordship, lest any inconvenience or disappointment might attend a delay, that about the latter end of the year 1764, a very exact state of all the Fees in the Province was sent home from every Office by L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and that no Ordinances in regard to Fees have been made since that time. I have here inclosed the Reports of the Attorney General, Surveyor General and Secretary of the Province in regard to the Fees taken by them on the granting of Lands, and as they have fully explained what concerns their different Departments, there remains nothing more to be added to them than the Fees taken by the Rec<sup>r</sup> General and the Governor. The Attorney General does not make out any Patents for Lands till he has received a certificate signed by the Governor, Surveyor General, and Receiver General, who are the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, this last mentioned Officer signs not a[s] Receiver General, but as Commissioner and is the only Person of the three who receives any fee on the certificate, which is £5.16. currency (about £3.4 6 Sterling) which fee continues the same if the grant be large or small. When the Patent is made out the Governor signs it, & affixes the Great Seal to it, for which if it is a Grant of 1000 Acres he receives a fee of £12.10. currency (near £7. Sterling) and so in the same Proportion for any lesser Patents, being at the rate of 25 shillings currency (not 14 Shillings Sterling) pr 100 Acres. The Governor receives no other fee of any kind on the Land, nor any compensation for the time he is obliged to employ in settling the disputes between the claimants of Land, for it is frequently the case that after a Location is made, a Caveat is

entered in the Office against granting the Lands to the persons who solicited for them, Days are appointed for hearing and determining the different pretensions, Lawyers engaged on both sides of the question, and it seldom happens that one day is sufficient for the hearing: These Disputes are very frequent and take up no small part of the Governor's time, and I have lately been employed for five whole days in a single contest between some Officers claiming lands under His Majesty's Proclamation (which by the King's Orders are to be granted without any fees) and some of the Inhabitants who disputed the point with them. This, My Lord, is the Situation of the Governor of this Province, and he has no other advantage arising from his post of any consideration, but what depends on the Annual Act of Assembly, who would with pleasure see a total reduction, not only of this, but of all the rest of his fees. I am informed that while the Revenue Law was in Force here, His Majesty gave Orders in one of the Instructions that his Governor should take to himself out of that fund £1200 Sterling pr Annum besides what the Colony allowed;—upon the expiration of that Act, the Instruction became useless, & has been omitted. The command of an Independent Company was likewise allowed him at that time, which has been since taken away; and in a Letter I had lately the honor to write to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, I laid before their Lordships another reduction lately attempted by the People here, & continued hitherto successfully in regard to the Let Passes, for which it was not in my power to get any redress either from the Council or Assembly, & which I presume has already been laid before your Lordship.

The fees arising from the Registers of Vessels are very inconsiderable, and those taken in the Courts of Ordinary and Chancery compleat the whole of what the Governor is entitled to here. I have not as yet received any fees from either of those Courts since my arrival, therefore cannot particularly specify them, and can only venture to say that from the business which is done in them they must be small.

Your Lordship having already directed me not to treat of different subjects in one Letter, I shall not at present say more of the Court of Chancery, as I must be under a necessity of making an Application to your Lordship by another Opportunity, of some matters relative to that Court, and shall only beg leave to refer your Lordship to my late Letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> in which the Estimate of the present Establishment of this colony was set forth, and where it appears how scanty an allowance is made by the Province for the support of His Majestys Governor here; and which has been found by experience to be no way adequate to the Expenses of his living in a manner suitable to his station. Before I left England, I was informed of this by General Monckton, who was my predecessor in this Government, who assured me that the salary and common Fees would not pay my expenses here; and I have found this verified since my arrival.

I am, &c.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Shelburne.

&c, &c, &c,

H. MOORE.

*Report of the Fees taken in New-York by Secretary Banyar on Grants of Lands.*

New York 21. April 1767

To his Excellency S<sup>r</sup> Henry Moore Baronet, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor & vice Chancellor of the same.

May it please Your Excellency

In obedience to your Excellencies Directions, I herewith lay before your Excellency, a List of the Fees taken by the Secretary on Grants of Land within this Province, distinguishing those established by Ordinance, and such as are grounded on Custom or Usage.

The Fees established by the Ordinance of Gov<sup>r</sup> Hunter, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> October 1710, are in respect to Grants of Land as follows.

Clerk of the Council.	Currency of New York.	Sterling at 4s 8d ye Spanish Dollar equal to ss currency.
Reading the Petition for the Grant.....	5	2 11
Filing the Petition.....	1	7
Order referring the Petition to Committee and Copy.....	6	3 6
Attending the Committee.....	10	5 10
Drawing their Report & Copy.....	7 6	4 4½
Order for making the Report.....	3	1 9
Reading & filing the Report.....	3	1 9
Order & confirming the Report &c.....	3	1 9
Warrant of Survey & Recording.....	12	7
Drawing Certificate of setting out of the Lands by the Commissioners 1 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> p <sup>r</sup> sheet, each sheet, 128 words, equal to 10½ Sterling.		
Warrant to the Attorney General to prepare Draft of the Letters Patent and Recording.....	12	7
Copy of the Commissioners Certificate annexed thereto at 1 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> or 10½ <sup>d</sup> sterl <sup>g</sup> the sheet containing 128 words as aforesaid.		

## Secretary

For a Patent for new Land for or under 1000 Acres, viz <sup>t</sup> Engrossing Fiat, Sealing & Recording.....	£3	£1 15
For a Patent for New Land for above 1000 Acres.....	5	2 18 4
For Recording the Commissioners Certificate of setting out the Lands 1 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> Currency or 10½ <sup>d</sup> Sterling p <sup>r</sup> sheet containing 128 words as aforesaid		

The above are the fees taken by the Secretary (who is also Clerk of the Council) on Grants not exceeding 2000 Acres. On Grants of above 2000 Acres the Fee received by the Secretary for the Letters Patent is at the rate of four Pounds currency the thousand Acres, equal to two pounds six shillings & eight pence Sterling. In the year 1710 when the above mentioned ordinance was passed, no more than Two thousand acres could by the Royal Instructions be granted to any one Person. Soon after this Period the practice of uniting many persons in the



same Grant became very general. It is neither probable nor reasonable to suppose that the Government would have gone into this practice, so much to the prejudice of the Officer, if the Ordinance had been construed in the sense which it may seem to bear, that however great the Quantity, no more should be allowed for the Grant than Five Pounds Currency. Accordingly four pounds currency p<sup>r</sup> thousand acres, equal to two pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling, has been the accustomed fee for forty five years and upwards. I found it so when I entered on the execution of the Office in the year 1746, and thought myself justifiable in continuing to receive a Fee established on such long usage and Custom. And I beg leave to observe to your Excellency, that by Custom the Secretary prepares and dispatches all Proclamations, Ordinances, Orders of Government, and many other Services merely of a Public nature, without fee: so that upon the whole the Emoluments of this office, do not afford a suitable Provision for the Officer.

The other fees of the Secretary were stated in my Report in the year 1764. when the Fees of all the Publick Officers in the Province were returned to the Lieut. Governor in consequence of his Order, and by him transmitted to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

I have the Honour to be &c.

GEORGE<sup>1</sup> BANYAR.

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*Report of the Fees taken by the Attorney-General of New-York on Grants of Land.*

New York. 21<sup>st</sup> April 1767.

To His Excellency S<sup>r</sup> Henry Moore Baronet Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor & Vice Admiral of the same.

May it please your Excellency,

In obedience to your Excellency's Directions to report to you what Fees were taken in my Office, on the grants of Lands, and whether those fees were taken by Custom, or by any Ordinance or Establishment by Law; I have the honour to report to your Excellency, that on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of October 1710 an Ordinance for regulating and Establishing Fees in general was published by His Excellency Robert Hunter Esq<sup>r</sup> then Captain General & Governor in Chief of the Province of New York, in Council, in his own name and under his hand, in which among some other fees then established to be taken by the Attorney General, there is the fee of two pounds for the draft of a Patent, Confirmation or Charter, which sum is equal to one pound three shillings and four pence Sterling, at the rate of four shillings and eight pence Sterling for a Dollar.

This Ordinance (besides being considered as very imperfect in making no Provision for a multitude of services, and a trifling allowance for many others) has been long esteemed obsolete and of no force, not only by those who preceded me in this office; the Gentlemen practising the Law here and others, but even by the Judges of the Supreme Court, who have,

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* — Ed.

and do daily allow in taxing the Attornies bills of Costs, for several Services not provided for by that Ordinance, and larger sums in some cases than the Ordinance directs.

I cannot find how my Predecessors calculated their fees previous to the Royal Instruction whereby the Governor was restricted from Granting to any one person above two Thousand Acres, nor upon what authority the fee of three Pounds was taken by them instead of forty shillings mentioned in the Ordinance, but believe it was done because that fee was not thought a quantum meruit for the service, nor the Ordinance obligatory.

It is not difficult to discover the reason on which the practice took place, of charging in proportion to the quantity of Acres granted, and the number of Patentees in each Grant, for as by the Instruction above mentioned, no person could have more than two thousand acres, a practice obtained thereupon of several persons applying together for that quantity of Land to each of them in one Grant; and the Officer finding this method of proceeding would take away great part of the profits of his Office, and considering the fees not strictly a quantum meruit for his services, but also as part of the necessary support of his Office (which never has been properly supported) though the fee of three pounds (equal to but five and thirty shillings sterling) due from each Grantee; not conceiving it just the Parties should, by such a junction deprive him of his necessary support. And this mode of suing out Grants being for the Emolument of the Grantees, no Complaints have been made respecting the fees 'till of late; for the apparent largeness of the fees on Letters Patent did not arise from the exorbitancy of the Officers, but the mode of suing out as it were, several grants in one Letter Patent.

The charging this Fee on every Grantee where many have been concerned in one Grant, has been the course, I am informed above forty years past, and upon the authority of such long usage, I have also taken them; I know of no other authority for so doing; but where many persons have been joined in a Grant, and there hath not been the common quantity of land granted in proportion to the number of the Grantees, I have charged according to the quantity only, and not according to the number of the Patentees; on the other hand where there has not been above one or two thousand Acres granted, which seldom has happened, I have in such cases generally charged for making the Draft of the Grant something more, so as to make it a quantum meruit for the trouble it has given me which in no case has exceeded ten pounds Currency, and this also has been done on the like custom of my Predecessors.

And here I beg leave humbly to observe to your Excellency that since the year 1710 the price of every necessary of life is double at least, and I believe I should not exceed the truth was I to say trebled: it must follow therefore that the fees then allowed, must at this day fall short of a quantum meruit for the services done, at least in that Proportion, and I can assure your Excellency that the Duty of my Office is so greatly increased since that Day, that now it takes up my whole time, & attention, and this to very little Profit to myself; and I am nevertheless obliged to have a Clerk at the rate of £55 a year; and that these fees on the Grants of Land with my Salary and other profits arising from my Office (tho I have lived with a frugality & appearance not likely to give my Office that weight His Majesty's service requires) have been in the whole so inadequate to my necessary support, that my expenses annually have much exceeded the whole.

It may not be improper to acquaint your Excellency that on the subject of these fees, together with all other my Fees in general, I presented to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor a full report on the 20<sup>th</sup> August 1764. in Obedience to his Directions to me for that purpose,

which also contained a true state of this Office, and which he soon after transmitted to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

I have the honour to be &c.

J. T. KEMPE.<sup>1</sup>

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*Report of the Surveyor General of New-York on his Fees.*

To His Excellency S<sup>r</sup> Henry Moore Bar<sup>t</sup> Captain General & Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same.

May it please your Excellency,

In obedience to your Excellency's Directions to lay before you a State of the Fees I take as Surveyor General on the Grant of Lands within this Province, and whether the same are established by Authority or Custom.

I humbly beg leave to represent to Your Excellency,

That tho' the Surveyor General is an Officer in whom the King has been pleased to repose special Trust, in the granting of all lands within this Province, he is neither allowed any Salary, nor had his fees established other ways than by custom & long usage.

That as I had no other rule to govern myself by than the practice of forty years past I have received for my fees ten shillings currency, equal to five Shillings and ten pence Sterling, on every hundred acres of Land granted, exclusive of the expences of Surveying, which fee on small Grants of Lands, is not adequate to my Trouble.

That there are many services required from me as Surveyor General of this Province for which I receive no fee or reward, & as there is no Salary affixed to the Office, the whole Emoluments do not afford a suitable Provision for the Officer.

I have the Honour to be &c.

ALEX<sup>r</sup> COLDEN

Surveyor General.

<sup>1</sup> JOHN TABOR KEMPE was admitted to the Bar of New-York on the 4th of October, 1758, and on the 30th of July following, was appointed Attorney-General of the Province, *vice* William Kempe deceased, *supra*, VI., 766, *note*; *New-York Commissions*, V., 147, 151. He went to England this year in consequence of the above inquiries in the hope of obtaining a better establishment and support for his office. *Duer's Life of Stirling*, 92. He married Grace, daughter, it is presumed, of Dr. Daniel Coxe of New Jersey, (*supra*, V., 204, *note*), and sister of Hon. Daniel Coxe of New Jersey, afterwards chairman of the Board of Loyalist Refugees, which was established in New-York in 1779. In consequence of his marriage with Miss Coxe, Mr. Kempe became one of the proprietors (among other lands) of Cox's Manor in Tioga County, containing nearly 30,000 acres, and of Coxboro and Carolana, in Oneida county, containing nearly 50,000 acres of land, being part of 100,000 acres granted to Daniel, William and Rebecca Coxe, J. T. Kempe and Grace his wife, on condition that they release and surrender all right and title to a Province called *Carolana*, (see *note, supra*, V., 204), consisting of a territory on the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas, together with the Islands of Veanis and Bahama and all other islands off that coast, between the 31st and 36th degrees of North Latitude, as granted by Charles I., October 30th, 1629, to Sir Robert Heath, and from him devised to the present grantees, through their father. *New-York Book of Patents*, XV., 197, 204; *Jones' Annals of Oneida Co.*, 59. Mr. Kempe having adhered to the Crown, his wife was taken prisoner by the Whigs, but exchanged in 1776 for the wife of Francis Lewis, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, who had fallen into the hands of the British. *Sabine*. Mr. Kempe himself was attainted in 1777, and his property confiscated. He retired to England and was living, in 1791, at St. Margaret's Place, Herts, where his eldest daughter, Maria, was married to Captain Stephen Church, *R. N. Gentleman's Magazine*.—Ed.



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

Fort George, New York 17 May 1767.

My Lord

The inclosed is the copy of a letter which was sent to the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations upon a dispute which I had here with the Deputy Secretary of the Province in regard to the Probates of Wills,<sup>1</sup> but to which no answer has yet been made; I did not expect that I should have been under any necessity of troubling your Lordship on this point after what had already passed, and imagined that M<sup>r</sup> Clarke the Patentee of the Secretarys Office after he had seen the authority under which I acted would have been satisfied that I was only doing my duty, but as I hear that he still perseveres in his claim, it is incumbent on me to lay the State of the Matter before your Lordship. The Letter to the Board of Trade shews what was done at that time together with the reasons for my conduct; Some few months after a gentleman in England who was a friend both to M<sup>r</sup> Clarke & myself wrote to me on the subject expressing his concern that any dispute should arise between us, and his wishes at the same time that the matter might (if possible by his Mediation) be accomodated between us. I returned no other answer to his letter than this; That the affair in question was a public concern; That I had interested myself no further in it than what my duty required in support of the King's Prerogative; That it was expressly sett forth in my Instructions that His Maty had reserved the Probate of Wills among other things to his Governor and to put this out of all dispute (as I imagined) I enclosed a part of the Instructions for M<sup>r</sup> Clarkes information that he might see the authority I was vested with, and at the same time declared that if M<sup>r</sup> Clarke could shew any order from His Maty or Commission which could do away the Power with which I thought myself invested, I was ready to submit on its being produced, and acknowledge my error. This Declaration has not been attended with the consequences I expected, for a letter from the same person by this last Pacquett informs me that M<sup>r</sup> Clark to whom he had sent the extract of my Letter called on him and had expressed himself in the following words viz. *That he was sorry things were irretrievable without a public hearing and that something was going on in consequence of it, and that he was sure I have been misinformed.* In answer to this I can only say that I have not acted from any information at all and that my Instructions alone have directed me in this matter, a copy of which I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with here inclosed as it is very short, together with an Extract from the Laws of the Province that it may likewise appear what opinion is entertained of this Part of His Matys Prerogative in a part of the world where they are not desirous of allowing more than they think absolutely due. I am an entire stranger to the method M<sup>r</sup> Clarke proposes to pursue in bringing the matter to a *public Hearing* as he expresses himself, as I have not received the least intimation of any such Design from him and could only on this occasion draw up a state of the Case that such directions might be given to His Majesty's Attorney General, to defend the Cause of the Crown, as your Lordships should think proper on this occasion. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect My Lord

Your Lordships most obedient and  
humble Servant

Rt Honble  
Earl of Shelburne.

H MOORE

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 830.—Ed.

*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O., No. 15.), CLIX., 51.]

Fort George, New York May 22. 1767.

My Lord

Immediately upon the receipt of your Lordships letter of the 14 March last I wrote to Coll Bradstreet whose constant residence is at Albany, to furnish me with all the papers relative to his Demand, that I might lay them before the Assembly which is to meet on Tuesday next; as I have spared no pains in my endeavours to bring the People here to a sense of their duty, I hope they will enable me to send your Lordships more satisfactory accounts from hence than I have hitherto done of our Proceedings. The sole intention of the Assembly's meeting at this season of the year is to provide for His Majestys Troops now quartered in this city and to appoint proper Commissaries for settling the Disputes which have arose with the Province of Massachusetts Bay in regard to their Boundaries. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord.

your Ldps mo ob<sup>t</sup> & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>R<sup>t</sup> Honb Earl of Shelburne.

HENRY MOORE.

*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[Plantations General (S. P. O.), No. 253.]

Johnson Hall. 30. May 1767. N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

My Lord.

February Packet brought me your Lordships letter of that Month, before the Receipt of which I had the honor to write to you my letter N<sup>o</sup>. 2. dated the 1<sup>st</sup> of April, which I hope Your Lord<sup>sh</sup> has received.

I cannot sufficiently express my warm sentiments of gratitude and duty to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> for the recent instance you mention of his Royal intentions in my favor, any more than I can, the obligations I lye under to your Lord<sup>sh</sup> on the occasion.

I am newly returned from a Congress with the Six Nations at the German Flats, which was partly convened at the request of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland, who were to obtain the Indians consent to their running the division line between these Govern<sup>ts</sup> over the allegany Mountains, which I have at length effected, and delivered the Indians a present from these Governments. I judged this a necessary part of my duty for terminating these disputes, but I had a much more material motive in meeting the Indians, that, of composing their minds & satisfying them on the subject of their inquietudes of which I had the most particular and alarming acc<sup>ts</sup> and therefore no time was to be lost. I had upon this occasion, the pleasure to do justice to His Maj<sup>ty</sup> clemency, by laying before them, and explaining in the strongest terms, his Royal intentions and protection signified to me in your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s letter of

February last, and I have the satisfaction to inform your Lord<sup>sh</sup> that the pains I took on that occasion to shew them the real intentions of Govern<sup>t</sup>, added to my explanation of the causes of their discontent, has produced a very favorable change in their dispositions, and enabled me to prevail upon them to agree to a Treaty of peace with the Cherokees, when their Deputys (whom I have sent for) arrive; this has been hitherto thought a very difficult, if not impracticable task, and it will cost me much trouble yet, to keep them in the same pacific sentiments towards a people for whom they have so fixed a hatred. I apprehend I shall have no less difficulty in continuing them steady in their friendship to us, should they find the causes of their discontent still subsisting, and I have no reason to expect the contrary, till some plan peculiarly adapted for restraining abuses and redressing the Indians be enacted by Law, or otherwise established in such manner as to afford speedy justice without dispute or evasion, for I have repeatedly observed that a Court of Law is not calculated for this purpose the Laws not having an Eye to their peculiar circumstances and scituation, and the Juries being often ignorant, and I may venture to say sometimes prejudiced, as are likewise the Members of the Law on such Trials. I hope, I need not enlarge upon this subject, persuaded that your Lord<sup>sh</sup> has it much at heart.

In my last I informed your Lord<sup>sh</sup> that I had prepared such regulations for the Trade for this season, as I thought might be enforced. The Gov<sup>ts</sup> passports to the Traders, subject the latter to a forfeiture of the Recognizances they enter into, in case they are guilty of frauds etc, and direct them to follow such Regulations as are, or shall be made, but many Traders, (contrary to the former practice) go without passes, and amongst them several of the Canadians who were formerly partizans, and excited the Indians to the late war, as well as assisted them therein, and plundered and made prisoners of our Traders, which Canadians I know to be dangerous and that they ever did, and ever will prejudice the Indians against us, and attribute their extortion of the severity of the English Govern<sup>t</sup> etc. all which, gains easy credit amongst the jealous Indians, and I wish this was all I could say of them, but it is notorious, and can be proved that they still endeavour to obstruct all our endeavours towards gaining the Indians Esteem, that they still flatter themselves with hopes of a change which joined to private interests are powerful motives. Some of these persons defy Govern<sup>t</sup> live in the Indian Country under no inspection, write to their Correspondents for fresh supplies of goods etc. and thereby injure the fair Trader, so that either the Traders must be indulged to go where they please, and left to act at discretion, or else totally confined to the Posts without exception of any person, as was formerly the case. If the Traders have a general toleration to go out of the limits of the Provinces amongst the Indians, they must often offend the latter, and some be occasionally robbed and murdered; should this be resented, a War is inevitable, for the Indians will rationally say, that they have been grossly injured, and not having it in their power to obtain satisfaction, have redressed themselves, to wh<sup>ch</sup> no just reply can be made, for should they travel 500 or 600 miles to complain of a Trader, their evidence is nothing, and they cannot expect to be relieved, this, they have often experienced, and therefore there should (from the nature of the Indian Trade) be a general restriction, by which it shall be confined to the Posts, or otherwise, the Govern<sup>t</sup> must risque the resentment of an enraged uncivilized people, whose vengeance is too often felt by the fair Trader, or industrious Husbandman, the Indians seldom confining their Revenge to particulars. I must beg your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s orders on these heads, earnestly hoping that something may be speedily done, for preventing these disorders, and enabling the Officers of the Crown to execute



His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s intentions, by preventing such abuses as may be destructive to the welfare of the American Frontiers and Trade, the possession of which does essentially depend on the harmony subsisting between us and the Indians, which can never be ensured till frauds and violences are effectually checked from a certainty of immediate punishment.

I beg your Lord<sup>sh</sup> will accept of the sincere professions of Esteem, with which I have the honor to be—My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s most obedient and  
most humble servant.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O., No. 16.) CLIX., 51.]

Fort George, New York 9<sup>th</sup> June. 1767.

My Lord

It is impossible for me to express the concern and astonishment I was under on receiving your Lordships letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> April inclosing the Copies of two Petitions, one from the Society for propagating the Gospel, and the other from Samuel Robinson & his associates; although some people have often made free with the characters of His Maty's Governors in America in common conversation, and have frequently misrepresented their actions, yet I always thought that so much decency would constantly be preserved in an address to the Crown, that it should contain no assertions of Facts but what were incontestable; I beg leave to assure your Lordship that this is very far from being the case at present, and that it gave me the highest satisfaction to find that His Majesty was determined not only to have the strictest enquiry made into the circumstances of the charges in the Petition, but that he expected the clearest & fullest answers to every part of it. As I am persuaded that when the truth is laid open it will fully appear that I have neither perverted the Power lodged in my hands nor acted in any manner derogatory to my station and that so far from deserving the least imputation of Oppression, I have made disinterestedness the characteristic of my administration as I thought it incumbent on me to support in every shape the dignity of the Commission with which His Maty has been pleased to honor me. To begin my answer as far back as I can, I beg leave to transcribe some minutes of the Council which are as follows.

On Wednesday the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1765 the Lieuten<sup>t</sup> Governor laid before the Council His Majestys order in Council dated July 20<sup>th</sup> 1764 declaring the River Connecticut to be the Boundary between the Provinces of New York and New Hampshire

On Wednesday the 22<sup>d</sup> day of May, 1765 the Council having taken into their consideration the case of the Persons who are *actually* settled under the Grants of New Hampshire, and being of opinion that the dispossessing them of their Lands would be ruinous to them and their Families gave it as their opinion to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> that the Surveyor general be directed not to make any returns till further orders, on any warrant of survey already made or which may hereafter come to his hands of any Lands possessed under those Grants, unless for the Persons who were in the *actual* Possession thereof.

On Tuesday the 22<sup>d</sup> day of October 1765 The Council gave it as their opinion that in the Patents then ready to be granted to Capt<sup>n</sup> John Small and M<sup>r</sup> Napier the Director Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Hospitals, a reservation should be made of the Lands actually possessed and improved by Jacob Marsh and his associates to the amount of 200 acres to each Person

It would be proper to observe here that these Lands though petitioned for under a grant from New Hampshire were within 20 Miles of Hudson's River, but were still notwithstanding the encroachment, protected, on account of the Settlement on them, although the Title set up was rejected

On my arrival here which was on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of November 1765 I found the Province in so much Disorder occasion<sup>d</sup> by the frequent Riots which prevailed at that time, that no business of any kind was transacted, all the offices were shutt up and of course no application for Lands made, for I was determin<sup>d</sup> not to issue any papers except such as were stamped and the People here refused to take them on that condition The particular circumstances of those troubles having been already transmitted to England mention is only made of them now, to shew that I never entered on any part of that Department which has been productive of the present charge against me till after the repeal of the stamp Act. I hope I shall not be thought too prolix in relating all the steps which have been taken on this occasion for I would not have the least article omitted relative to the Lands in question that the whole may at once be submitted to His Majestys determination After having sett forth what has been done in a regular course of Proceeding here I shall then answer the particulars of M<sup>r</sup> Robinsons Petition.

No sooner was the Stamp Act repeal<sup>d</sup>, and the Offices opened again, but Petitions were preferred by many of the Inhabitants here for Grants of Lands on the Connecticut River, but as I apprehended it would be highly improper to issue any till the Rights of those persons were ascertain<sup>d</sup> who set up claims under the New Hampshire Charters, an order was published by the advice of the Council requiring all persons holding or claiming Lands under such Grants to appear by themselves or their attorneys and produce the same together with the Deeds, conveyances, or other instruments by which they derived any Title or claim, before the Governor in Council within three months from the date of the order, and that the claims of those who should not pay due obedience to that order would be rejected. This had the desired effect, and alltho' it was not strictly complied with as to the Time limited, no advantage was taken of such Delay, and in a few months, Petitions Memorials, &c<sup>a</sup> were lodged by Persons sent up from thence setting up claims to Ninety Six Townships, of this number no less than twenty one were deemed to be in this Government before His Matys order in Council for fixing the Limitts on the Connecticut River, as they were within twenty Miles of the Hudsons River and within the same distance of the Waters of South Bay and the Lake Champlain; It was imagin<sup>d</sup> that this was only by way of experiment to try how far this Province would carry its indulgence towards them, as it has not yet appeared to us that any kind of settlement was ever made on any of those claims except in the Township of Shaftsbury, Bennington & Pownall which were ordered by advice of the Council to be confirmed to those who were actually settled there As to the rest of the 21 Townships no Improvement ever having been attempted on them, The Lands after laying waste beyond the time limitted for settling them became again vested in the Crown by the conditions of the Charter. Proceedings have been had on 24 of the remaining number so far as warrants of Survey in pursuance of the orders in Council for that



purpose, but although by His Majestys Instructions the Warrants of Survey are directed to be returned within six months after they are issued some of these have been issued above eighteen months and no return yet made. Four Townships have gone through all the Forms and their Patents have passed the great Seal; Three more lay before me ready for signing at the time I received your Lordships letter mentioning His Majestys commands that no more Grants should be made till His Pleasure should be signified to me. The Proprietors of the Lands intended to be conveyed by those Patents have been made acquainted with the orders I have received, who do not seem to think themselves under any obligation to Mr Robinson whose Petition has been the cause of the present obstacle laid in their way, for they had been some time in Town to get their papers through the different offices, and must now return home again without putting the finishing hand to the Patents which will lay them under the necessity of another long Journey to this City. The remaining forty eight Townships have never taken any other step than that of putting in a claim without prosecuting it, and I am persuaded that on examination of their Pretension, few, if any Settlers will be found on them, I have taken as much pains as I possibly could to come at the true state of those Townships but can not discover by any means, I have as yet made use of, that any settlements have ever been made in the Country supposed to be covered by these last mentioned claims but that the Land still remains in the same desert and uncultivated State in which it was at the first granting of those Charters. As soon as the Riots & disturbances here had subsided, and the common business of the Province had returned into the usual Channell, I took the first opportunity of enquiring into the State of that Part of the Province which lay on the Connecticut River & having got together some of the principal Claimants of the Lands, I desired to be informed of the Progress already made in the settlements and directed them to point out to me in what shape I could assist them as I imagined they then stood in need of all the aid which the Government could give them; The first thing which occurred was the difficulty they were likely to labour under in regard to their Situation, as that part of the Province was included in the County of Albany, the County Town of which was at too great a distance for them to give attendance there; For their relief in this article I proposed to the Assembly that some part of that District should be erected into a separate County, which was accordingly done and a large Tract which took in a space equal to Forty supposed Townships was included in the County which was called Cumberland; several Bills were passed to enable them to build a Court House, Prison &c<sup>a</sup> and every priviledge possessed by the other Counties in the Province was granted to them except that of sending Members to the Assembly, which at their own request was left out, for the new County was neither populous enough to require such a Priviledge, and the expence of paying their Members which is constantly practised in this part of the world would have been burthensome to them so that they themselves for these reasons alone declined it. I afterwards issued out Commissions for forming a Militia in those Parts, and in some months afterwards a return was made to me of the Regiment formed there, which amounted to upwards of 600 men; I could not help expressing much Satisfaction at seeing so large a Return and expected to find that the number of Families was in proportion to it, but the officer who made it would not impose on me & told me in a very ingenuous manner, that a great number of families concerned in those Lands resided either in New England, New Hampshire or Connecticut, and had never been upon them; some of the most active young people out of each family were sent there to begin the settlement<sup>a</sup> many of whom at the close of the Summer returned to their Homes others more industrious continued there in the Winter that by forwarding their improvements they might



more readily pave the way for those who did not choose to encounter all the difficultys of a New Settlement but waited till some improvements were made before they removed. The same steps could not be taken for the Service of that part of the Country to the North of the County of Cumberland, for allthough the District was large enough to form a County of the same extent, very few improvements had been made in any of the Townships except in that of Newberry the Inhabitants of which were desirous of having another County formed as they imagined it would be the means of introducing Settlers there but the Legislature were of opinion that it would be a great absurdity to give the priviledges of a County to a few families in their present situation but at the same time assured them that they should be put on the same footing with the neighbouring County as soon as there was a sufficient number of Inhabitants to require it

As it was necessary that something should be done to encourage people to settle in those parts, I determined then to engage personally in it, and to take up a Tract of Land there which should be distributed out to poor Families in Small Farms on the condition that they should begin upon the Manufacture of Pot Ash and the Culture of Hemp; His Majestys Council having approved of my plan consented to have a Township laid out for me & some others associated with me at twelve miles distance from the North Line of the County of Cumberland and on a spot neither granted by New Hampshire nor claimed by any persons whatsoever; I then made public my intentions of giving the Land in certain proportions to the Families inclined to settle thereon, and that no rents or profits should be reserved for myself, but that the whole of them should remain with the proprietors on condition of manufacturing so much Pot Ash yearly and that a certain quantity of acres according to the abilities of each family should be constantly planted with Hemp, These conditions being fulfilled, the Fee of the Lands was to be vested absolutely in the Possessors of them; no sooner were these Terms made known but applications were made by different Persons for Grants and no less than 14 Families are already settled on it, and I have had proposals made from Ten more now living in this Town who will be settled there during the course of the Summer, besides several others as well from Connecticut as the Massachusetts Bay, so that there is the greatest probability of a considerable settlement being made there in a very short space of time: But as the giving of Lands alone to these People was not sufficient without other assistance, I have at their request ordered a Saw Mill and grist mill to be built for their use, and as there is no building in that part of the Country yet appropriated for divine worship I have directed a Church to be built at my sole expence in the Center of the Township, and shall set apart a large Farm as a Glebe for the incumbent; These measures I am persuaded will contribute greatly to the peopling of that part of the Province, for many wealthy persons inhabitants of this Town on seeing what I have done, and still propose to do, have associated themselves together in sufficient numbers to be entitled to Townships there, and have taken all the necessary steps to carry their Plans into execution, many people being actually employed in surveying and dividing into different Lotts the Lands they have taken up; I have likewise had a Township laid out and vested in Trustees for the use of the Ministers of the Gospel according to the Communion of the Church of England, and an other for the use of the College here that the opportunity might not be lost of improving the Morals as well as fortunes of the New Settlers in so distant a part of the Province

This was our Situation when I had the honor of receiving your Lordships letter signifying His Majestys commands that no more Grants should be made in that part of the Province, till

His Pleasure should be made known, and although I apprehend that the Lands claimed under the new Hampshire Charters were the only Lands intended to be included in this injunction, yet as I would not presume to put any construction on the orders I have received which might appear forced, I have given notice that no Grants of any Lands whatsoever will be made on the Connecticut River till His Matys Pleasure is known. As this Order will strike a damp on some of our settlers and more especially on the last mentioned adventurers who having kept clear of all the New Hampshire Grants, looked upon themselves to be perfectly safe in their Proceedings. It would be of signal Service to the Province to receive His Majestys comm<sup>ds</sup> before that ardor which they have hitherto shewed in carrying on Settlements is abated, I mention this as I think it a Public concern and I hope by what I have already said of the Share I have had in these Transactions that it will appear to your Lordship that my private emolument has not been attended to in the Plan I have pursued but that I have acted entirely from motives of Public concern; No advantage could possibly arise to me but by keeping the Lands in my own hands the profits of which even in this case would be distant and precarious, The expence immediate & certain; By granting them in the manner already mentioned I flatter myself that I shall have the satisfaction of setting on foot manufactures highly beneficial both to this province and Great Britain and my utmost ambition in carrying this Project into execution was to have His Majestys approbation of my conduct in the attempt

Having thus set down at large the steps which have been taken in regard to the Lands on the Connecticut River I shall no[w] proceed to answer with as much brevity as possible the substance of Mr Robinsons Petition who says that it is in behalf of himself and *one Thousand Grantees*. That there was such a number of Grantees I will not take upon me absolutely to contradict because I can not do it with such certainty as could carry manifest proof with it, but by what I have already mentioned with regard to the settling this Part of the Country I am persuaded that there is not one half of that number on the Lands & no longer ago that this morning I was confirm<sup>d</sup> in my opinion by two persons who came to make application for Lands in that Quarter, and I have likewise been credibly informed that there are in Robinsons Petition the names of a great number of the Inhabitants of this Town and the adjacent Provinces, who never were upon the Lands or ever intended it, and had only purchased Shares to dispose of them again. A few days before the Petitioners left this Place I had some imperfect information of their Intention & endeavoured to get a sight of the Petition and the Names subscribed to it but could not succeed in either as it was kept so very secret I thought it my duty to give what information I could of some Persons concerned in it to the Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations and wrote a letter to the Board of Trade dated Dec<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1766 a copy of which I have here inclosed for your Lordships Perusal as it states some Facts necessary to be known relative to the Petitioners

The Six first Paragraphs of the Petition relating to transactions before my arrival, I could not take upon me to answer myself, but having wrote to Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Colden desiring him to give me the best informations he could on those Heads, I have herewith transmitted his letter, together with the Copy of the Proclamation he issued, and likewise the extract of a Letter from James Duane<sup>1</sup> Esq<sup>re</sup> a Barrister at Law here, and a man of so good a character that his Testimony carries the greatest weight with it, who being acquainted with some of the Proceedings of Robinson, and having rendered him some services I thought it proper to apply

<sup>1</sup> A Memoir of this distinguished son of New-York, will be found in *New-York Documentary History*, IV.—Ed.



to him for a further confirmation of what I have already advanced in this Letter in regard to a number of Townships being granted by New Hampshire within the acknowledged Bounds of this Province

I now come to that part of the Petition which relates to myself, and as the 7<sup>th</sup> article of it only mentions the order which was issued by me and taken notice of in the former part of this letter I shall proceed to the 8<sup>th</sup> in which such a number of falsities are crowded together that they can not be better answered than by a bare relation of the whole matter of Fact which I shall do as concisely as I can and leave it to your Lordship to judge between us. In my letter to the Lords of Trade mention is made that Robinson and a few others who had joined him had made an application for Forty five Townships which proposal for so large a quantity of Land, in proportion to the number of persons concerned in it, was thought so very absurd that it was treated as it deserved and rejected. I never had any other application from him of any kind but as an humble Suitor to desire I would assist him in the distress which he had brought on himself by settling on the Lands which were ordered to be granted some time before under this Govern<sup>mt</sup> to other people; when his pretensions were examined before the Council I was his advocate there, altho' he did not stand much in need of one for the Council were always determined from the Beginning to protect the Settlers and the Land claim<sup>d</sup> by him, One Cole, and seven or eight other Persons who were associated with him were ordered to be secured to them altho' apparently included in other Patents; For this they appeared very thankfull and when I thought they were retiring, Cole requested that the Council would add one good Deed to another and let them have these Lands without paying any Fees of office I took upon me to assure them both in the presence of the Board that their request should be granted, and their Patents made out to them without paying any Fees; This seemed to have such an effect on them that not satisfied with making their acknowledgements to me at that time they waited in the Hall till the Council broke up, and afterwards came into my Parlour to thank me again for what I had done, declaring they should ever retain the most gratefull remembrance for two such Acts of favor conferred on them that morning

This is a true relation of the whole Transaction, and the grateful remembrance they retain of it has, it seems, been productive of nothing but a chain of Falsities invented to serve private purposes by endeavouring to blacken my character as well as those of others; This was all that passed and I am ready to attest upon oath the truth of what I have here asserted, and hope your Lordship will give me leave to assure you that so far from ever having made a demand for fees of any kind either from Robinson or any Person living, that it has always been my maxim not only in this Province but whilst I had the honor of commanding in Jamaica, on any Fees being due to me by those who I apprehended would be distressed in paying them, to enquire into their circumstances and have thought myself happy in having an opportunity of remitting them. I have signed but six Patents since I came into the Province for which I have received Fees and five are now preparing on which I have the same Rights, but have promised to give them up for the reasons I have just mentioned; I do not speak of this from Ostentation, for I think that no Parade should be made of Acts of this kind, as the satisfaction they give is a sufficient reward in itself and am only concerned that this Relation should be extorted from me in this manner which nothing but the defence of my own Reputation, and the hopes of making it appear how little I deserve the character the Petitioners are pleased to draw of me, could have effected. I shall say nothing of the extraordinary sum of thirty three thousand Pounds sterling mentioned in this Paragraph; The whole Table of



my Fees having been lately transmitt<sup>d</sup> to England your Lordship will see how gross a misrepresentation this must be even if I had ever mentioned Fees, and it should seem as if particular care had been taken to exceed all bounds of Truth in every thing they have advanced more especially in this article which could have been so easily ascertained. The assertion in the ninth Paragraph *that there are now upwards of one Thousand Families settled on the west side of Connecticut River in consequence of the said Grants* is as great an untruth as any set forth in the whole Petition; There is not the half of that number there, nor do I really beleive the quarter part; I have already shewed in what manner the settlements there are carrying on, but the real Land holders of the greatest part of that country actually reside in the Boston and Connecticut Governments, and so far from being turned out of possession as is set forth in the Petition, that the greatest part of them never were there; They have been invited to settle there, by all the encouragement this Government could give, but it is still a matter of doubt as to great numbers of them, whether they ever had any intentions of residing there or not; Two persons Agents for some others who came to town yesterday to solicit the Grant of two Townships under the New Hampshire Charters, (whose claims have been laid above a Twelve month but were never proceeded on) have confirmed what I now write in regard to the number of families, and have declared ingenuously to me that there are no settlements on the Lands they came now to claim, nor were there any ever made in consequence of the former charters, but that if the Govern<sup>t</sup> would indulge them in their Grants they would proceed immediately to the making of Improvements, and this is the case with the greatest number of them; These men who both reside in the Boston Government informed me that they were solicited to join in this Petition but refused it, as many of the most considerable people there had done already and were not a little surprised at some of the bold assertions in it which they themselves know to be false. I can give no opinion or account of their being engaged in the *actual Service of His Majesty in the late war* which they sett forth being a stranger to it, but Robinson can plead but little merit from his Service, which I am told here was nothing more than that of driving an ox Cart for the Settlers, and I think it must be obvious to every one that very few Levies could be made at that time in a Frontier Country exposed to all incursions, and which had scarce any inhabitants at all in it

I shall now proceed to that allegation *that some of the Petitioners have expended the whole and others the greatest part of what they were worth in purchasing the said Grants &c.* How far any credit is to be given to this assertion will be left to your Lordship to determine after it is made to appear how much has been the real original Expende of these Charters, for as to the improvement of the Lands as the greatest part of those now petition<sup>d</sup> for are still uncultivated, certainly no claims can be made for money laid out on them. From the best informations I have been able to obtain from the Claimants themselves, there appears to have been a Sum of money paid down on the taking out of the Charter, which varies much (occasioned as I suppose from the situation of the Lands) and that the whole amount of these sums have been from Twenty to forty pounds New York Currency for each Township so that at an average, Thirty pounds (about 17<sup>lb</sup> Sterling) may be deemed the real expence of a Township which was to include a Tract of Ground six Miles Square, but very often took in a great deal more; it is very obvious that on this Plan the expences of a Township being divided among sixty or seventy persons (according to the lists on the back of the Charters) must be very inconsiderable and not amount to a greater sum than about six shillings for each Proprietor, and if matters had been conducted without Fraud, no complaint would have been made at this day; But Governor

Wentworth now imposed on by those Lists and the Parties engaged in taking out a number of Townships together have bought and sold, conveyed & reconveyed, so often (without the least attention to any Settlement which should have been the principal concern) that after some hours examination of some of the Charters we have not been able to trace the Title through a number of intricate Deeds notwithstanding the Charters were granted so lately and the Lands still uncultivated, so that the Council were under the necessity at last of giving it as their opinion to me that the Grants should be made to particular persons in each Charter, upon their entering into Bond with good and sufficient security to reconvey to the remainder of the Proprietors whom we could not a[t] that time discover, the shares they were entitled to by the Charter; these shares consisting each of 350 acres were publicly sold here and in all the neighbouring Provinces for thirty shillings, and many persons who appeared before the Council to prove their Rights could shew no better Title than under such Deeds, which sum was so far from being an adequate consideration for the Land that it only served to sett the Fraud in a stronger Light. Mr Wentworth's Fees were secured to him by his reserving for himself a Farm of five hundred Acres in each Township, and the spot where it was to be taken up, was in all the Charters marked with the Initial Lres of his name, Besides other Reservations were made of particular Lots under the names of some members of the Council and public officers, which in some of the Townships amounted to between 5 and 6 Thousand Acres and in others the numbers was much smaller; These shares have been distinguished among the Inhabitants of that part of the Country by the name of *Riders*, and in the Petitions of those who really intended to make settlements, they were complained of as Greivances because the owners of them would not contribute to any public work which was carrying on & they requested that these might be granted to persons who would assist in making the settlement. This Request was occasioned by the apprehensions they were under at that time, that these shares would still be reserved, and appropriated to the use of the Governor and Council here, but we soon relieved them from any uneasiness on that head by declaring all those shares on which no improvements had been made to be revested in the Crown and the greatest part of them have since been granted to the reduced officers of the army who have petitioned for them under His Majestys Proclamation. In order to support what I have advanced in regard to the small expence these Petitioners have been at for their charters, as Mr Wentworths Fees were provided for without their assistance, I beg leave to make a small extract of his Letter to me which was laid before the Council the 17 Oct 1766, and stands on their minutes of that day. It is as follows—*that it had been the practice on granting Lands in New Hampshire to reserve to the Governor a Farm of five hundred Acres in each Township, which is the only perquisite in the Government* Mr Wentworth afterwards desires that his claim in the Townships of Brattleborough and Rockingham might be secured to him in consideration of his improvements made there which was accordingly done, but all the Reservations for him which were uncultivated were declared revested in the Crown, I can make no doubt but at present it sufficiently appears that there was as little Foundation for asserting so barefaced a Falsehood as that of having pay<sup>d</sup> so large a sum for their Charters as there was for saying that I had made any demands on them. If there had been real claimants of the ninety six Townships and they had joined together in this Petition, the whole of there expence would not have amounted to 1600 pounds allthough it would appear they claimed more than two million of Acres, but this is very far from being the Case, for 21 of these being indisputably within the former Limitts of this Province before His Majesty's Proclamation in regard to New Hampshire and the only settle<sup>mt</sup> made on any



of those twenty one Townships are intrusions, and have been proved to be so, on Patents granted by this Govern<sup>mt</sup> some of thirty others of sixty years stand<sup>g</sup>; The merits of 2S have been already examined before the Council and am assured are not concerned in this Petition, four of which have passed the Great Seal, three more are ready but were stopp<sup>d</sup> on this occasion, and the rest are surveying and laying out as fast as the Surveyor Gen<sup>l</sup> can find proper men to execute his orders so that it should seem as if the only persons who had not complied with their engagements with the Crown should think they were most aggrieved, and expect to obtain particular marks of His Majestys Favor by Fraud and imposition; neither Robinson nor his associates, nor Marsh and his Associates who under a pretended Hampshire right settled on some of the old Patents in this Province have ever thought proper to make use of that indulgence which this Government had shew<sup>d</sup> to them by confirming their settlements to them, as is already mentioned in this Letter, or have ever applied to their Grants on the contrary they have made a merit of this stubbornness, in order to disquiet the minds of their neighbours, and stir up a seditious spirit among them from whence they are in expectation of reaping some Benefit

The complaint in the 10<sup>th</sup> Paragraph of the distance from the Capital has been already answered by what has been related of the new county of Cumberland, which was erected on purpose to serve that part of the Country, but even in such a trifling circumstance as this they have not confined themselves to Truth, for it will appear on inspecting the Map, that they have exaggerated the distance at least one quarter—I have now gone through the Articles in the Petition except the last, which is so extraordinary in itself that I presume nothing is expected in answer to it. From the whole tenor of the Petition and the number of falsehoods it contains, It appears to have been the Offspring of a very bad Heart and I think there is the greatest reason to apprehend that the head must likewise have been impaired, how else should a man of one of the lowest & meanest occupations at once set up for a statesman and from a notion that the wheels of Government are as easily managed and conducted as those of a Waggon, take upon him to direct the Kings Ministers in their Departments As for my Part, I have been taught to treat with so much respect, those whom His Majesty is pleased to honor with his confidence, that I am persuaded they will do that which is best for his Service and the good of His People, without standing in need of such able Councillors as either Mr Robinson or myself. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

R<sup>t</sup> Honble

Earl of Shelburne

H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers ( S. P. O., No. 17., CLIX., 51. ) ]

Fort George New York 10 June. 1767.

My Lord

After so long a letter as I have already addressed to your Lordship in answer to Robinsons Petition, it is a matter of concern to me that the Petition which accompanied it from the Society



for propagating the Gospel puts me under the necessity of saying any thing more on the same subject. That a man of so notorious a character as Robinson should deviate from Truth in any representation of Facts, is no kind of surprise to those who know him here, but that so respectable a Society of that for propagating the Gospel should present a Petition supposed to be grounded on Facts which are not true in themselves has astonished every one here who has been informed of it. By some similar expressions to those in the Petition of Robinson, I apprehend they both came from the same quarter, and that the Society has been first imposed upon and afterwards engaged to present a Petition of the same kind with that relative to the New Hampshire Grants with no other intent than to be a more effectual means to impose on His Matys Ministers. There are but three particular causes of complaint assigned which are all easily answered and set aside. The fact is, *that the Grantees* had settled some part of the Townships; were preparing to settle the remainder with a reservation of the said several shares for the public uses, but were prevented by the Govern<sup>t</sup> of New York &c. How far the settlements have been carried on has been already shewed, and I shall leave it to your Ldp. to judge of their intentions in regard to the remainder when I take upon me to assert that notwithstanding the appropriation of these shares for Public uses and expressly so described in the Body of the Charters, The Petitioners had so little design to serve any body but themselves that they had the assurance to request that these public shares might be divided among them, without giving the least attention to the purposes for which they were designed and without the least scruple of defrauding the Society of its Rights; If the intentions of His Majestys Council in regard to the Interests of the Society had not differed greatly from those of the Petitioners I can take upon me to say that the society would not at this time have been entitled to a single Lot of Land in all that part of the Province. There is not the least foundation for that assertion of *being prevented by the Government of New York* for great care was taken to give them all the assurances possible that they should be protected in their Rights and no pains were spared to convince the settlers of the good Intentions of this Government towards them

The Second Complaint is, *That they are altogether deprived of the greater & better part of their Right.*—I have already had the honor of acquainting your Lordships that there have been proceedings only on 23 of these Townships; In 24 of them the Rights of the Society and all the Grants in the first Charters for public uses have been expressly reserved for the uses therein mentioned. No failure has been made but in the four first Grants which passed the Council, and as I am informed that the Charters were not at that time before them, it occasion<sup>d</sup> an omission which has been guarded against ever since; of these four only one has passed the Great Seal, so that the Shares may still be reserved in the three which remain, This happened before my arrival in America. The Third complaint is “*That as to the Residue of such Lands which are not already granted away they are burthened with such expences & charges as are greatly more than equal in point of value to the Shares themselves*” The only way this assertion can be answer<sup>d</sup> is by denying it flatly, and I am extreemly sorry to be under the necessity of declaring to your Lordship that there is not a word of truth in it; when the first Petitioners for these public shares could not obtain them for their own uses, as I have already mentioned they desired that the society might be charged with a share of the expences which would be incurred for surveying &c<sup>a</sup> but this was likewise absolutely refused, & they were told that if they did not choose to take out their Grants on the Terms of paying the Costs of the four Public Shares amongst them, they should not have them at all. The Reason which occasioned this Declaration was that as there appeared on the back of each charter a long list of names the

greatest part of which are entirely unknown. The Council joined in opinion with me that if these were the names of real Proprietors there could be no hardship in fixing the expence on them as the Quota of each person interested in the Township would be so small as to amount at most to a mere trifle By this means the Societys Shares were so far from *being burthened with expences and charges greatly more than equal in point of value to the Lands themselves*, that they are not charged with the expence of a single shilling. I am sorry to say that our suspicions of those names on the back of the Charters were but too well founded and it has since appeared that some of the Charters which have made their appearance in great Form and under the claims of sixty or seventy proprietors have been found in reality to belong to no more than six or seven Persons, which will be a great Detriment to the settling of that part of the Province, and is entirely contradictory to His Majestys Orders which are that no more than one thousand acres should be given to each Person—I hope by what I have here offer<sup>d</sup> in answer to the Societys Petition, that it will sufficiently appear to your Ldp, how they have been imposed on in the accounts they have received of our Proceedings here, and to which they have so readily given credit. Had the true state of the Case been laid before His Majesty it would have appeared that in order to make up for a Loss sustained of 350 acres in one of the Townships, which happened before my arrival, by a mere omission of the Council on their first entering on a new Scene of Business, I had taken care to secure to the Church as soon as I had it in my power a large District comprehending no less than 23,200, acres.—I have enquired of Dr Auchmuty the Rector of Trinity Church here, (who is I am informed the principal correspondent of the Society in this Province) from whence this extraordinary information could be sent, but he tells me that he is entirely ignorant of it, and as I have the greatest reason to imagine that the Society have not founded their Petition on better authority than what they have received from Robinson and his associates, I hope they will act with so much candor when they are informed of the particulars of my answer, as to lay before your Lordship the authorities upon which they have been induced to present a Petition to His Majesty which tends so manifestly to calumniate me. Common justice requires this at their Hands and the Principles upon which that Society is supposed to act in other matters, will I hope suggest to them that such a behaviour will be necessary on this occasion not only in support of my Character, but of their own.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

H MOORE

Rt Honorable

Earl of Shelburne

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers, (S. P. O., No. 13.) CLIX., 51. ]

Fort George. New York 10<sup>th</sup> June 1767.

My Lord

I should not at this time trespass any further on your Lordship, but to give an answer to that part of the Letter which I had the honor of receiving by this Pacquet, *In which I was*



*directed to take care that the Inhabitants lying Westward of the Line reported by the Lords of Trade as the Boundary of the two Provinces be not molested &c<sup>a</sup>* Since the accounts were transmitted to England of Tranquillity being restored in those parts bordering on the Massachusetts Bay I have not received any Information of the least disorder having been committed there, nor any complaint from any of the Inhabitants of that Quarter, by which I imagine that they had been sensibly of their Folly and had followed the advice I gave them in regard to their Title Deeds which was to have them tryed at the Circuit Court, in order to put a stop to all further Litigation

As to the inhabitants of this Province bordering on New Hampshire, so much has been said of them in the two letters sent by this opportunity in answer to the Petition of Samuel Robinson and that of the incorporated society for propagating the Gospel, that I shall not trouble your Lordships with a recapitulacion of it, but proceed to shew how I have acted in obedience to the Kings particular orders for supporting the Inhabitants there in their possessions. Many applications were made by persons soliciting Grants in the usual way on the Connecticut River, whose cheif Plea was, that the Lands continued still unimproved there, and of course if any Charters had been granted they were become forfeited. It was no difficult matter to get the better of these sort of Suitors because when the Grant was refused to be made out by the Governm<sup>t</sup> the contention was at an end, but several gentlemen who had obtained orders under His Majesty's sign manual for large Tracts of Land, were not so easily managed, and insisted that the had a right to make a Location wherever the Lands appeared to be uncultivated. Mr Paterson who was Agent for the Earl of Ilchester, Lord Holland, and some more persons, having taken a surveyor with him (who had already imposed on every one who had trusted him) located five of those orders, (each for 20,000 acres) in the midst of the Townships and shortly after his return to this Town, set out for England having first told me that he hoped I would make no objection to his Locations, which I assured him I should not do, if they did not interfere with the property of other Persons; as he had the strongest reasons to beleive from what the surveyor had told him that he did not break in upon the Rights of any Landholders there, the Gentlemen who had employed him were in full expectation that no difficulties could possibly arise which would prevent their obtaining their Patents for those Lands; Some few months after, when the Inhabitants of those quarters came up to this town to lay their claims before the Council these locations of Mr Patersons were declared to be very improperly placed, as they would be prejudicial to the Rights of several Persons claiming under the New Hampshire Charters which were then confirmed. This Disappointment drew upon me the Displeasure of the Gentlemen concerned in those orders, but I could not have acted otherwise without doing what I thought an Injustice, and to convince them of my readiness to serve them on this occasion I have fixed them in another part of the Province where I am persuaded they will be better satisfy'd than if they had obtained their first location. These, My Lord, were the steps I had began to take before I received His Majestys orders about these settlers, and have continued them ever since from the double motive of Duty and Inclination. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

To the Rt Honble

The Earl of Shelburne

H MOORE



*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers (S. P. O., 19.), CLIX., No. 51. ]

Fort George New York June 10. 1767.

My Lord

In a letter which I had the honor of writing to your Lordship by the last Pacquet I mentioned that our Assembly was to meet in a few days, and that I had expectations from my endeavors to bring them to a sense of their duty of sending to your Ldp a more favorable account of our Proceedings here than I had hitherto done. Inclosed is my Speech at the opening of the Sessions & the addresses of the Council and Assembly, By which your Lordship will see that his Matys Troops in this city will have the provision made for them which is prescribed by the Act of Parliament and that we shall proceed immediately to the settlement of the Boundary Line between this Province and the Masachusetts Bay, Commissaries being now appointed for that purpose by both the Provinces interested in this Dispute. Colonel Bradstreet's Papers did not come to my hand soon enough to be laid before the Assembly till the day before their Session was ended, and as one of the Commissaries for clothing and paying the Forces raised by the Colony was not in Town and had possession of the Muster Rolls and Vouchers relating to the payment of the Forces they directed the whole to be laid before them at their next meeting which will be in September or October next I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

The Rt Honble

The Earl of Shelburne.

H MOORE

*Lords of Trade to the Committee of the Privy Council.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( No. ) 171. ]

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords of the Committee of his Majestys most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Council  
for Plantation Affairs,

My Lords,

We have taken into our consideration your Lordships Order dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of May last, refering back to us our report of the 10<sup>th</sup> of February last upon a Memorial of Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern District of North America, and directing us "to report our opinion to your Lordships upon the authenticity of the Grant  
"made to him by the Indians in 1760, and to ascertain, in the best manner we are able, the  
"situation of the Land Granted, and whether any and what part of the said Lands, so granted  
"to Sir William Johnson be within the Lands reserved to the Indians for hunting grounds by

“the Proclamation of the 7 of October 1763, or by any Compact at any time made with them, “together with such other circumstances as we might think proper or necessary for your “Lordships information on this Occasion.” Whereupon we beg leave to report to your Lordships

That we have been attended upon this business by Sir William Johnson’s Son who having produced to us the original Deed of Gift to his Father from the Indians of the Tract of Land which he now prays may be confirmed to him by a Grant from his Majesty we have thought fit hereunto to annex a copy of the same, together with an authentic Survey made by order of the Lieutenant Governor and Council of New York of the Lands themselves including all other Grants on the Mohawk River; also a copy of the letter from the said Lieutenant Governor accompanying the said Survey, and of the Deed from the Six Nations of Indians in 1701, by which they put under the protection of the Crown of Great Britain that Part of the Country which they desire should be reserved to them as their Hunting Ground.

These Documents do in our humble opinion, fully establish the authenticity of the Grant itself; do clearly ascertain the situation of the Lands Granted, and do shew that they do not lie within the Country reserved to the Indians for Hunting Grounds; either by the Proclamation of the 7 of October 1763, or by any Compact at any time made with the said Indians; the Lands so Granted being situated upon the Mohawk River, where the Tribe of the Six Nations distinguished by that Name, have been in the constant practice for many years of disposing of their Lands to such of His Majesty’s Subjects as had Licences from the Governor of New York to purchase the same; and therefore the Propriety of confirming this Grant to Sir William Johnson must be submitted to your Lordships, upon consideration of what we have already suggested in our former Report upon his Memorial

We are

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

most humble Servants

CLARE

JOHN ROBERTS

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

Whitehall

June 26. 1767.

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*Report of the Lords of Trade against the Petition of the Presbyterian Church of New - York.*

[ New-York Entries, Q., 899. ]

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of His Majesty’s Most Honorable Privy Council for Plantation Affairs.

My Lords.

We have had under our consideration a petition to His Majesty of the present Ministers Elders Deacons and Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of the City of New York, humbly

praying for the reasons therein contained that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to create them a Body Politic and Corporate, by the name and stile of the Ministers Elders Deacons and Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of the City of New York, according to the Westminster confession of Faith, Catechisms, and directory, agreeable to the present established Church of Scotland, and that they and their successors may be thereby enabled, under the Great Seal of the Province to hold and enjoy the said Church & ground belonging to the same, and to acquire and hold a further estate and enjoy such other powers and privileges as may be necessary for the encouragement of religious worship; and that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant them such other aid, protection and countenance as to his royal wisdom shall seem meet.

This petition was referred to this Board by an order of His Majesty in Council on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1766. with directions to consider the same and report an opinion thereupon to your Lordships, & it appearing as well upon the face of the petition itself as from other papers in possession of the Board that many proceedings had been had before the Council of New York touching an application of the Presbyterian Church there, for a Charter of incorporation, it was thought advisable to transmit a copy of the petition to the Governor there, with directions to communicate the same to the Council for their advice & information thereupon, and to report in the fullest manner the present state and condition of this Protestant Establishment, and also all the proceedings upon a petition to the same effect presented to them during the administration of L<sup>t</sup> Governor Colden and the reason why such application did not succeed at that time.

In return to this reference to the Governor of New York he has lately transmitted to us a report made to him thereupon by a Committee of His Majesty's Council there; a copy whereof we beg leave to annex hereunto.

This report will fully inform your Lordships of the true state of the proceedings and precedents to which the petition to His Majesty refers, and does likewise state a doubt of great weight & importance in this question, viz<sup>t</sup> whether His Majesty consistent with the obligation he is under by his Coronation Oath, founded on the Act of the 5<sup>th</sup> of Queen Anne Cap. 5. intituled "An Act for securing the Church of England as by Law established," can create such an establishment in favour of the Presbyterian Church as is now requested.

This, my Lord, is a question of too great importance for us to decide upon; but upon the fullest consideration of what is stated in the report of the Council of New York we are of opinion that independent of the objection arising out of this question, it is not expedient, upon principles of general policy, to comply with the prayer of this petition or to give the Presbyterian Church of New York any other privileges and immunities than it is intitled to by the laws of Toleration.

We are, my Lords

Your Lordships most obedient

and most humble Servants

CLARE

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

THOMAS ROBINSON.

Whitehall

July 10. 1767.



*Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore.*

[ New-York Papers, ( S. P. O. ) CLIX., 51. ]

Whitehall July 18<sup>th</sup> 1767.

Sir

I have His Majestys commands to transmitt to you an act of the last Session of Parliament for restraining & prohibiting the Governor Council and House of Representatives, of the Province of New York, untill Provision shall have been made for furnishing the Kings Troops with all the necessaries required by Law, from passing or assenting to any act of Assembly, vote or a resolution for any other Purpose

This Law, Sir you will perceive, was enacted for the purpose of enforcing the obedience of the Assembly of New York to the Terms of the Mutiny Act, but at the same time framed with that singular Temper and lenity as to offer that Assembly an opportunity of rectifying their conduct, and this without involving them in any Disabilities, only as the consequence of further disobedience, nor is the Province itself subjected to inconveniences thereby without leaving it in the Power of the People, by a proper conduct, and a due exertion of their Privileges, to avoid or remove them

Since the passing this act I have received your letter of June 18<sup>th</sup> acquainting me that the Assembly have in their address to you, declared their intention of making that Provision for the Troops which is prescribed by the Mutiny act

I lost no time in laying this letter before His Majesty, who was graciously pleased to express his satisfaction that his Province of New York had voluntarily returned to a just sense of their duty and had thereby given an unquestionable Proof of their Duty to His Majesty, and of their obedience to the Parliament of Great Britain

Whilst I transmit this act it is with real pleasure I consider that the Prudent conduct of the Assembly has already rendered the Provisions contained in it unnecessary and I entertain no doubt but that the same just spirit of subordination & constitutional obedience to that supreme Legislature, which has on all occasions discovered the clearest intention of restraining its own Power within the Limitts of Equity and Justice will render New York equally worthy with the Rest of His Majestys Provinces of His Majestys favor and Protection and of those singular Priviledges which they enjoy under the Blessings of His Reign and under the influence of the British constitution

I am &amp;c

Sir H Moore Bart.

SHELBURNE

*Draft of an Instruction forbidding any alteration in the number of the Assembly.*

[ Plantations General Entries, No. 46, ( N. ) p. 176. ]

## Additional Instruction to Our trusty and Wellbeloved

Lord W <sup>m</sup> Campbell. . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Nova Scotia	Sir W <sup>m</sup> Trelawney. . . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Jamaica
John Wentworth Esq: Gov <sup>r</sup> of New Hampshire	William Woodley Esq: Gov <sup>r</sup> of Lew <sup>d</sup> Islands
Sir Henry Moore. . . . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of New York	William Spry Esq: . . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Barbados
William Franklin Esq: Gov <sup>r</sup> of New Jersey	Geo: S Bruere Esq: . . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Bermuda
Sir Jeffery Amherst. . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Virginia	William Shirley Esq: . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Bahama
John Eliot Esq: . . . . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of West Florida	Robert Melville Esq: . . Gov <sup>r</sup> of Granada

Whereas Laws have at several times been passed in many of Our Colonies and Plantation in America, by which certain Parishes and Districts have been empowered and Authorized to send Representatives to the General Assemblies of the respective Colonies in which the said Parishes and Districts lie, and sundry other Regulations have been introduced by those Laws relative to the said Assemblies; It is Our Will and Pleasure, and We do hereby require and command that you do not upon any pretence whatever give your assent to any Law or Laws to be passed in Our { <sup>Colony</sup> Province } under your Government, by which the number of the Assembly shall be enlarged or diminished the duration of it ascertained, the qualifications of the Electors, or the Elected, fixed or altered or by which any Regulations shall be established with respect thereto, inconsistent with Our Instructions to you Our Governor, as prejudicial to that Right or Authority which you derive from us in virtue of Our Royal Commission & Instructions.

24 July 1767.

*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General, (S. P. O.) No. 253. ]

Johnson Hall. 14 August 1767. N<sup>o</sup> 4.

My Lord,

The last letter which I had the honor to address to your Lord<sup>p</sup> was of the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, on the subject of a Congress with the Six Nations at the German Flats, from whence I was then returned, as well as regarding the continuance of those irregularities in Trade and otherwise, of which I have had occasion to speak so often.

Having for these five years past been much troubled with a Billious complaint, and the Ball in my thigh giving me more and more uneasiness as it descends, for all which I have as yet met with very little relief, I am induced to visit some new discovered springs about eighty miles from hence, where I purpose to spend a few weeks to try their efficacy, but before my departure (which will be tomorrow) I could not avoid giving your Lord<sup>p</sup> a further account of the state of affairs here.

I have always made use of a few approved Chiefs of the several Nations, whose fidelity I have had occasion to put to the test on many occasions for above twenty years past, who

have never yet deceived me, and from whom I have obtained timely advices of almost every thing of importance in agitation, for which information, although I could not often obtain credit, the sequel, always proved their fidelity. I have made it their interest as much as I believe it is their inclination to be faithful, and have gratified their predominant passion by seeming to ask their opinion and to communicate matters to them which are of no importance, tho' it is a high compliment to them. Several of these Chiefs have been lately with me, and seemed greatly alarmed at the state of my health, they observed that they were themselves old and desirous that peace should continue, having been always attached to the English, that whilst I lived I studied to render the Indians in General satisfied under many circumstances highly disagreeable to them, and that I frequently succeeded, thro' the long acquired personal influence which I had over several Nations (on which they were pleased to enlarge) that however it seemed to be the opinion at present of a great part of the Indians, that what I have said was not always the sence of Govern<sup>t</sup>, and that the latter gave themselves no concern about them, on which they enumerated the several particulars, wherein I had promised them by public authority, that they should have redress, which I believe from what has been already observed on that subject, your Lord<sup>p</sup> is persuaded cannot be had here. They then proceeded to observe that altho' several of the Tribes in our Neighbourhood, amongst our settlements, had greatly diminished, yet, that was not the case of the majority of the Nations, and that as they had no wars amongst themselves for many years, some Nations were increasing. That their War with the Southern Indians, whilst it almost ruined the latter, was scarcely felt by them, being carried on by a few annually from each Town throughout the whole Confederacy under circumstances of the greatest Advantage. That nature had put it in their power to do a great deal with a few Men; that altho' the wiser part of them foresaw our growing power, and what it might in time come to, yet they all saw their own present strength and capacity to ravage the Frontiers and supply themselves with the spoil of the Traders, all which would put us greatly back, whilst we could distress them very little, for they observed, tho' we had lately behaved well, yet experience shewed them that our settlers were not a fighting people, but Traders, who, would do any thing for money, and wanted Trade more than they did; that the greatest part could not do without it, that numbers pushed into the heart of their Country for the sake of great gains, and even defrauded them in the midst of their Towns, where they were exposed to the quick resentment and violent passions of their young Men; that these young Men were under little or no controul, and that many of them wanted Traders amongst them, but then, they wanted them to be honest men, that experience taught them, that they could not expect this, and that they could not find redress in that, or in any other causes of complaint, tho' long exhibited, so that the Chiefs plainly saw, that there was a general dissatisfaction amongst them, which they chose to conceal till they had formed some Associations. They added, that after the reduction of Canada, they were told that the Canadians and English were become one people, and subjects of one Crown, but many of the former told them very different Stories, and shewed them by their conduct, that they did not consider themselves as such.

In short, the earnestness with which they expressed themselves upon this occasion, exceeded any thing I had seen from them before, which, with the several letters I have just received from the Officers of the Department and others on the Frontiers who have the best opportunities of knowing their sentiments, leaves me little doubt of the disaffection of many of the Ind<sup>ns</sup>, whilst in the present State of affairs, the utmost I can do is to protract their designs and



endeavour to divide them in their Councils, the effects of which are very uncertain, the Garrisons are weak, the Regiments newly arrived unacquainted with the nature of the Country and the people who never believe there is danger till it is felt, and many of whom at the Capitals have great resolution of defending themselves, are the least people that should be entrusted with, or that would undertake any operations for the safety of the Country; I know this of a truth, and I speak it with confidence.

It was my duty to lay this before your Lord<sup>sh</sup> for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s information, in as much as I have frequently observed, that, as the Indians, have no reason to expect redress here, on the score of Lands, abuses in Trade, or insults, murders and Robberies on the Frontiers, which are their principal grievances, of which sufficient has been already said, and in favour of which sentiments, I have the opinion of some of the first Gentleman of the Law, that therefore this subject may be taken further into consideration, and myself freed from the disagreeable apprehensions of a charge of neglecting to give timely notice of whatever appears to concern Indian affairs, as it is, and shall be my peculiar care and study to do every thing for the preservation of the public tranquility to the utmost of my slender powers; and I have only to fear that these powers not extending to the redress of any grievances, may deny me the satisfaction of doing that service, which may be expected from me, and which it is my duty and inclination to perform for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s interest in N. America.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect esteem and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s most obedient

and most humble servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O. No. 20.) CLIX.—51.]

Fort George New York 21 Aug<sup>r</sup> 1767.

My Lord

At the time I had the honor of forwarding to your Lordship the address of the Assembly in answer to my speech at the opening of the Session I could not entertain the least doubt but that the Provision demanded for His Matys Troops in consequence of the Act of Parliament would have been granted in such a manner as to shew a full compliance with the Act, and on that supposition took upon me to acquaint your Lordship with my sentiments by the Pacquet which sailed before any Bill was brought in for that purpose This Bill on which I had founded my expectations only made an appropriation of such a sum as was thought necessary to furnish all the articles, but no particular mention was made of them, nor of the money being raised in consequence of the Act of Parliament, there being only a bare recital of the Sum ordered to be paid into the hands of General Gage for the use of His Majesty's Troops quartered here: your Lordship may very well imagine how displeasing this disappointment must have been to me and I had resolved not to pass the Bill in the Present Form: But as the Regim<sup>ts</sup> here

were preparing for their embarkation as soon as the transport should arrive with the relief of the Troops, which by the advices received was daily expected I was obliged to change my resolution, for the officers of those Regiments had not received the least Provision by virtue of the Billeting act and of course would have been great sufferers if they could not before their departure have been furnished with the money, which though due to them had been hitherto refused to be paid. In order to explain this I beg leave to inform your Lordship that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage having demanded quarters in this Province for two Regiments and one company of Artillery. Barracks were ordered to be fitted up for their Reception in this city and at Albany; It was afterwards thought proper to keep the greatest part of those Troops here to curb that spirit of Licentiousness which had manifested itself so often in contempt of all authority, but the Barracks in this City were not sufficient to contain them and in order to make every thing as easy to the inhabitants as possible, the Private men were all put into the Barracks and the officers lodged in different parts of the Town

By the estimate delivered in by the General of the necessities required for the troops all the expences were plainly pointed out and the allowances set forth which were usually made in Europe as well to the officers and Soldiers quartered in Barracks, as to those who were lodged in private houses and it was not expected that any misunderstanding after this could possibly arise but upon the Demand being made of the Allowance for the officers lodged in the city it was refused under the pretence that quarters had been fitted up for them in an other part of the Province. It was not in my power at this time to redress this Grievance which fell very heavy on the subalterns as their firing and lodging were very expensive and as they were expected to leave the Country so soon there was no other method of making them any compensation but by paying the arrears due to them out of the money which was granted by this last Bill and thereby relieving them from the Distress in which some of them would have been involved by the expences they had incurred during the time they were lodged in private Houses These considerations induced me to pass the Bill altho' they did not make me alter the opinion I had entertained of it, for notwithstanding the officers who have left the Province and are returned to Europe have now received what was due to them, & the Troops at present quartered here will have the full allowance of all the Articles directed by the Act of Parliament, yet as no mention was made of the Act nor is there any appearance upon the face of the Bill that the money was raised in consequence of it there was too much reason to apprehend that this was an evasive Proceeding, and that it was intended the money should appear to have been granted only upon a Requisition made by me as Governor of the Province and not in obedience to what was prescribed by the Act of Parliament. I shall be very happy if the reasons I have here given & the particular situation of the Troops at that time shall in your Lordships Judgment be thought a sufficient inducement for my passing the Bill. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

humble Servant

H MOORE

Rt Honble

Earl of Shelburne.

*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O., No. 21.) CLIX., 51.]

New York Aug 22<sup>d</sup> 1767.

My Lord,

The additional Instruction sent over by this Packet was no sooner received but it was communicated to His Majestys Attorney General, and directions given to him to proceed with all the dispatch which the nature of such a cause could possibly admit, and as the opposition which I expect will be made to this Suit will in all probability be very great I have desired two able Barristers to assist the attorney General that nothing might be left undone on our parts which could tend to establish the claim of the crown, and your Lordship may be assured, that it shall be my endeavour to bring matters to a speedy conclusion here

I think it my duty to inform your Lordship that M<sup>r</sup> Renslaer is not the only person the crown has to contend with on this occasion for a claim is made to the Lands in question by the Proprietors of a Patent called Westenhoeck which was granted three score years ago, and there has been a tedious scene of Litigation in consequence of this claim for some years past, and which is not yet ended; a suit must therefore be commenced against the Proprietors of Westenhoek as well as against M<sup>r</sup> Ranslaer, or they may set up their claim upon His being cast and by their Patent prove that the Crown has already precluded itself from any further power to grant those Lands; another consideration will likewise arise, viz<sup>t</sup> whether the Crown will think proper (supposing it meets with the desired success in setting aside these two Patents) to dispossess all the present Inhabitants of that Country and to give the Lands to the officers who have petitioned for them under His Matys Proclamation. The Petition on which this last Instruction is founded alledges *that they have discovered a large Tract of uncultivated Ground &c.* Now by all the accounts already given of this Land it appears to be so far from being uncultivated that it is asserted by many people to be almost covered with settlers, and no longer ago, than last wednesday a Petition of one Remsen and his Associates for part of these Lands was appointed to be heard at the Council Board but the further consideration of it was postponed upon my mentioning the Instruction I had just received and that no Grant could be made by me if Remsen had succeeded, and it was there asserted by the Council for M<sup>r</sup> Renslaer that in the particular Tract then petitioned for by Remsen there were above three score persons settled some of which had considerable Farms whether this Assertion will be sufficiently supported when the matter is fully examined into, is more than I can at present pretend to determine, but the prevailing opinion is that there are a great number of Inhabitants on it: As for my own part I could wish that all the great Patents were either broke or made to pay a suitable Quit Rent: They are at present a great disadvantage to the Province and an obstruction to the settlement of it, for notwithstanding the exorbitant Tracts they are possess<sup>d</sup> of for which a most trifling Quit Rent is paid, they are not contented but are continually endeavouring to extend their Boundaries to the prejudice of their neighbours and I am at this time employed in combatting the Intrusions made by one of the great Patents called the Minisinck, and if the Proprietors do not think fit to settle it upon an equitable footing I shall be under the necessity of making a Map setting forth the dispute and



sending it home that it may be laid before His Majesty. I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient and

Rt Honorable

humble Servant

The Earl of Shelburne &c.

H MOORE

*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General, ( S. P. O. , ) No. 253. ]

22 September 1767. N<sup>o</sup> 5.

My Lord.

The last letter which I had the honor to address to your Lord<sup>p</sup> was of the 14<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> on my departure for the springs, from whence I returned, something sooner than I at first proposed on account of some letters, and further intelligence which I had received from the Frontiers. On my return, I had the honor to receive your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> June, wherein I have the happiness to find a farther approbation of my conduct. In consequence whereof, and of the encouragement I have therein received to transmit to your Lord<sup>p</sup> all necessary Informations as well as from my ardent desire to check the growing evils with which we are threatened, I have since my return home drawn up as quick as possible a review of the former and present State of the Trade, and Indian Affairs within my district, to which I have subjoined a few hints for such expedients and Regulations as may in a great measure answer the present occasions and prove a salutary measure, till, something still more effectual be done for these important purposes, which Review, I herewith transmit to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, humbly submitting the same to your consideration, to be laid before His Majesty or otherwise as your Lord<sup>p</sup> shall judge best, on which head, I have only to apologize for its immoderate length, and to assure your Lord<sup>p</sup> that however it may be wanting in method, and correctness, it is penned with a strict regard to truth, and the most disinterested good intention, under which sanction, as it is my wishes, so it will be my greatest satisfaction to find that it meets with your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s countenance.

The exception to the General restriction in favour of some few Northern Nations (or rather in favour of a few Traders who so much desire it) is in the sheets which accompanies this put on the best footing, it can without on the one hand causing a clamour of the Traders, or on the other exposing us to the utmost danger, by a more unlimited indulgence; the last we have much more cause to dread than the first, as it can only affect the Public.

The French certainly permitted several of their subjects to go into the Indian Country to Trade, but the Canadians have not told who these people were; they were not Men of the character and scituation of those amongst us, who generally desire that indulgence; they were persons who could pay the Govern<sup>t</sup> a considerable sum for the liberty of trading with some particular Tribe or at some ascertained place, this raised a Fund which however applied, is known to have amounted to very large sums. These Men were busy usefull discoverers, many of whom promoted the interests of France as much as the generality of our people defeat it, besides that the Trade at the principal posts etc. being in the hands of the King, were farmed

out in such a manner, as rendered it highly necessary for the rest to trade in the Indian Country. The People of Canada neglected Husbandry, I presume they will now consider it as an object worthy more attention.

The Province of New York was well known to possess advantages for Trade beyond Canada, had they made always a proper use of these advantages, and I cannot see any loss the latter will be at beyond other Colonies concerned in the same Trade; I know, that when the French Influence was at the highest, and notwithstanding the superior address of their Traders and their steady attachment to their own Govern<sup>t</sup>, not a year passed without the Murder of some Traders in the Indian Country, which the French (after finding that all the steps to punish them proved fruitless and very expensive) usually past over in silence.—I should not be surprised if people who have appealed for a good character during the late Indian War to the very Gentlemen who brought the fullest accusations of a very different conduct against them, should attempt to give misinformations on these and several other subjects; I shall therefore, whenever occasion requires to have a particular pleasure in corresponding with Gov<sup>r</sup> Carleton in which I flatter myself, he will not find himself deceived any more than any reasonable Men can be dissatisfied with what is proposed in the enclosed sheets.—I have therein said so much on the various subjects of the Ind<sup>ns</sup> grievances, that I need only observe in general here in answer to<sup>t</sup> that passage of your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s letter, that the grievances concerning Lands more immediately affect the Indians next our settlements, and that the want of determining a boundary line, as was promised, gives them no small concern, but the shocking abuses which daily increase with regard to Trade affect them all, and must involve every thing in confusion; The abuses are come so near to Montreal that General Carleton has been obliged (as my letters just now inform me) to send an Officer with a party of Men towards Carillon on the Ottawa River in order to check those who are Trading there—there being no post at that place.—I wish the encroachments near the Ohio may be timely removed by means of the orders your Lord<sup>p</sup> has given for that purpose, but the jealousy of the people here with regard to Military efforts, the weakness of the Civil power, and the great unwillingness of Gov<sup>rs</sup> to demand Military Assistance may obstruct them; neither can I consistent with truth after<sup>1</sup> my sentiments by expecting much from Trials at Law in favour of the Indians for the reasons I have often assigned, something however must be done, and should it not prove effectual it will be easier to foresee, than to prevent the consequences.—Having this moment received advice of the death of the Chief of all the Senecas, who was for some years past sincerely attached to our interest, I am apprehensive that the discontent amongst these jealous and troublesome people, will be considerably augmented, on which account, but particularly from several informations I daily receive, I purpose immediately (under a pretence of a Tour for health) to visit the Onondaga Country, which being the place where the general Council for the confederacy meets, I hope to profit something from the discovery I may make. Should the State of Affairs prove more critical, my utmost endeavours shall be exerted in support of the public tranquility, till I have the honor to receive your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s commands, when I am hopeful to receive such orders, as shall render the peace of the Frontiers less precarious than it appears to be at present.

I am with all imaginable respect—My Lord

your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient & most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Quere ? alter.* — ED.



*Review of the Trade and Affairs of the Indians in the Northern District of America.*

[ Plantations General (S. P. O.), No. 253. ]

a Review of the progressive State of the Trade, Politics and proceedings of the Indians in the Northern district with some hints humbly offered towards Establishing such regulations as may be enforced for the preventing abuses, and securing tranquility of the Colonies. [By Sir William Johnson, Bart.]

Before the war commenced in 1744, and until that which ended in the reduction of Canada etc. the Trade of the Northern District tho' limited and under many disadvantages was not inconsiderable. Indeed the circumstances of situation and other disadvantages prevented more than *two* of the Colonies within that district from enjoining much of it. These two Colonies were New York and Pennsylvania; if Virginia is admitted into the Northern District it must likewise be admitted to have had a large share of Trade, particularly in Deer skins etc; but excepting it out of this Review, we shall consider the Trade as principally possessed by the two before mentioned Colonies, and of these, two, New York had the greatest advantage from its occupying a post on Lake Ontario, to which there was a good Water communication with very little interruption, which enabled them to get the most valuable Furs.

State of the Trade  
before 1744.

The Traders of Pennsylvania penetrated to sundry places on the Ohio, and many of them to the Country of the *Twightwees* etc, but their purchases being chiefly in Deers Leather, transported by Pack Horses, and having Tedious journeys to make, their returns could not be equally beneficial. The Traders in both Colonies were Chiefly composed of the frontier Inhabitants who having some acquaintance with the Indian languages, and being necessitous were the easier induced to such undertakings in a Country where Credit was easily had for goods. New York, bade the fairest for being the principal if not the only *Barcadier* for the most valuable part of the Furr Trade, and certainly enjoyed a good deal of it, but to improve its advantages, other measures and other Men should have been made use of than the ordinary Traders.

Character of the  
Traders in general.

Those who traded to *Oswego* were for the most part Inhabitants of *Albany*, *Schenectady* and the *Mohawk River*, the posterity of the Low Dutch who being very ignorant, and accustomed to the strictest parsimony in diet, clothing and all other expences, had no idea of extending the Trade or bringing large cargoes but contented themselves with a certain profit arising from a small quantity of goods, which they took care to trade off within the compass of 3 or 4. months, the issues of which maintained them in idleness for the remainder of the year.

of those Trading to  
*Oswego*.

Formerly, the Indians in our alliance were not alienated from our interests, tho' wronged and imposed upon, from the beginning we had a majority disposed towards us, for it required many years dealings with us to enable them to form any judgement of Lands, of their own peltry, or of our weights and measures; add to this, that the French, (tho' few in number) convinced them by their actions, that they were a more Military enterprizing people, and although they loaded all those Nations who were in their alliance with favours, yet, that enterprizing disposition alarm'd the Indians with regard to themselves,

of the Indians be-  
fore that period.



their political ideas. and probably induced them to look with pleasure on any checks they might receive, for from us they dreaded nothing at that period, having considered us as a selfish trading people, whose only pursuit was gain, and who were unwilling and incapable of doing them any material injury, and indeed our conduct but too much justified the greatest part of their sentiments.

Gradual extension  
of the French Influ-  
ence.

During all this period the French had been gradually extending their interests by *Posts*, begun under the name of Trading houses, and supported at an immense expence of presents, as the only way to prevent a general Confederacy against them. At how conducted. these posts, resided Men of zeal and abilities for acquiring the Esteem of the Indians who together with the Jesuits, availed themselves of every occasion of magnifying their Nation and depreciating the English, a task, which our misconduct daily rendered less difficult. The French did not alarm them much on the score of Lands (the occupancy of the Forts only excepted) and these they were well paid for, and as to any frauds committed by them in Trade, if complained of, the Trader was with (at least of appearance of) great resentment put in irons and sent away (as they were told) to suffer death, however care was taken that such offender no more appeared amongst them, and satisfaction was made to the Indians.

State of Canada.

Canada might still be said to be only in its infancy and its returns were very inconsiderable; a few Men made fortunes, and some embezzled the public money, but all being interested in gratifying the Indians, the latter were well pleased, and altho' the Revenues might suffer, the French interest increased.

Advantages, and  
disadvantages at-  
tending their  
Trade.

Altho' the French had acquired an extensive alliance to the Westward, and amongst those Nations who have the greatest quantity of Furs, yet their principal advantage arose from the cheapness of labour, their *Batteaumen* being engaged at the lowest prices, and their provisions only some Bears grease and Corn. *Strowds* and *Wampum* were articles of great estimation amongst the Indians, and these could only be had from us, our shipping distressed them beyond measure during each war, and but for the goods they bought from us their trade and interest with the Indians would have met with one and the same fate, of this they were truly sensible, it became an object of public concern. Their Govern<sup>t</sup> did not trust to Traders to support it but exerted themselves to effect supplies in which they met with sufficient assistance from the avarice of many amongst us, some of whom were then actually Commissioners of Indian Affairs.

Our neglects admit-  
ted by the Crown.

It will be needless here to enlarge upon the great neglect of our Govern<sup>ts</sup>, and the misconduct of many in office, as the same will appear on inspecting the several Reports transmitted from time to time to the Plantation Office etc. and the different orders received in consequence thereof by the American Govern<sup>ts</sup> will abundantly shew the sense of Govern<sup>t</sup> thereon. It will be here sufficient to shew how this misconduct descended to the lowest of the people, with their final consequences on Indian affairs.

Their cause.

The Govern<sup>ts</sup> Councils etc. were from the remoteness of their scituation, and the latter from their avocations of a different nature, total strangers to these matters, and for several reasons that could easily be given unable to apply a Remedy, had they been acquainted with one; when a scurvy pittance was applied for on the most urgent occasions, a session was spent in debating about the hands to whom it should be intrusted, which if at length granted

considered under  
the several heads.

was too often committed to Men who made a job of it, and had interest enough in the Colony to protect them and support their conduct.

The French made inroads; none were to be had either to penetrate into their Country, or oppose their invasions; few, or none of the last Rank or Capacity would venture Westward of Albany, their intelligences were generally received from the most low and ignorant of the Traders or resident Blacksmiths, who to their profession joined that of Trading in the Indian Country; these persons often themselves imposed on, did much oftener impose on the Govern<sup>rs</sup> here, as it suited best with their interest. The cries of injured Indians against the lesser Traders could not reach the Capitals the abuses and misconduct of the rest could neither be prevented or punished from their provincial interest; whenever disturbances arose they were at their wits end, but could neither prevent or oppose them; oaths of exculpation were administered in vain to the Commissioners, a curious equivocation having been invented to elude them.—The Commiss<sup>rs</sup> held annual meetings with such Indians as happened to be in Albany, and were sure to have a feast on the occasion, which put an end to the allowance and expences of the year. The English Strowds ettc, were publicly bought by the French Agents, and frequently from the *Commissioners* at a considerable price, for all which the Ind<sup>ns</sup> publicly upbraided us in vain as the Indian Records will shew.

The Effects upon  
the Traders.

The Frontier Traders sensible they had little to apprehend from their conduct went still greater and more dangerous lengths than their Superiors; from a variety of unheard of frauds, I shall select a very few instances which will tend to shew to what lengths some of that character will go when subject to no Controul, and because two of these instances were the occasion of our loosing the Trade and affections of some powerful Tribes of the Ottawaes who were persuaded to come the length of Oswego to Trade with us, and the last instances caused the defection of the most powerful Tribes of the Senecas.

Exemplified in sev-  
eral instances.

Several of the Ottawaes having Traded for a considerable time at Oswego where they got some articles, which they could not procure from the French, an Ottawa Chief of great influence with his family brought his packs to a Trader there, in order to try the market; the Trader after the usual practice of deceiving him in the weight hurried the peltry into a private Room telling the Indian that all Merchandize was very dear, owing to the severity of dutys (a stale, but dangerous artifice still practised) desired him to choose out what goods he wanted; the Indian having made a choice, was astonished to find that his skins produced not one third of what he had been accustomed to receive for the like quantity (for the Trader had besides his extortion on the goods reckoned the peltry at only one third of its real weight) went away discontented, but returning said, he was ashamed to go back with such small returns, begged for a small keg of Rum, which the Trader gave him as he said, as a high favour, but on opening the keg soon after his departure it proved to be Water. Another Trader for some valuable Furs, which he received from an Ottawa Chief of great influence, who came likewise to try the Market, and desired to have his returns in Rum for a general feast, gave the Indian 30 small kegs with directions, not to open them by the way, otherwise, the Trader, would be punished for letting them have so much, but the Indian before his return to Niagara, being desirous of some Liquor, opened them and found them all water. This has been often acknowledged by these Traders, and on its coming to the knowledge of the French, they made so good a use of it, that these people and all their friends were ever after our most implacable Enemies.—The next instance is that of a Seneca Warrior, whose influence and abilities were so well known, that I found it a very hard task to bring them over, which however I at length effected in 1756. when he came to me with a large party of Warriors, who were to set out on public service in a few days, but having some



Furrs to dispose of, I gave them at their desire a passport to Schenectady, wherein I recommended it to a Merchant and Trader there, to use them very kindly, and to do them the strictest justice, notwithstanding which, this Enemy to the Interests of his Country, imposed upon them in the grossest manner; it appearing from their account, & his own confession since, that as they were strangers, he had doubled the prices of his goods and allowed them but half the weight of their peltry; this was resented accordingly, the Indians took another rout back, and the Chief sent me a Belt of Wampum with a Message informing me of the imposition (the particulars of each article being marked on the handle of an Axe) and assuring me, that he should always continue to have a personal regard for me, but not the least for the English who had served him so often, but that the last instance was of such a nature, that he had accepted of an invitation from the French who knew how to treat them, and their services—he made his words good; in a few days, cut off a large settlement, and continued our most violent Enemy ever since, particularly at Niagara in 1759, whilst it was not in my power to have the unworthy author punished.—To this I must subjoin an instance in the case of the Chief of all the Senecas, a Warrior, whose influence and capacity were, & are well known here, whom I had steadily preserved in the British interest, when, we were almost totally abandoned, this Man at the eve of the late War, was thro' the means of Liquor seduced by some *Agents at Albany* to subscribe his name to an Indian Deed for a Tract within the Bounds of Pennsylvania, but claimed by the Connecticut people, in virtue of their obsolete Charter which extended their Western limits to the South seas. This being a most iniquitous proceeding highly resented by the Six Nations; the few who subscribed to it became obnoxious to the rest, particularly the Chief before mentioned, so that he was obliged to fly to the French for protection, who so far won upon him, that he with a powerful party who followed his fortunes took up arms shortly after, attacked a body of Provincials at Lake George, whom they totally defeated and killed 45. Since which he was concerned in the most important services against us, cut off some of our settlements, and occasioned the deaths of more than 400 of our people. These it is presumed will suffice to shew the effects of the resentment of a few Indian individuals.

Thus whilst the Traders on the Frontiers were disgusting and defrauding the Indians, the Inhabitants were overreaching them and availing themselves of their ignorance & passion for Liquors, *daily stealing away their Land* as the Indians emphatically express it; so that at the breaking out of the War in 1755. it was not at all surprizing that we should have so few of them our Friends, or that the continuance of that friendship should be attended with much expence to the Crown, when to the powerful temptations they had for becoming our Enemys was joined, all that artifice could suggest or favours purchase on the part of the French. The affairs of the War, the conduct and services of the Indians employed by us, what they might further have done in our behalf or what that number might have performed against us, are subjects foreign to this; if they are not fully known, they can soon be made to appear at large. From the commencement of this War, I had the Royal appointment, before, I had been occasionally appointed by the province of New York in times of extremity when their Commiss<sup>rs</sup> and every body else failed them to which, I have been earnestly solicited, on that account as will appear from the minutes of Council, votes of Assembly &c<sup>a</sup>; and as I had experienced that their funds were inadequate to the smallest services, and found, I could not meet with sufficient countenance to support my own character, or do the public actual service, I constantly resigned my office, so soon as I had effected such

Effects thereof upon  
the Indians to 1755.



measures, as freed them from their present apprehensions; for these services the province still remains in my debt a considerable sum advanced out of my private fortune.

New system of Politicks occasioned by the reduction of Canada.

The War with France *here*, having terminated by the reduction of Canada etc in 1760, a new system of Politicks was adopted by the Indians, & a new system evidently pointed itself out for *our* adoption, on which I then took the Liberty to offer my sentiments.—An extensive alliance with Nations to whom we were almost strangers now presented to our view, and as our first steps must have a great and lasting effect upon Indian Affairs in general it may not be amiss here to shew the State of our Indian Affairs and that of the several Indian Nations at that Period.

State of our connections to that period.

The Indians with whom we had any intercourse or Trade previous to the War, were principally the *Six Nations*, *Shawanese*, *Delawares*, *Twightwees* and *Indians of Ohio* and *Susquhanna*, the latter Emigrants from some of the rest. I take no notice of those of *New England*, or of any small domesticated Tribes; as being of little importance in War or Trade at that period, neither do I take any notice of the *Mississaga* alliance, which existed only on the Books of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs from a few of them having in the year 1723, been at a Treaty of alliance at Albany, which was never afterwards regarded, or cultivated by either party. 'Tis true, several of them and of the *Ottawaes* etc had been accustomed to Trade with us at *Oswego*, but this was chiefly for such articles as they could not get from the French, and although it might have been made beneficial, and these people thereby lead into our interest, yet this had been totally neglected, and the misconduct already mentioned had effectually alienated them from us, as well as prejudiced all the distant nations ag<sup>t</sup> us, which received no small addition from the character given us by the French, and the neglects of the repeated, and (as it afterwards appeared) just advices, and requests of assistance of the rest who were more nearly connected with us, had produced almost the same effects with the majority of them;

Our connections greatly extended.

but from the Reduction of Canada we were to become acquainted not only with the several Tribes of Indians living about the River St<sup>t</sup> Lawrence & the environs of their Capitals, but also with the powerful Western confederacys consisting of several Nations of which the *Chipewighs* alone amount to several thousands; by a prudent management with whom, we might have corrected their prejudices and jealousies, diverted their attention to hunting and Trade and thereby secured our Frontiers and outposts, and enjoyed the whole of that valuable branch of Commerce which always depends on their pacific disposition.

This leads me to shew the State and sentiments of these Nations at that period as they will best account for what has happened since.

State of the several Indian Nations at that time, & their interests.

To begin with the *Six Nations*, altho' they suffered but little in the different parts they took in the War, (the *Mohawks* excepted, whose fidelity to us had cost them above 100 Men since 1755) yet from their more immediate connections with us and the French, they were a good deal reduced by liquor and deceases, as were the *Shawanese* and *Delawares*, and some of the Eight Nations of Canada, but these latter met with several Recruits from the Six Nations.

The Six Nations who had subdued all their neighbours, still maintained their ascendancy over them, which was the sole fruits of their conquests, as their War was chiefly carried on to bring them to a submission and acknowledgement of being vanquished, which obtained, they confirmed their possessions to them, and had lived with them for many years in terms of strict alliance, which their rencounters, from the different parts they took in our War with France did not dissolve.

The Western Indians were very sensible of their present superiority in numbers over their Conquerors, but they could not divest themselves of some awe before them, and considered them as people of superior skill; there were other motives sufficient to promote and secure the union between them; The *Hurons* who were the most polished and sensible people to the Westward, who had much influence over the rest, were closely connected with the Mohawks and their languages are nearly the same; the Indian Nations of Canada. i. e. the *Coghnawagaes*, *Canaghsadagaes* etc living near Montreal, were greatly esteemed for their abilities by the Western Indians, and these were chiefly Emigrants from the Mohocks and the other Five Nations, for whom they always manifested a sincere respect, except when they met in the field in the quarrel between England and France, and the whole Western Indians considered the 6 Nations, as the Door, (as they call it) to their Country, and the channel by which they might receive the surest intelligence concerning the designs of the White people, so that in short, however severely they treated one another, as I know they did sometimes during the War, yet, no sooner was it ended, than they mutually renewed their engagements, and carefully buried (according to custom all past objects of grievance.

This was their State at the reduction of Canada, a circumstance of such importance to the Indians that it contributed to strengthen their mutual Compacts and alliances, for they are in general not bad politicians, they early saw with concern the active enterprizing spirit of the French, who pursued the maxim Divide et Impera. Some of the Nations gave them several  
Their politics severe checks, and had very nigh annihilated the Colony, without any assistance from us, they afterwards fell into their interest, through our neglects, but they did not appear to have wished that the one power should swallow up the other, they were desirous to preserve a kind of equilibrium between us, and inclined occasionally to throw their weight into the lightest scale, but the hurry with which the French pushed on their projected schemes and the steps that were taken to bring over many leading Men to our interests, probably defeated the purposes of their politicians & decided the quarrel much sooner, than it could have happened under different circumstances. Some were, I am persuaded hearty in each cause, but the majority and the most judicious amongst them certainly held these sentiments, neither can they be blamed for a way of thinking so exactly correspondent with that of the most Civilized Nations, for, (as they often declared) they saw, that the White people were for reducing them to nothing, that the views of both Nations tended to one and the same object; they called  
Sentiments with regard to property themselves a free people who had an independent Lands, which were their ancient possessions, that the French by ceding Canada, according to the words of the 'Treaty, granted what was not in their power to give; their out posts & distant possessions being only held of them, not by conquest, but by favour, that if they admitted our right to the Posts, we conquered, the Country was still theirs, and in fact it is most certain that the French never spoke to them in any other stile, as sensible I presume of the consequences it might have with regard to their interests, so that whatever words, are usually made  
and dependance. use of respecting their expressing submission etc: are only to be understood as in compliance with form and custom, the latter having no just idea of such expressions, and calling themselves no more than our friends and Allies. The 'Treaties, Submissions, Cessions etc, literally implying no more, and whoever should undertake to go further on the subject with them, must have a good army at his back, to protect him from their resentment. The offers of protection so often mentioned to them, are thought little on, they answering constantly, that they are not in want of it, that they had nothing to fear but from ourselves, and altho' they



may on some occasions be brought to temporize, or use more respectful terms, they are seldom sincere in such declarations. All this I have experienced, and I think, I can say with great certainty, that I have never yet met with any Man, who has said more to them than myself, perhaps none have gone so far, or said so much.

The best and only apology to be made for laying the rude thoughts of an uncivilized people before the Crown, is, that they must necessarily be well understood to form a just estimate of the principles by which they are influenced in order to account for their conduct, arising therefrom, and thereby discover the true means of managing their affairs so as in time to render them peaceable, and useful members of Society.—Having before stated their real sentiments, on the foregoing heads with candour and truth, to the utmost of my knowledge and experience, I proceed to shew the State of the Trade and other affairs at the last mentioned period and since.

The short interval between the conclusion of the former War, and the renewal of hostilities here in 1754, afforded little time to breathe to the Colonies concerned. The Traders had scarcely established themselves, and the surviving Inhabitants had not recovered from the ruin of their settlements, when they were again involved in worse distresses, which continued till the reduction of Canada. This last War fell severely on both, Traders and Inhabitants; numbers of the former were murdered, their families ruined, several fine settlements totally destroyed, many of the people carried into captivity amongst distant Nations, a still greater number killed, and of the few survivors, several were discouraged, unable to prosecute their business, and therefore retired to places of greater security.—Of the old Traders, few had survived, and some of these Survivors had fallen into other business.—A great number of the best Indian Hunters having (thro' their different engagements in the Wars) long disused hunting, Review of the Trade returned to it with reluctance, and their success was less than formerly; but a much more material reason may be given, why they did not return to it in such numbers as before; they were alarmed about power, assured by all the French, particularly the partizans and Men of influence still among them, that we had formed a plan to destroy them, and some circumstances in our conduct then, and since, confirmed them in their belief. A detachment was ordered to proceed to and take possession of Detroit in consequence of the Capitulation for Canada, on which I dispatched expresses to my Deputy to prepare the Indians to receive them as friends, and to explain the matter to them, without which I am confident, and can prove to a demonstration they would not have succeeded, it however had the desired effect, and *Mons<sup>r</sup> Belletre* gave up the garrison tho' with great reluctance.

But some errors in judgement with regard to grants and privileges soon alarmed the Indians, people eagerly applied for grants of *carrying places* etc. etc. and this fell severely upon those Nations who had been in our alliance, with whom we had not been at War, and from whom we had conquered nothing; *public Advertisements* appeared in all the papers concerning a Colony of several degrees of longitude along the *Ohio*, which was to be formed immediately, and the settlers to march thither in two Divisions; this was publicly talked of throughout the whole Country, and soon circulated amongst the Indians; 'tis true, that on my representations the Commander in Chief judiciously put a stop to them, but the remedy was applyed too late, & the Indians attributed it to our fears; it appeared more difficult to prevent some acts of indiscretions at the posts arising from our Troops etc, being strangers to the Indians, and not making some allowances for their idle conduct, especially when in liquor; upon these occasions

Unreasonable grants  
and impolitic pro-  
posals for large  
Tracts.

Indiscretions at the  
Posts.



it is usual for the Indians to utter many absurdities, they will tell the persons they most esteem, *that they are Cowards, that they will put them to death, that they are Lords of the ground they live upon. etc.* this should have been disregarded with contempt, but too often, they were not only treated, but answered with severity, told, that they should soon be extirpated etc. all which they propagated amongst one another, and it easily obtained credit. I have often been witness to, and prevented the effects of such imprudence.—One instance of which happened in the expedition in 1760.—A gentleman imprudently Cursed an Indian who was passing by his Tent, saying that on our return from Canada we should soon extirpate all of their colour—the Indian (who understood English) soon communicated it to the rest, in consequence of which they loaded their arms to the amount of 700, and prepared to leave us, letting me know, that they did not think, they should have been insulted for accompanying us, and that they found it was high time to provide for their families security. In short, I found it a very difficult task to satisfy them, & notwithstanding all my endeavours above 100 returned back on that occasion; the gentlemen of the army expressed much concern at it, and justice must be done to their prudence, caution, and zeal, in proportion as they become acquainted with the importance of being on good terms with the Indians.

Proceedings of the  
Traders.

Traders from all quarters now begun to push to the outposts with goods, the majority of whom for reasons I have given, were as great strangers to the Indians, as they were to the nature of the Trade they engaged in, tho' they soon discovered & improved on the modes of imposition. Their passes were limited to the Posts, at which did not murmur. It was likewise earnestly desired by the Indians, who justly observed to me, that their bringing goods into Indian villages exposed them to the insults of their young Men, particularly when inflamed with liquor, that several of our people, would doubtless act imprudently, that theirs would do the same, and might be led to seize goods when they were in their power, and sold very dear; all which they could not prevent having no laws or power to act in such cases.—Spirituous liquors were likewise prohibited by their desire, as its pernicious effects were well known, and the prohibition deprived them of a material excuse for irregularities; but notwithstanding this was done by desire of the Indians approved of by the Traders of best character and never admitted by the French beyond Niagara, yet so great is the profit resulting from that article, and such opportunities were thereby furnished for imposition, that a great number of the Traders used every artifice to induce the Indians to apply for a toleration of that article, on which head I often reproached them for their fickleness, but they constantly answered "that tho' they still held to their first opinion yet their young Men were variable and thoughtless, and had been urged so much on that score that they did it to please them.

Danger of a quarrel  
then removed by the  
Congress at Detroit.

In 1761. some dangerous Belts & messages having been sent to the Indians, about Detroit, I went to that place, and for that time had the happiness to prevent their effects and to calm the minds of the Indians.—I then settled a Tariff for Trade.

Trade at the posts proportioned to their distance, and the expence attending the transportation of Cargoes, which was done on such principles as rendered it agreeable to the Traders, and satisfactory to the Indians, whilst adhered to; but there was as yet no

Want of Officers for  
the Department.

establishment made for officers to inspect the Trade and affairs of the Indians, and whilst I must do justice to the characters of sundry persons in Trade, I am obliged to declare, that the majority absolutely required Inspectors, vested with proper authority; for the profits made by a few, induced such numbers to embark in it,

necessity for them

amongst whom were the very dregs of the people, such as discharged provincial Soldiers, Batteauxmen etc, who all in this country easily obtained credit for goods at an advanced price, that regularity, honesty, or discretion could not with propriety be expected from them, especially as it clashed with their private interests. About the same time, sundry persons from His Majesty's European dominions, induced by favorable accounts, and agreeable prospects of advantage came to *Quebec* and *Montreal*, and engaged in the Indian Trade, which I believe the majority have experienced, fell far short of their expectations. Unacquainted with the difficulties and the knowledge requisite to conduct it, the French had greatly the advantage, and the English were compelled to make use of low, selfish agents, French or English as Factors, who at the expence of honesty and sound policy, took care of themselves whatever became of their employers. Belts of Wampum etc were sent by Traders to Indian Villages inviting the Indians in the name of Govern<sup>t</sup> to come to particular Traders, and that all others were cheats. This doctrine was and is preached by each against his neighbour, insomuch, that the Indians are at a loss to determine who were honest, believed them all to be Rogues, and conceived a worse opinion of us than ever before.

Whilst the Indian Trade was in this State at the Posts and Frontiers, the Inhabitants were not idle; the reduction of Canada raised the value of Lands, and those who thought, they had not enough (who may be presumed to amount to a very large number), now took every step & employed every low Agent, who understood a little of the Indian language to obtain Tracts for them;—on this head I need not be particular, having so often explained their conduct and pointed out its consequences; however their avidity in pursuit of grants, and these in the most alarming places, the irregular steps which they took to obtain them, the removal of dormant titles, and the several greater strides, which were taken as herein before is mentioned, concerned the Indians so nearly, that a general uneasiness took place and spread itself throughout them all. The French agents and several of their old partizans men of much influence, were still amongst the Indians, were mostly engaged in Trade, and had resided with them for several years; these, to a Man, excited them to take arms, representing our designs in the most alarming manner to these lovers of Liberty, and giving them the strongest assurances of French Fleets and Armies coming to their Assistance. They were related to, and connected with the Inhabitants of *Montreal* etc, & some of the principal people in that City and its environs were rendered more than suspected, from apparent good intelligence received by Lt Col: Gladwin,<sup>1</sup> & transmitted to the Commander in Chief and to myself, and which nearly corresponded with those I had received from other hands.—Whilst the Inhabitants of *Detriot* etc, many of whom have intermarried with the Indians, were not idle on their parts. In the mean time, large Cargoes were daily going to the frontiers, and Traders murdered. two Traders returning through the Country of the Upper Senecas were Robbed

<sup>1</sup> HENRY GLADWIN became a Lieutenant in the 48th Regiment of Foot, on 28 August, 1753, and was wounded in the expedition under Braddock in 1755; was promoted to a Company in the 80th or Light Armed Foot, on 25 December, 1757; commissioned Major of that regiment 20 June, 1759, in which year he served in the expedition under Amherst; was appointed a Major in the Army 13 December, 1760; was next Deputy Adjutant-General in America, (which post he filled until 1780) and served with great distinction during the war. His gallant defence of Detroit, against Pontiac, is familiar to all, and is eloquently sketched by Parkman. He became Lieutenant-Colonel 17 September, 1763; Colonel 29 August, 1777, and Major-General 29 September, 1782. *Army Lists*. He died at his seat at Stubbing, near Chesterfield, county of Derby, England, on the 22d of June, 1791. *Gentleman's Magazine*.—Ed.



and murdered at Kanestio,<sup>1</sup> a Village made up of several Nations, the murderers retired to the Ohio, and the Indians declared they could not find them. My Deputy went to Onondaga upon Satisfaction urged that occasion, the Indians of which place as well as all the rest of the six Nations (a part of the Senecas excepted) expressed much concern at it, and even the Upper Senecas themselves declared it to be a private Act of individuals, much against the inclination and without the privity of the Nation. The threats made then in case the murderers were not delivered up, were by the Kanestios, altered to threats against the whole Confederacy and so

Congresses amongst  
the Indians.

circulated amongst them. The Shawanese and Delawares with the rest near the Ohio held meetings with the Western Indians etc., of all which I gave notice, and of my sentiments thereon; whilst these matters were in agitation the Connecticut people, under pretence of their absolute charter as beforementioned were frequently with me, and

Attempts made by  
Connecticut to some  
settlements on the  
Susquehanna.

notwithstanding all my advice to the contrary very busy with the Indians to get a fresh Deed to strengthen their rights on the Susquehanna River, to which several of them removed, declaring, they would maintain the possession of it; the Indians civilly warned them to remove, and in the beginning of 1763, I again remonstrated against their settling, & acquainted the Commander in Chief with my expectation, of a speedy Rupture.

Indian Deputys  
sent thereon.

In the spring of 1763 Deputys from the Six Nations were sent to me to request my assistance on the subject of these settlements, who with one of my Deputys, went of Hartford, where they met with the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Conecticut in Assembly; the Gov<sup>r</sup> having just received orders from the Court, to stop such proceedings, dismissed the Indians with assurances that he would do all in his power (by proclamation etc) to bring back the settlers settlers continue. and prevent the like again; but these misguided ignorant people, for the most part disregarded all such proclamations, and 27 of them staid there till in the beginning of the War breaks out. War they were put to the sword. And now the War broke out in earnest. The

Progress and suc-  
cess of the Indians.

Ohio Indians begun on the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Communications to the Posts; three of which: Presqu' isle, Venango and Le Bœuf they took immediately, whilst the Western Confederacy attacked Detroit, and soon made themselves masters of Sandousky, Miamis, Wawiaghtonon, la Baye and Michilimackinac.—They defeated a body of Regular Troops with some slaughter near Detroit and killed Capt<sup>n</sup> Dalyell their Commanding Officer; a party, sent to recruit the Garrison shared the same fate, and they totally destroyed a Body of Regulars and Provincials of about 100 Men on the carrying place of Niagara, but 2. escaping. On the side of Ohio after laying waste all the Frontiers they invested Fort Pitt, and reduced the garrison to much danger; Coll: Boquet with 600 Men and large convoy marching to its relief was attacked by only 95 of them (for I have the best authorities of White Men then with the Indians and of several different Indians who all agree that that was the true number) who killed ab<sup>t</sup> 60 of his people and greatly obstructed his March. In short, to pursue them thro' their different successful expeditions and depredations, would be entering into a tedious Detail of facts well known and still sensibly felt here, and therefore foreign to my present subject.—It is sufficient to observe that our most valuable frontiers were depopulated, our outposts with most of their garrisons destroyed and the Trade ruined; all the Traders at the posts, and the much greater part of those who were on their way with cargoes were plundered; and many of them murdered, by which the Indians acquired a considerable Booty and supplied themselves with materials for the War before the supply

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 514. — Ed.



Conduct of His  
Majtya new acquir-  
ed subjects.

brought them from the Mississippi could reach the distant Nations; but the conduct of our New Subjects, the French is well worth observing on that occasion. The principal of them at the Detroit assumed himself the Command of the Place, and was saluted as such by the Indians; he presided at their Councils, and with several others, after passing their faith for the security of Capt<sup>n</sup> Campbell,<sup>1</sup> impudently Catechised him, and the rest, and advised that they should be put to death as was distinctly heard by some Traders, well versed in the Indian language, who were then prisoners but made their escape thereupon; and from their and other intelligence, and the accounts transmitted by L<sup>t</sup> Col: Gladwin it appears that above 40 of the French were not only advising, but actually aiding and assisting to the Indians in their attempts upon the Fort and Vessels, & taught them to prepare Rafts for burning the latter, and that they likewise were aiding and assisting in plundering several of the Traders, and not only received their goods, but took from them their watches Cloathes and some notes of hand, which they had formerly given these Traders for debts due to them, the much greater part of which, cannot yet be recovered. Whilst this was transacting at and about the Detroit, their Countrymen at the Miamis and in other quarters were as busy; many of them were not only privy to, but aiding and forming the plans for the attack of the other Posts; & some of them actually inveigled Traders to come on shore to them for protection, which they no sooner did, than they were seized, some of them killed, and all their goods confiscated. Yet several of these Men, tho' well known, have hitherto escaped punishment, & many more might be convicted by intercepted letters, (some of them in my hands) which fully shew the good understanding, and politics of a great part of that Nation at that time throughout the whole Continent.—Such was the conduct of our new acquired subjects, and these were the first proofs they gave of their allegiance; indeed many of them in the Capitals, were doubtless sensible of the folly of such a conduct, and many more could not from circumstances of scituation, etc. join in it; but the greater part of those who had the opportunity, did not let it slip, to their great emolument, and were themselves foolishly sanguine in the hopes of a Revolution of Govern<sup>t</sup> as their letters and assurances to many of the prisoners will fully shew.

Steps taken by Sir  
Win. Johnson

What steps I took to secure the majority of the Six Nations and many others to our interest, and in prevailing on large partys to go against the Enemy, with the successes attending it, are I hope known, as well as that it contributed a good deal to put an end to the War in the following year, when the Indians divided amongst themselves, and alarmed at the apprehensions of quarrels between each; several

War brought to a  
conclusion

having withdrawn their assistance previous to the movement of the Two Armys, the remainder were brought to terms of submission and peace; by which another opportunity was offered to us for continuing them in that state; but now a new

New system of In-  
habitants, Traders  
and Indians.

system began to be adopted by both Inhabitants, Traders, and Indians. The former whose knowledge of these affairs are chiefly drawn from the public prints, were induced to think from the appearance which the Treaties made, that the Indians might never more give them any trouble, depressed on the slightest occasions, they are as

<sup>1</sup> DONALD CAMPBELL was appointed Lieutenant in the 60th or Royal Americans on the 4th January, 1756, in which corps he obtained a Company in 1759. In 1760, he commanded the detachment of his regiment that accompanied Major Rogers from Fort Pitt, to take possession of Detroit, and became commandant of that post in December following. He was succeeded in the command a few years afterwards by Major Gladwin, (*supra*, p. 961,) and having been enticed during the siege of Detroit, by Pontiac into his power, was cruelly put to death by the Indians in the summer of 1763. *Lawman's Michigan*, 88, 111; *Parkman's Pontiac*, 261.—Ed.

easily and causelessly elated, and inconsiderately reassumed their old conduct with regard to Lands.—Sundry grants were projected and applied for in places most alarming to, and tenderly affecting the Indian's Rights: the very steps taken in viewing these lands caused the utmost uneasiness; the great patent of Kayaderosseros was about being surveyed, and divided, which sensibly affected the Mohawks, and in them the whole Six Nations, who publicly applied to me that justice might be done them. Low Agents made use of to obtain Grants from the Six Nations, took upon them to call the meetings of Indians, and tho' forbade by the Royal Proclamation, and by the express interposition of Govern<sup>t</sup> here from intermeddling therein, continued, and still continue to foment divisions in their Villages, and to keep them in a state of continued drunkenness, to the great annoyance of the Inhabitants, until they had effected their purposes; and numbers of the frontier Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia ettc, animated with a spirit of Frenzy under pretext of revenge for past injuries, tho' in manifest violation of Brittish faith and the strength of the late Treaties, attacked, robbed and murdered sundry Indians of good character and still continue to do so, vowing vengeance against all that come in their way; whilst others forcibly established themselves beyond even the limits of their own Govern<sup>ts</sup>, in the Indian Country, threatening vengeance against all opposers disregarding the orders of their Governments, or the steps taken by the Commander in Chief, and still withhold their illegal and unjust possessions, all which produce complaints on complaints, the latter still fraught with warmer expressions than the former, and the event appears obvious.

Let us now take a view of the present State of Trade and we shall soon find the instability of the present system. So soon as a Civil Govern<sup>t</sup> was established for Canada, under the Denomination of the Province of Quebec, the European settlers for some time established in the Country, some of whom had acquired justiciary powers, began to complain of some Colony affairs, wh<sup>ch</sup> is not my business to speak upon; they afterwards found some fault that their Agents were not permitted to go into any part of the Indian Country, and being associated with the French, several of them jointly desired the indulgence formerly allowed to the Traders of that Nation, and the latter left no stone unturned to persuade the Indians to desire it; this they affected with many of them, who nevertheless on being spoke to on the subject acknowledged the inconveniencies attending it, and the more peaceable Indians are much alarmed at what they apprehend may prove the effects of such indulgence, & indulgence so contrary to the Plan, which was drawn under the sanction and with the approbation of Govern<sup>t</sup>, which was effectually calculated to correct these and all other abuses, and which had it been enforced in the beginning would have prevented all this clamour about priviledges, which are now taken by force, and all bonds ettc disregarded, neither is there any means of preventing it although the Commander in Chief and every person of capacity and disinterestedness is persuaded of its necessity. The Authority of Commissaries is nothing, and both, the Commanding Officers of Garrisons, & they, are liable to a Civil prosecution for detaining a Trader on any pretence, and should their crime be sent to the next capital, there is no law to punish them. In short, the mixed multitude of persons trading at the Posts and in the Indian Country, many of whom have survived their credit, and dare not come down the Country, act such a part by endeavouring to draw the Trade from one another, by selling some articles below the first cost, and extorting upon others, that the

Low Agents made use of to defraud the Indians of Lands.

all conduct of the frontier Inhabitants.

still continue

Complaints made thereon.

Present state of the Trade.

Traders violate the Regulations.

and going into the Indian villages.

Slender authority of the Commissaries the occasion of it.

Slender credit of many Traders.



Merchants who supply the goods must suffer, numbers of the Traders be ruined and the Indians universally discontented. The little artifices usually practiced by low people in dealings with one another, are much more general and attended with infinitely greater circumstances of fraud in dealings with the Indians. The low character of the people their necessity and the extravagance in which many of them live, set them on the practice of every

Their fraud-artifdces  
and the slanders  
they cast upon each  
other.

fraud to support themselves, & get credit for fresh supplies of goods from the Merchants to whom the majority of Traders are so much in debt, that the former have no other hopes of being ever paid but by continuing to supply them with goods, and the latter not only endeavour to force a Trade by slandering each other, publishing and enlarging on the frauds committed by their neighbours, but forge stories dangerous to the public to account for their prices, the badness of goods, or any other purposes of gain, whilst some sell

Cargoes sold to the  
French.

their whole cargoes at a good price to Agents from the Mississippi, or to French Traders in connection with them, which, if permitted to encrease as it probably will, must give the Spaniards or their Agents the French an opportunity of engrossing great part of the Trade with our Manufactories, as their own cannot be afforded so cheap after bringing them up the Mississippi above the Illinois.

Conduct of them  
& the Spaniards.  
dangerous Belts and  
Messages sent by  
them amongst the  
Indians.

The French and Spaniards are now trading on both sides of the Mississippi and in the very Towns of our Indians, where they bring frequently considerable presents, which with Belts & Messages, desiring them "to be upon their guard against

the English, and to hold themselves in readiness to fall upon them within a little time" they deliver in the names of the French & Spanish Monarchs; some of these persons are personally known and have great interest with the Indians, they have, likewise, been seen, and known by many of our Traders; others appear in the dress, and Character of

Able Agents made  
use of

Officers, on the same errand, but they are chiefly those persons, who have been formerly partizans or employed in Indian affairs by the French and have lived for several years in the Indian Country, or at New Orleans; they are all Men of Ability & influence; some of them I have known by name and Character these 20 years past, and some

Compared to the  
practices before the  
last War.

of their Belts and intercepted letters are now in my hands. These practices exactly correspond with those of the French before the breaking out of the late War, and whither they are publicly authorised for so doing, or not, must it not appear evident

Motives which in-  
duce them to such  
practice.

that the prospects of Gain, and of monopolizing the whole trade during a rupture between us and the Indians will in itself prove always a most powerful incentive to them to strengthen, and encrease the Indians' dislike towards us, and to foment quarrels;

What then can be expected but loss of *Trade, Robbery, Murder of Traders and frequent general Ruptures*, whilst the only British Traders with whom these distant Nations are acquainted, are

Slender abilities etc  
of our Traders to  
counteract them.

for the most part Men of no Zeal or Capacity; Men who often sacrifice the credit of the Nation to the basest purposes; or can it otherwise happen but that the Indians prejudices must daily encrease and tend to the worst purposes, when they are on the one side seduced by Men of abilities, influence and address, and on the other see such low specimens of British abilities honor and honesty.

The last consideration on this subject is the state of the Indians at this time, which tho' it may be deduced from the foregoing circumstances, will still admit of some farther elucidation.

State of the Indians  
at present consider-  
ed severally.

The Nations contained under the several Confederacys, have ever since the conclusion of the Indian War in 1674., endeavoured to draw together their scattered Tribes and to reduce themselves to a little more order, which they do doubtless with



an eye of their future security, tho' in some instances it may be advantageous to the public, as these scattered Tribes are guilty of much more irregularities, than the settled Nations. To this end the Senecas have been endeavouring to draw in their people settled about the Ohio etc. The Onondagas have brought away several of theirs from Oswegatchy, the Tuscaroras who were admitted into the Confederacy with the Original Five Nations in the Reign of Queen Anne, having expressed a desire to bring the remainder of their people from North Carolina, sent Deputys for that purpose who are returned with 160 of their people from

thence, and as they had few fire Arms, were Robbed and had very nigh been Murdered by the frontier Inhabitants, notwithstanding they were furnished with

ample passes from the Govern<sup>ts</sup> for their safe conduct. These people are settled about the heads of Susquehana, with the Rest of their nation. Of the Mohawks several have thro' disgust retired to the Hurons, on account of the Tricks & practices concerning Lands. The Shawanese & Delawares tho' decreased in Numbers, are increased in interest and much more respected by the rest than formerly, their conduct during the late Wars, having restored them to the rank of Men, and their influence is become very extensive. The Illinois Confederacy consisting of the *Piankashaws*, *Kickapoos*, *Kuskeiskees* etc are on good terms with the rest having made up the breach with them concerning the attack made by a party of one

of these Nations at the sole instigation of the French on M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, my Deputy, and the killing some of the Shawanese etc, who accompanied him; but the French are seducing so many of these people to remove to the opposite side of the Mississipi, and practising so many artifices to obstruct our interest in that Country, that it is likely to become a very expensive and troublesome affair. The Western Indians have more intercourse with the rest than ever. *Pondiac* still maintains an extensive influence, he has been (since the Treaty with me at Ontario last year) much practised upon by the French Traders &

others, to disregard his engagements, they assuring him that the English are not at all sincere, and that I have only deceived the Indians to lull them into a state of security and inattention to our designs; this is a fact which can be

incontestably proved.

A peace has been lately patched up between the *Chipeweighs* and the *Sioux* who are the only Nation capable of checking the insolence of the former, and who (in consequence of Belts I had sent thro' all the Nations to acquaint them with the cause of the late Indian War) sent pipes to me with a Message, that if it was agreeable, they would march 5000 Men, against the Western Confederacy.

I cannot think it is good policy in us to interest ourselves much in the quarrels of distant Nations which do not affect our Forts, Settlements or Communications. It may indeed be interesting to a dozen, or perhaps 20 Traders who in defiance of all orders and regulations, go to the Indians Towns, where they cannot be in security during such quarrels, but as these Wars take off and engage some of the most dangerous and violent of the Indians, who would otherwise be at variance with us, I think the interests of a few such Traders cannot be placed in competition with that of the public in general.

The sentiments of all these Nations with regard to us are nearly the same. They entertain a very slender opinion of our faith and sincerity, they are to the last degree jealous of our designs. Those last connected with us, who had been early taught to entertain a strong dislike for us, are further confirmed in it, as well thro' the

bad treatment of the  
Tuscaroras by the  
people on the fron-  
tiers.

French excite the  
Indians to attack  
Mr. Croghan

they endeavour to  
obstruct the good  
effects of the Con-  
gress at Ontario.

peace purchased  
between the Chipe-  
weighs and Sioux

Judged impolitic.

and why

Sentiments of the  
Indians in regard to  
the English.

occasioned thro' representations of our secret Enemies, as from our own misconduct, whilst  
 misconduct & griev- those long in our alliance, and from their vicinity more liable to labour under  
 ances remaining many grievances and impositions, grows more and more discontented thro'  
 undressed the want of redress, and alarm the rest in the most sensible manner. This produces  
 Private Congresses private Congresses, the effects of which I wish may turn out different from  
 my expectations.

Having in the course of the foregoing sheets given as exact a state of the several matters  
 therein contained, as time would allow, from all which I flatter myself that a better judgement  
 may be made of the affairs of the Indian Department. I am now to proceed  
 Further considera- to a consideration of this subject under the following general heads.  
 tions on the subject  
 considered under  
 several heads.

1<sup>st</sup> The Advantages to be derived from a fixed Establishment, supported by  
 authority, for the speedy redress of grievances, the improvement and due regulation of Trade,  
 and the promoting the Interests of true Religion with their happy effects.

2<sup>nd</sup> The impracticability of effecting this on any former system, from the want of powers,  
 the different interests and other circumstances attending his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Colonies, and the Civil  
 Govern<sup>t</sup> in America.

3<sup>dly</sup> and lastly—The intentions of Govern<sup>t</sup> in establishing the Department with humble  
 proposals for rendering it more capable of promoting and answering these important ends.

From a due consideration of the facts contained in this Review, it must naturally appear  
 that the Indians, have some reasons for thinking themselves aggrieved in several instances,  
 and that they are from apparent circumstances, capable of being dangerous enemies to the  
 growth and Trade of the Colonies, or of becoming strong friends and great promoters of both,  
 and useful members of Society.

The first step to effect this is the redress of those grievances with regard to  
 Necessity of some fixed establishment for the redresses of grievances. lands, which most materially affect the Indians—this they have been oft times  
 promised, they expect it with eagerness and impatience, proportioned to the  
 satisfaction they will receive from it which will diffuse itself thro' all the nations, tend to  
 remove one of the principal causes of their disquiet, and spread abroad a favourable character  
 of our uprightness and integrity, which it is certainly for the interest and credit of the nation  
 to render universal. For altho' (as yet) the circumstances of fraud respecting lands are only  
 felt immediately by those Nations that are our neighbours, yet the effect of their complaint  
 greatly alarms the whole, and has induced them to expect the like treatment in a few years,  
 whilst, in the mean time they are by custom obliged to make a provision for those who are  
 deprived of, or straitned in their hunting grounds. I know every argum<sup>nt</sup> that is, or can be  
 made against this, the sum of which are, that the Laws can not affect patents,  
 arguments thereon and obligations thereto answered. that they are old rights, and must hurt the present claimants, that it is a  
 dangerous precedent, and may make the Indians farther troublesome on that score ettc, but  
 surely a defect in the Laws owing to the times in which they were made, when provision  
 could not be made for unforeseen concerns, cannot be produced as of sufficient weight ag<sup>t</sup>  
 reason, and moral equity, nor can the abuse of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> name be justly produced to cover a  
 fraudulent grant. Their long standing is very little in their favour, it is rather a reason for  
 vacating them; for tho' they still subsist, they have been complained of from the time they  
 were first known, to the present, and the injury done to the present possessors, must be  
 proportioned to the Quit Rents they have paid, with the improvements and expences they  
 have been at, but where it shall appear that such Quit rents, are next to nothing, the



improvements and expences, none, what then will become of the argument, any more than that of the danger of the precedent, which is literally this:

That we should not give them a precedent of our justice, least they should be induced to expect that from us, which we do not intend to afford them.—And what should make all impartial men still easier on this score, is, that their complaints are only against two or three notorious impositions, which affect their very existence, and that they will not raise any title against any other old grants whatsoever. So that I think, where two or three instances shall appear of fraudulent grants, under the foregoing circumstances, which may have lain for many years, without occupancy, subject to little or no Quit rent, and where late intruders have forcibly possessed themselves of lands without so much as the appearance of any title whatsoever, that, in these cases justice and policy should conspire to point out the necessity for a speedy and seasonable relief. The establishment of Trade on principles of the strictest equity is another object of the greatest importance; the Indians have been long accustomed to frauds, of which they daily become more perceptible; the Traders are the only British subjects, with whom the Indians are acquainted (the Garrison excepted, and with them they had not much intercourse as they cannot understand each other) the Traders then become in a great measure the only people by whom they can form a judgement of the English, and indeed the only white People seen by the Nations most distant; it is therefore certainly our interest that those people through whom alone they can form any conception of our abilities or integrity, and who are consequently capable of giving them, favorable, or disadvantageous impressions of the whole Nation, should either be men of strict probity and worth, or, if that cannot be expected, that they should be kept within such bounds, and under such regulations as will prevent them at least from prejudicing us, in the eyes of these people at the very commencement of our intercourse with them; unless this is done, can we possibly expect to improve our Trade, Settlements, or enjoy a peace of any duration.

It may be supposed, and has been doubtless artfully suggested, that the Laws will afford relief against offenders in these cases, but experience has shewn the contrary.—  
Indians unable to seek Justice prove from the Traders own account. Is it possible to suppose that the Indians, to whom (according to the account of the Traders) it is not at all convenient to come even to the outposts to Trade, should be able to go at least 5 or 600 miles, still farther to the capitals for Justice; and admitting that some of them should know of this method, and do so, how are they to obtain Justice?—The Courts of Law, cannot admit of their evidence, nor is there any reason to expect it from many Jurys, the prejudices against Indians being too strong, and their regard for their friends too powerful, if these insurmountable bars did not exist.  
The Laws likewise defective.

In short the Well Govern'd of the Trade on the Frontiers must ever have so great an influence on the minds and conduct of the Indians, that it is an object of the most serious attention, & cannot be too speedily entered upon, so as they may have Men amongst them, furnished with powers to hear and redress them.—This they have been promised, and this they expect, and wish for more than they do for Traders in their Villages, and whensoever they discover such an attention on our parts to prevent impositions, they will not fail to apply themselves with more assiduity, and industry to their hunting, and their jealousy will in one essential point abate, the advantages whereof will daily become more visible, and a saving will be created to the Govern', at present put to an immense charge, which as it passes thro' the Channel of the



Indian accounts greatly inflames them tho' it has no connection with Indian Affairs. Thus the expences incurred within a few months at Michilimackinac contrary to orders, amounts to several 1000 pounds, under pretext of preventing a War between the Chippeweighs and the Sioux, as before mentioned, but apparently to serve the interests of a few Traders in the manner already described, by purchasing a very uncertain peace, at a greater expence to the Crown, than the profits will amount to of those who are thereby enabled to violate the most prudent and politic regulations, and the Indians seeing it their interest will take advantage of the precedent whenever they see occasion, and being of late accustomed to receive the largest presents there on every slight pretence, will at last challenge them as their due, and probably quarrel for them, whenever a more prudent management shall take place.—From this necessary digression, I proceed to another object of the highest importance, the effects of which may be easily conceived, and which it is our duty to promote to the utmost, namely: that of Religion. I believe I need not add here, that it has been hitherto greatly neglected, and as yet makes little or no progress. The Missionaries who are all established at, or near the sea coast, can only take care of the small flocks, the remains of a few Tribes who are daily dwindling away, and who have little or no intercourse with or influence over the other Nations; on the contrary, their example is rather discouraging to them, for when ever they happen to meet, they generally appear so poor, so unlike the character which is only estimable by the rest, and make so many complaints about the loss of their lands, that the rest despise them, hate us, as the cause of their misfortunes, and not being capable of perceiving that they have made any material acquisition to compensate for what they have lost, entertain a prejudice against Religion itself.

The best channel by which we can convey Instruction to the numerous Nations of the *North* and *West*, is thro' the Six Nations, but amongst them we have as yet, no *Missionary*. The Mission established between Albany and the Low Mohawk's Village on account of the residence of the Missionary being laterly entirely at Albany, occasions their receiving only a few sermons annually, from which they can derive little benefit, and had not many of them been able to read, and furnished by me with some Books in their language they might be now, almost strangers to the Christian Religion. The Societys formed by the Dissenters have taken some pains to send a few young persons; some of them in orders, to the *Oncydas* to *Onoghquagey* and one of them to the *Senecas*. Some still remain at *Onoghquagey*, the people of which Village, are much accustomed to the White inhabitants, but the rest for the most part soon grew tired, or being alarmed at every rumor of War, or threat of a drunken Indian, abandoned them, and indeed, few of these young people were esteemed, or calculated to gain the esteem of the Indians, wanting spirit to go thro' their undertaking, & abilities to guide them into the true method of obtaining a reputation and interest amongst them. The distinctions made in Religion surprised & abated the ardour of those who had been formerly instructed in the principles of the Church of England; arguments which savor more of Zeal than prudence defeat themselves in their object; a few such have been used, and some have been more than suspected of land schemes by the Indians or of diverting them from hunting, which is an alarming doctrine, but the majority generally fail thro' the want of those abilities, by which the French Missionarys made so many proselytes, as well to their Govern' as to their Religion. The Indians are fond of pomp & ceremonies and that religion in which they most abound is most likely to succeed amongst them, but the French to that advantage gained a still more material one in the choice they generally made of Men of spirit, abilities and a knowledge of the

World, who lived amongst them, became Masters of their language, acquired a thorough knowledge of their manners and disposition, and at length obtained a vast influence which they improved to such advantage (without attempting to alter established forms of no ill consequence, or to wean them from Hunting, in which they are usefully employed for the public) as to convince us from a view of some Tribes under their particular care, that the dutys of Religion are not incompatible with those of a Warrior or Hunter, and that they need not cease to be the latter in order to become to all appearance better Christians, than numbers of their White neighbours. Whilst the steps taken by many probably well meaning but gloomy people amongst us, to abolish at once their most innocent customs, Dances, and rejoicings at marriages ettc. & their premature proposals for bringing familys amongst them to instruct them in agriculture ettc as well as their arguments against hunting alarm all Indians who hear of them with the apprehension, that it is done with design to wean them from their way of living, purely, that they may be the readier induced to part with their lands to the White people, which they expect will reduce them to the distresses, poverty and Rags, that are the constant attendants on almost

Errors committed  
by the present Mis-  
sionaries.

all the domesticated Tribes of whom they have the least knowledge. A hint of such a nature to many Indians, concerning their lands which we cannot be in the least want of, and which have been expressly secured to them by solemn treaties, would effectually destroy our hopes of gradually establishing christianity amongst them, and might occasion us more domestic trouble, than we are aware of; so that too great caution cannot be used in the choice of those Gentlemen, who are sent amongst the Indians, as well as in that of good interpreters, till the Missionaries become themselves well versed in the Indian language, thro' the want of which many mistakes have been, and may be made; a specimen of which, I cannot help giving, having been present on the occasion.

A Gentleman newly sent from some of the Societys of Boston, having expressed a desire to preach to the Indians then assembled, delivered as his text "for God is no Respector of persons"—and desired it to be explained to them, the interpreter, (tho the best in that Country) told the Indians, that "God had no love for such people as them" on which I immediately stopped him, and explained the text, as I did the rest of his discourse to prevent farther mistakes; had I not been present the error must have passed and many more might have been committed in the course of the Sermon.

Designs of the So-  
ciety humbly re-  
commended.

The Venerable Society for propagating the Gospel (of which I have the honor of being a Member, are desirous to make some establishments for the advancement of Christianity amongst the Indians, on which occasion they must stand in great need of the support of the Crown, which I am persuaded they will meet with from the importance of the Cause. I should not have enlarged so much upon it, but from a persuasion that if duly attended to and properly conducted it will be productive of the most salutary Effects, whether considered in a political or Religious light.

I come now to what I proposed on the second head on which I mean to be as brief as possible.

Former inability of  
the Colonies to pro-  
mote the Indian  
interest.

It is I believe generally admitted to be the interest of the American Colonies to live in peace and friendship with several Indian Nations, but this opinion is either adopted or discarded in proportion as particular Colonies and principal Men of Interest, are affected by it, or as pride, prejudice or party may dictate. All the Colonies may more or less feel the effects of a War. Yet all are not in the same proportion persuaded of the benefits of peace, or inclined to cooperate for that end.



The causes consid-  
ered severally.

It has been generally charged upon them by most authors, and several Reports, that they neglect to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, and a gentleman whose very long residence here and acquaintance with these affairs rendered him a pretty good Judge, after attributing the French success in a great measure to their committing the particular care of Indian Affairs to principal Officers of the greatest *knowledge & authority* says: "Whereas those affairs in *New York* are chiefly left to the management of (vide *Golden hist. S. Nata*) "a few *Traders, with the Indians*, who have no care for, or skill in public affairs, "and only mind their private interest" Indeed it could not well be otherwise, for no proper people could be found, and the situation of Governors, their want of leisure, personal influence, and knowledge, rendered them unfit for the purpose. There are likewise many other particular causes to which it must be attributed, and which I fear are likely long to exist. As first, to the ignorance of all those of any consequence with regard to the interior Country and to the genius and power of it's inhabitants. 2<sup>dly</sup> to the ideas they had of their own numbers & power, which made them despise and neglect the Indians. 3<sup>dly</sup> to the impolitic parsimony and ill timed disputes in the houses of Assembly, who were unwilling to raise money for such purposes and being distrustful about the application of it, either granted an incompetent sum, or nothing at all. 4<sup>th</sup> to the particular interests of Individuals concerned in Lands, trade &c<sup>a</sup> whose situations were too distant to be affected by an Indian War. 5<sup>th</sup> to the total want of Men of Spirit, capacity and interest on the frontiers, or in the Indian Country, capable of doing any material service, of gaining any influence or of obtaining any just or necessary information, these were particular circumstances, under which, most of the Colonies severally laboured, whilst their very different forms of Govern<sup>t</sup>, interests, politics, disputes between the branches of Legislature ettc: defeated the hopes of a cordial Union, and rendered all hopes derived from scattered numbers very precarious, if not totally abortive, whilst a single party of Indians, can in one Night cut off a large settlement, which never fails to spread such a panic, as at once gives courage and opportunity to the Enemy. This has been the sense of the wisest, and most disinterested persons, and cannot be better explained than in the words of a Gentleman of experience and capacity, who speaking on this subject, says: that: "Several of (vide *Prof. to Cox* Hist. *Carolina*). "these Governments pretending to, or enjoying some extraordinary priviledges "which the favour of the Crown has formerly granted them, exclusive of others, "if their assistance is demanded or implored by any of their distressed neighbours, attacked "by Enemies, perhaps in the very heart of their settlements; they either by affected *delays* "insisting on *punctilios* and *nicetys*, starting unreasonable *objections* & making extravagant "demands, or frivolous *pretences*, purposely elude their just & reasonable *expectations*; and by "an inactive *stupidity* or *indolence*, seem insensible of their particular and most deplorable "circumstances, as well as regardless of the *General* or *common danger* because they feel not the "immediate effects of it." This has of Course produced different opinions, whereby affairs have been misrepresented, to the Crown, which prevented its early attaining, the true, necessary knowledge for applying effectual remedies, or establishing a proper plan for the general good of the whole, add to this, that for many years past, but particularly of late, most persons who go from hence to Europe to gratify pride, serve themselves, or promote the interests of party, affects to be well acquainted with Indian affairs, some of whom are guilty of gross misrepresentations and under the sanction of an occasional residence on the frontiers, tho' the greater part have not even that to boast of, are nevertheless desirous of being thought to know, what can only be acquired by a long residence, a sole attention, and the most sedulous



application, supported by no small degree of patience and a sacrifice of every other pursuit, as well as that of ease and satisfaction.

Nature and cause  
of the defects in the  
Laws for redress of  
Indians

Another material defect, from which Indian affairs have met with great obstruction, arrives from the Laws, which tho' happily devised for our use are of little or none to the Indians, and many cases prove a bar to their getting justice. These Laws were most of them existing before the discovery of America, and since, there have been none made which are either effectual or salutary for the purpose. Admitting their case to have all the appearance of equity, yet the difficulties in which proceedings are involved, the particular proofs required, their sole want of written, and incapacity to give verbal evidence, and above all the not admitting any thing to affect the Title of a patent, prove insuperable bars; without taking notice of the long duration, and great expences of a suit, and their want of knowledge, with many other wants, which prove as so many advantages to their adversaries, so that they have nothing left when aggrieved but to complain, and when their complaints prove ineffectual, they are driven to redress themselves. There are likewise some different interpretations given of the British Laws, as well as different practices of Courts and usages of the different Colonies, which are often felt by more than the Indians.

Opinions of mem-  
bers of the Law in  
proof thereof

On this subject I have had my opinion often strengthened, by the corresponding sentiments of several Men of the first reputation in the Laws; one instance of which I shall select in the words of the *Attorney General* of this province, who in the close of a late letter wherein he expresses his readiness to take every step in his power to do the Indians justice whenever they are injured, adds: "As I fear they too often are, and I sincerely wish some method of Redressing them was established more suited to the relation between them and us, than the rules of our Law at present admits of, which not being founded with a view to such a connection will very often be defective" I flatter myself that these sentiments do not require much further enlargement, & therefore I shall conclude my observations upon this head by remarking that the present state of the Colonies interests, and their ideas, are in many cases less favorable than ever to Indian affairs, and less calculated to promote the general interest with them.

The Colonies less  
calculated than ever  
to effect the desired  
ends.

In the first place, our ignorance of them, their powers and advantage still remain. 2<sup>dly</sup> Our ideas of our own power here, are greatly enlarged, and the conduct towards the Indians proportionably disregarded. 3<sup>dly</sup> Strict parsimony, doubts, disputes etc, amongst the legislature cannot by any means be said to be at an end. 4<sup>th</sup> The conduct of Individuals respecting lands, and the schemes of Trade are daily increasing. 5<sup>th</sup> The provinces are as deficient as formerly in Men possessed of any influence, capable of conducting affairs, or obtaining necessary information, and such must always be wanting until an adequate provision is made, to encourage Men of Worth and promote interests of general utility; so that if the friendship of the Indians is worth cultivating, or at all essential to the Trade and settlements, it can only be promoted by the vigorous efforts and support of the Crown, which will have for its object the general good of the whole, and being influenced by prejudices or party views is alone able to effect this important end, under whose friendly auspices, the Indians will be reduced to a better way of thinking, and no longer viewing us in the light of Invaders, will afford us an opportunity of improving our Trade, and extending our settlements with a small expence, and less risque to the subject, and with a great saving to the Crown.

Review of the cause  
of the Establishment  
of the Department  
for Indian affairs.

After what has been already observed I have only to say as an introduction to this head, that the Govern<sup>t</sup> from a just sense of the importance of Indian affairs, under a due managment, and from a thorough conviction of the neglects attending a provincial direction, which it was not possible to correct, established a Department for Indian Affairs, under a Superintendant, who being an Officer of, and acting solely by the Direction of the Crown was judged best calculated for executing those of Govern<sup>t</sup> on a more enlarged plan for the general interests and advantage of all His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s subjects, within the limits of his influence. The effects of which wise establishment will best appear, from the low Ebb to which our Indian interest was reduced at that time, the different appearance it shortly after made, and the services which were afterwards performed, before we had sufficient force, or success, to which we might attribute the change, as well as in preventing sundry quarrels since, and supporting an interest with many Nations.

We have seen (and the opinion of government is in support of it) that the Colonies cannot in this case contribute to the general & laudable purposes of the Crown.

That where the motives for deception & fraud are great, and the difficulties small, those who have views on lands, or concerns in Trade, will not sacrifice their present interests to the publick.

That the Laws cannot afford redress in any of these cases. •

That the consequences have been, and may be the cause of ruin to the frontiers, outposts and Trade, and a considerable charge to the Crown, in support of its rights to bring things to order.

That the peace *then* cannot long subsist without removing the causes of the War, the Indians being capable of doing us infinite damage, whilst for the same reasons we can distress them very little.

Want of powers in  
the Department to  
check the growing  
abuses or do effectual  
service

That the powers of the Department of Indian affairs, tho' calculated with the best intention, prove ineffectual to answer the purposes which may be expected from it.

That regulations have been drawn under the sanction of, and approved by the Crown, for providing a Remedy, but that they are not enforced, and that the delay attending the same has produced gradual Demands of *Wanton and dangerous privileges*, which however allowable in dealings with one another, or with Nations Governed by Laws, are not in their present latitude and extent, from the nature of the causes and the reasons before given, by any means admissible, without the utmost danger to His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s subjects, and American interests, a danger which the Crown, only can, and is bound to prevent

It therefore only remains for me in pursuance of my original design, with all humility to offer a few hints towards such present regulations, as whilst they are consistent with our ideas of Rational Liberty, may in a great measure check the present abuses, and prevent those in future.

Certain posts want-  
ing.

In the first place, I shall observe that our not having reestablished all the Posts which were intended, by the plan sent to me by the Board of Trade, may have contributed to occasion the wants of the dangerous indulgences in the Indian Country aforementioned. Eleven posts were intended, throughout the Northern District, viz: *La Baye* west of *Lake Michigan*, *Michilimackinac*, *Detroit*, *Illinois*, *Hawiahtonon*, *Miamis*, *Niagara*, *Oswego*, *Chicoutimi*, *Fort Frederick*, and *Fort Halifax*, these last in *Nova Scotia*, do not materially relate, to the matter at present in dispute, and *Chicoutimi* being a considerable way up the *Saguenay*



River, which empties into the S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence above 100 miles below Quebec, may likewise be expected in the present, few Traders going that way, altho' it is a post of some consequence.— But on the other side we have now no post beyond *Detroit* except *Michilimackinac*, which tho' a place of much Trade and advantageously situated, is far from answering the conveniencies of the Indians to the Westward. The Post at *La Baye* on the West side of *Lake Michigan*, the Indians have desired to be reestablished, and it is so well situated by reason of the Water communication, with very little interruption to the Mississippi, and so well calculated for all the Indians West of the Lake Michigan, that it deserves to be taken much notice of. At present affairs there are likely to be very troublesome on account of a claim laid to that post and a considerable district around it by a Gentleman of the name of *Grant* in virtue of a purchase said to be made of M<sup>r</sup> *Rigaud de Vadreuil* whose title, if any he had, was of little weight, and the whole of the transaction as laid before me by the Merchants of Canada appears to have been a piece of artifice huddled up about the time of the surrender of Canada, (or rather much later,) as the Commander in Chief is of opinion) some steps were ordered to be taken to render the Claim invalid, and unless it is soon done, it will greatly affect the Indian Affairs, and trade of that quarter.

Before the late Indian War, a post had been established at the falls of *S<sup>t</sup> Mary's* which was much more convenient for the Indians on the Southern parts of *Lake Superior* than *Michilimackinac* (this post was however, not mentioned in the plan). *Sandousky* which has not been reestablished is not a place of much consequence of Trade, it was chiefly a post at which several Pennsylvania Traders embarked for *Detroit*.—*S<sup>t</sup> Joseph's* and the *Miamis* have neither of them been yet reestablished, the former is of less consequence for Trade than the latter, which is a place of some importance. *Wawiahtonon* is conveniently situated in the neighbourhood of several Tribes, but has not been reestablished. *Fort Chartres* at the Illinois, is indeed occupied, but a post at, or near, the mouth of the Illinois River, would possess many more advantages, and prove a much greater Check upon the Spaniards, or their busy Agents the French. The objections to the reestablishing of these posts, appear to me to be chiefly, their remoteness from succours in case of a Rupture, and the Charge of keeping them up at such a distance, both of which I think, may be easily removed, for as to the first, if (as I presume) it is deemed necessary to cultivate the esteem of the Indians by justice and good management, and if these posts, are composed of only a few Soldiers, for the maintenance of the Police (as was the French custom) there will be little to apprehend from the Indians, and this will in a great measure answer the other objection with regard to the charge of transporting provisions etc, for the Indians would readily allow of the cultivation of grain for the use of the garrison, and in the Countrys I speak of, from the plenty of Venison, Fish, and fowl, would on moderate terms supply a much larger garrison, than there is any occasion for.

At the distance, I write it is impossible to foresee all the objections, that may be started against this, or any other proposal; the only material one I can see at present, is, that these Garrisons are thereby left at the discretion of the Indians for supplies. I grant it, and I am in no wise apprehensive they will fail them; if affairs are conducted properly, & the Indians are once satisfied of our integrity, & disinterested intentions; upon this the peace of the whole interior Country and Trade depends, and without it I am persuaded that we can neither enjoy the one or the other for any length of time without sustaining the most severe shocks from an Enemy whom we have never yet been able to injure materially, unless in public

Importance of reestablishing La Baye etc.

Means by which the distant posts may be reasonably supplied.



prints, and interested relations. If things are once placed on a proper footing the Indians will cherish these Garrisons, and consider them as their protectors against frauds and oppression in a Country where no justice can be had. But all these garrisons will not be alike exposed to that dependance; La Baye the most important of any I have mentioned can receive all its supplies in the King's ships which go to *Michilimackinac* without additional expence or risque, and at the *Miamis* there may be always a sufficiency of provisions from its vicinity to *Lake Erie*, and its easiness of access by the River of that name at the proper season, to protect which, the Fort, there can at a small expence be rendered tenable ag<sup>t</sup> any Coup du mains.

Proposals for a system of Regulations.

If these places I have mentioned were reestablished on the principles which I have taken the liberty to propose, it would greatly contribute to overcome the present excuse, which draws the Traders to rove at will, and thereby exposes us to the utmost danger.

The next expedient, I would humbly offer is founded on the inefficacy of the Laws in general in the case of Indians and the total want and impossibility of establishing Civil authority at the places of Trade, as well, as on a presumption that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> has an undoubted and indisputable authority in a Country not comprized within the bounds of any Colony, to make such a provision, for the due administration of Justice, as the nature and circumstances of our connection with Indian Nations appears to require, and the safety and protection of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects renders absolutely necessary; in which if I shall appear to err in any point, it is certainly with the best and most disinterested intention.

Powers ascertained of the Superintendent.

Under these (to me) reasonable suppositions I would humbly propose, that some explanation be given of the powers intended by the Commission as Superintendant, and that such farther powers be given, as may be deemed necessary to the due execution of his Office, as well as that the several Colony Laws respecting Ind<sup>ns</sup> be repealed.

Deputys.

That the Deputy Agents, who have each of them at present a division of the district may have the powers of a justice of the peace in Ind<sup>n</sup> matters throughout the Division allotted them, at least within those parts which lye beyond the limits of a Colony Jurisdiction, that the Establishment for the augmentation of their salaries for the reasons formerly mentioned be made and their Office so ascertained by Royal Commission or otherwise as to remove their present precarious situation.

Commissaries.

That the Commissaries at the several posts be furnished with the like powers within the limits of Trade allotted around the posts of their residence, to enable them to hear & determine causes within a certain sum, and to summon Jurys for that purpose ettc; that they be enabled to permit certain Traders under certain restrictions to leave the Established posts, on the terms herein after mentioned; that their powers be fully ascertained to prevent all interfering with those necessarily appertaining to the commanding Officers, and to prevent the latter from obstructing their jurisdiction and Authority in Indian Affairs, and that the Commanding Officer be directed to give them assistance, in support of their authority, that orders be transmitted respecting the Establishment of the boundary line.

Orders necessary to be sent to the Govrs &c

That the Gov<sup>ts</sup> of the several Colonies be more particularly directed, to give public notice annually of the time when the passes shall be issued, & that such passes, be given only to such persons, as shall enter into a recognizance in a sum, not less than the whole, or one half of their Cargoe for the due observance of the words of their passes; in which passes they shall be directed to proceed directly, and without breaking

bulk to some certain post to be therein expressly mentioned, there to have their goods viewed by the Commissary in the presence of the Traders, and compared with the Invoice which is to be inserted in some convenient place on their pass for the prevention of breaking bulk and thereby injuring the fair Trader.

And in as much, as the desire to go into the Indian Country is only pretended to arise from the wants of certain Nations to the Northward who are so circumstanced, by reason of the depth of the snow as absolutely to require Traders amongst them during the Winter, under which pretext numbers go whither they please, and often proceed to the Mississipi, and far to the Southward, where they sell their peltry and often their European goods to the Spaniards or French, and thereby, not only injure the fair Trader, but furnish the people beforementioned with the means of alienating the Indians from our Interest and Trade. That therefore the Commissary be enabled, whenever Traders shall be deemed necessary to carry goods to the Northward of the *Ottawa River* or *Lake Superior* at the request of the Indians in

Under what restrictions Traders may be permitted to go to the Northward etc.

public meeting, to summon, such Traders as are sole proprietors of goods (but not Factors or servants to persons in Trade) and to cause such Traders to ballot in public for the persons, who are to go according to the number which shall from the nature of the Country and state of the Indians be deemed necessary by the Commissary and the majority of the Traders; and that such Traders so permitted shall give such security to the Commissary in a sum not less than half of their cargo for their good conduct during the time of their stay amongst the Indians, which shall be limited in a pass to be then delivered them for that purpose.—That the Indians be then assured that in case of any violence offered to the persons, or propertys of any such Traders, there shall be a stop put to such indulgence until they shall have made adequate satisfaction, and that any Trader offending contrary to the engagements he shall enter into, shall over and besides the forfeiture of his recognizance, be prohibited from ever Trading again with any Indians of that Nation whom he has injured.—

Terms on which certain Indians may be admitted as evidences.

That such Indians as have embraced the Christian faith, and are known, and reputed followers of that Religion under any Denomination, be admitted as evidences in all Civil actions whatsoever, relative to them throughout the Colonies; that the evidences of such Indians be likewise taken in all criminal cases to which their testimony shall appear necessary, submitting the same nevertheless to the breasts of Members of General Courts Martial, or Jurys, whether they will admit such as full evidence or not.

That all Indians, who are not known and professed Christians, as aforesaid, be admitted in civil actions in lieu of testimony to have their information taken in writing, and read in aid to the Courts Martial, or Jurys, who shall be at liberty to judge of them as they shall think proper from the circumstances of the case.

That where Indians are proposed as Jurors, and are not known to be Christians by the President or any of the Members of Gen<sup>l</sup> Courts Martial, or by any Members of a Jury; in such case the Certificate of a Missionary (where such reside) in favour of such Indians, or the testimony of any reputable person, be the test by which they are to be admitted.

Governors immediately to cause recognizances to be forfeited.

That any crime or misdemeanour committed by any Trader, not cognizable before the Commissary, or any of his superiors in the Departm<sup>t</sup> of Indian Affairs, be forthwith reported to the Gov<sup>r</sup> who issued his pass, that he may be proceeded against as the case shall require; that all evidences be sent down the Country at the expence



of the Crown, and that in all cases which are bailable, such Trader be permitted to depart from the Post, or place at which he Traded on giving Bond to the Commissary in the sum of £     ; that he will return home forthwith, and not go to any Indian Town or Hunting Village, but wait the award of the Court where the cause is to be tried.—That all persons not duly authorized who shall be convicted of having held meetings with, or sent Belts, or strings of Wampum with Messages to any Indians, or endeavour to seduce or treat with them for any Tract of Land, dwelling place ettc. or for any privilege, immunity or advantage, whatsoever, be committed to the next goal (to be tried for the offence) by warr<sup>m</sup> from the Superintendent or any of his Deputys or Commissaries, having Justiciary powers; and that the Gov<sup>rs</sup> of each Colony be severally ordered to direct His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Att: Gen<sup>l</sup> forthwith to proceed against all Criminal Offenders by the shortest and most efficacious course of Justice, and that such Gov<sup>rs</sup> shall also cause process to be issued forthwith in all Civil actions, arising from any of the cases aforementioned for the forfeiture of the recognizances or any other purposes herein contained; which fines, forfeitures ettc, to be at the disposal of the Crown. Lastly—that Missionaries be established as intended.

The Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup>  
to proceed immedi-  
ately against the  
Criminals.

Conclusion. These are a few heads upon the subject wh<sup>ch</sup> if approved may be methodized, and so established, as in a great measure to remove the principal cause of the Indians just complaints and to check the encrease of those abuses which if permitted, must in a short time throw every thing into confusion.

The expedients herein proposed with regard to the Trade in the Indian Country are such, as no honest Man can justly have any exception to, altho' founded on necessity, it is calculated with that tender regard for the liberties of the subject which can possibly be wished for under the circumstances of the case, and therefore we have just cause to suspect the integrity, as well as veracity, of those who would wish for more on a consideration of the foregoing subject.

To satisfy all people, particularly those of a profession, where gain is the sole object, is a thing impossible; and if we duly consider the Low character of so many persons concerned in this Trade, with their selfish views, and their consequences, we need not to be surprised should they endeavour through misrepresentations to interest respectable bodys of Merchants therein, who being themselves abused, many attempt to abuse others, and obstruct the most judicious, and wisest regulations, and it is not impossible that Men, otherwise, of fair character viewing a supposed interest in the Countenance of the present irregularities, may endeavour warmly to protect it; of this there have been instances enough to justify my apprehensions, one in particular which happened here in 1724 under the Administration of Gov<sup>r</sup> Burnet, a Gentleman of universal good character, knowledge and abilities, who from a thorough conviction of its importance, by a salutary law he obtained here, for a time severely checked the abuses in Trade, and put it on a much more respectable footing than he found it. But such is the spirit of opposition to all measures of that nature, that a memorial was addressed to the King in Council wherein they did not scruple to abuse the ears of Majesty, with a train of falsities almost incredible, as was afterwards fully and circumstancially proved; the particulars whereof doubtless remain in the Office for Trade and Plantations.—I flatter myself that the present case will not admit of any thing of that nature, being calculated according to the very sentiments of sundry eminent Traders and must be approved of and wished for by all those who are capable of looking farther than present gain. Whilst the powers proposed to the Officers of the Department are much less than were intended by the plan which received the sanction of the Royal approbation and no more than has been



of late given to common Traders, who exercise at Detroit etc a judicial authority in affairs amongst themselves.

I know not how far it may be deemed my duty, to have drawn up so tedious a detail or offered such proposals; but sensible of the purity and disinterestedness of my own intentions, if I have in any place erred, it is not with design; the apparent necessity which I am thoroughly convinced there is for falling immediately upon some expedient for relief in these cases, being my sole motive; and whilst it can be made to appear that I have not, neither can I have, the least view, advantage, or concern in these proposals, but for His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s interests, and those of the public. My integrity, I hope will appear unimpeachable, and these sheets meet with the reception due to the honesty of my intentions.

The hurry in which I have been, since the rect of your Lord<sup>sh</sup>'s letter, may expose this piece to the disadvantage of want of method & correctness, errors which would be very excusable if the circumstances under which I write were generally known as my principal design was to state facts, and make a faithful representation of matters, which the urgency of affairs immediately required, I considered method much less, than I did truth, whatever disadvantages it may appear with: this is the only sanction under which it is now most humbly, and with all imaginable duty submitted to consideration.

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York Papers (S. P. O. ), CLIX., 51. ]

Fort George New York 1<sup>st</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1767.

My Lord

The continual obstructions & repeated difficulties which have been thrown in my way, to render ineffectual the Plan I had laid down for reforming the internal Police of this Province, puts me under a necessity of making an application to your Lordship, which I could willingly have avoided, being cautious of trespassing too much on your Lordships time, but I hope that my duty in the Post which I have the honor to fill at present will make it appear that this Representation is not only proper but absolutely necessary. On my arrival here it was with great concern that I found the hands of Government so weak and determined as soon as it was in my power to begin a Reformation in many articles & made no doubt but that I should have all the assistance which the better sort of people here could give me in the execution of my Plan which at the time that it would give strength to the Government would likewise add security to the possessions of the wealthy, but in this I have been mistaken for the same apprehensions which prevented the due exertion of Power during the late commotions here, seem still to prevail and the fear of giving offence to particular persons so far influences all proceedings here that tired with the expectation of being assisted and duly supported I find that I must at last act by myself or appear culpable to the eyes of His Majestys ministers for continuing in a state of Inactivity when the state of the Province requires more vigorous measures. The low mean and despicable state in which I found the Magistracy on entring on this Governm<sup>t</sup> could not fail of drawing my earliest attention that way, and I have without success been

endeavoring to restore it to its proper Dignity; I was for some time at a loss to account for the continual disappointm<sup>t</sup> I met with but the real cause was as yet concealed from me and has been so till very lately; an Act passed here on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> in the year 1759 which was again revived and continued by an act passed in 1763 and is entitled *an act to impower justices of the Peace, Mayors, Recorders and aldermen to try causes to the value of five pounds & under and for repealing an act therein mentioned* has been the cheif cause of debasing the Magistracy by introducing a set of low, illiterate, mean persons into the Commission many of whom subsist entirely by it, & has at the same time excluded some people of the best property in the country from serving in that office; in order to explain this it is proper to inform your Lordship that a custom had prevailed in this province for many years for permitting the members of the Assembly to have what is here called *the administration of the County they represented*, by which nothing less was meant than the nomination of all officers both civil and military in the County; Their choice of course fell on those who could be most serviceable to them in their elections without regard to merit, by which means many of the Lowest class among the people were appointed to offices they were wholly incapable of executing & the commissions filled with the names of the meanest tradesmen, publicans &c some of whom were not able to read or write and were obliged to set their marks to the Warrants issued in their names; almost every day a petty court is held by some one or other of these respectable judges and at a Public House where a concourse of people drawn together either as Parties, Pleaders, Jurors, Witnesses or spectators, only serves to encourage idleness and a litigious spirit, to impede in a great degree the improvement of the country and to corrupt the morals of the people by too frequently introducing perjury Gaming, Drunkenness and other destructive Vices. The weakness of the Government in general has been attributed to this act, commonly called the *five pound act* for the common people losing all that respect which was due to the Commission by seeing it in such unworthy hands and by accustoming themselves to treat with contempt those wretched Shadows of Magistrates which were immediately before their eyes, were soon brought to have the same opinion of those who were further removed from them notwithstanding the difference of their station in life and behaved accordingly. Every country swarms with Magistrates of this stamp, who are continually exercising acts of oppression either through ignorance or a worse motive, and it is not in my power to get their Places filled with abler men as long as this act is in force. I am by no means a friend to the decision of trivial controversies with much Form or expence and think that the needy and the indigent should have opportunities of speedy redress in all their concerns but this act has oppressed them instead of releiving them, and has occasioned no advantages but to the makers of it, & I am persuaded that if a respectable Bench of Judges of the Common Pleas was once established they might be safely trusted with the decision of petty suits in a summary way without juries, and on particular days to be added to the ordinary Terms for each County or that Courts of Conscience might be introduced here as in England, and upon the same plan, nothing of the kind will be attempted here as long as this law is in Force which has so fully answered the *real* purpose for which it was made, that the house of Assembly will not be readily engaged to make the least alteration in it, and any expectations of releif in this case by introducing a New plan can only be founded on the repeal of the above mentioned act; I would beg leave to add that the five pound act at the time it gives the justices power to try and determine suits to that amount repeals an other Law passed in the year 1737. which had limited them to sums not exceeding forty shillings, and that this last law would revive again upon the repeal of

the other unless it was likewise to receive his Majestys disapprobation and it is the opinion of some intelligent persons whom I have consulted before the writing of this letter, that the country would be benefitted by the repeal of both acts, and that a method more proper and more efficacious might easily be laid down for granting to the poorer people the advantages which were at first proposed in these acts, if his Maty should be pleased after what I have here represented to disallow of these acts, nothing shall be omitted in my power to remedy any former inconveniencies by recommending a Plan which will better answer the purpose of giving releif to the People and put a stop to those acts of injustice and Tyranny which are dayly committed by the present prostitution of the Commissions,—New Commissions shall likewise be issued throughout the whole Province, and I shall endeavour to get the best men I can find in it to act, which I hope to do by shewing no favour or affection to those who not appear to be duly qualified, and at the same time to reduce the list of justices to one third of their present number which I am persuaded will be very sufficient for all the purposes of their appointment. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect My Lord

Your Lordships most obedient and

Rt Honble

humble Servant

The Earl of Shelburne.

H MOORE

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York Papers (S. P. O.), CLIX., 51.]

New York Oct. 5. 1767.

My Lord

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of two acts of Parliament, one entitled an act for granting certain duties in the British Colonies & Plantations in America &c. The other for prohibiting the Governor Council & Assembly from passing any acts untill provision should be made for the Kings Troops. I have already in a former letter had the honor of informing your Lordship, that the Bill which was brought in for making the provision required had not fully ans<sup>d</sup> the expectations I had conceived of it, & gave my reasons for passing it which I hope met with your Lordships approbat<sup>n</sup> and can only add at present that the troops are supplied with all the articles mentioned in the act of Parliament in as full and ample a manner as if they had been particularly specified in the Bill Whatever inclination the People of this Colony may have to submit to government and return to their duty they will always be encouraged in a different way of think<sup>g</sup> by the Provinces to the Eastward of us and I have here taken the liberty of enclosing to your Lordship a Paper which appeared in the Boston Gazette, immediately on the news being received that the Legislature of this Province had been precluded by Act of Parliament from passing any Laws till the Troops were provided for, by which it will sufficiently appear how desirous they are of taking the Lead again in that opposition to government and of spreading seditious principles among the neighbouring provinces.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect My Lord

Your Lordships most obedient and

humble Servant.

Earl of Shelburne

Sec<sup>r</sup> of State &c.

H MOORE



*Earl of Shelburne to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 27, No. 1. ]

Whitehall 5 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1767.

My Lords

Several memorials & Petitions having been presented to His Majesty by Merchants trading from hence to North America or residing in the Colonies setting forth the present state of the Indian Trade and representing the necessity of some new regulation, I have His Matys commands to transmitt to your Lordships copies of the same for your consideration

His Majesty observing the expences of North America to be enormous, and to arise in a great measure from the present manner of manageing Indian Affairs, by the intervention of Superintendants who necessarily have a power of drawing for such sums as they shall judge exped<sup>t</sup> as well as from the number of Forts subsisting ever since the late War, and the distant stations in which the Troops have remained for want of any regular Plan or System having been adopted since the Peace I have it further in command to desire your Lordships to take into consideration at the same time how far the present expence whether regarding the Indians or the disposition of the Troops for Indian purposes may with safety and propriety admit of being reduced; and for this purpose your Lordships will state your opinion to His Majesty how far the appointm<sup>t</sup> of Superintendants remains longer necessary their first institution being supposed to be cheifly if not solely for the purpose of a general Union of the Colonies under His Majestys immediate Direction to resist the encroachments of the French at the beginning of the last War; Or how far it may be right to strengthen the Hands of these officers agreeable to their repeated applications in order to give a more efficient strength to an institution independant both of the civil and military Power. but as the general Regulations of Trade attempt<sup>d</sup> to be carried into execution by the Superintend<sup>ts</sup> are asserted in these Petitions to be ill suited to the particular circumstances of the several Provinces, and to serve rather to clog the trade with useless & vexatious restrictions than to remove the evils of which complaint has been made, and as it appears also from the correspondence that the governors of several of the Colonies do not keep up a regular correspondence with these officers, paying little or no regard to the Rules laid down by them, if your Lordships should think their further continuance unnecessary you will then state your opinion to His Majesty in what method it may be proper to intrust both the Trade & management of the Indians to the care of the Colonies themselves, leaving it to them to judge of their several Interests with those people and to pass laws which shall be adapted to the circumstances of the respective Provinces and which must afterwards in course be sent over hither to be submitted to His Maty for his Royal approbation, or Disallowance (if found repugnant to the true Interest of the Colonies or of Great Britain) subject always to such general Restrictions as your Lordships may judge proper to lay before His Majesty, as expedient to be observed by the Provinces, who must in consequence defray whatever expence they may judge necessary from time to time for their own quiet & security against Indian Incursions

And as the sole utility arising from the several Forts, which are now maint<sup>d</sup> appears to be the forming of a certain Barrier against the Indians for the security of the Colonies, your Lordships will take into consideration whether most of the Posts now subsisting may not be reduced, and others of them intrusted to the Provinces themselves, in order to lessen the present heavy expence, still preserving the necessary communications by means of a few Posts

remaining in the Hands of His Majestys Troops, on the Great Lakes and Rivers which lead from Canada to the Mississippi and the Frontiers of New York which together with a small number of Vessels to command the Navigation may answer every Intention of Government with regard to the Indians and at the same time secure an easy access for His Majestys Troops into the different Provinces, keeping the Force of the army more collected, & without hazarding its subordination & discipline

His Majesty likewise commands me to refer to your Lordships extracts from several letters of Sir Jeffery Amherst and General Gage recommending the establishm<sup>t</sup> of further new Governments on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and at Detroit, at one or more of which places a considerable body of French have been suffered to remain since the Peace without any form of Governm<sup>t</sup> also different proposals from private people for undertaking establishments in these Parts. Your Lordships will consider the force of the several Arguments which are brought in favor of these settlem<sup>ts</sup> setting forth that they will secure to His Majestys subjects, the command of the Fur and Peltry Trade, in preference to the French and Spaniards preventing smuggling with them, which as appears by the extracts of General Gages and M<sup>r</sup> Croghans<sup>1</sup> letters amounts to so considerable a sum annually as to become a national object ;

<sup>1</sup> Colonel GEORGE CROGHAN was a native of Ireland and received his education in the city of Dublin. *Pennsylvania Archives*, II., 114. On immigrating to America he settled in Pennsylvania at a place called Pennsboro' on the west bank of the Susquehannah river, nearly opposite Harrisburgh, (*Map in Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, II., 34,) and became an Indian trader, in which capacity he is found as early as 1746, on the shores of Lake Erie, between Cleveland and Sandusky. *Pennsylvania Archives*, I., 742; *Colonial Records*, V., 72, 139. While thus engaged, he acquired such a knowledge of Indian languages, and so much influence among the tribes on the Ohio and its tributaries, that the Pennsylvania government employed him as their Agent in those parts. The incursions of the French and their seizure of his property had, however, already reduced Mr. Croghan to bankruptcy, and obliged him to retire among the Mountains. He erected a fort at Aughwick, Huntingdon Co., Pa., where he had charge of a number of Indians in the pay of the Province. On General Braddock's arrival in 1755, Mr. Croghan received a Captain's Commission; accompanied the expedition against Fort Duquesne and remained with the army until the General's death (*Sargent; Craig's Pittsburgh*, 45,) when he returned to Aughwick. In 1756, he was employed in raising men for the defence of the Western frontier, along which he erected three stockadoed posts; but, considering himself ill used by the Pennsylvania authorities, he threw up his commission, and in July, repaired to Sir W. Johnson, whom he accompanied to Onondaga, and by whom he was, in November, appointed Deputy Indian Agent, with charge of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians. *Morris to Hardy*, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, II., 689; *Colonial Records*, VII., 354. His time was now wholly taken up in making treaties and assisting at conferences with the Indians, and other official duties. In May, 1760, he assisted at the meeting which General Monckton held at Pittsburgh with the Western Indians. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., 733, and afterwards accompanied Major Rogers to take possession of Detroit; at the close of 1763, he was sent to England by Sir William Johnson to urge on the Ministry the necessity of agreeing with the Indians on a boundary line, which was settled afterwards, in 1768, and to recommend some arrangements in regard to the Indian Trade. On this voyage he had the misfortune to suffer shipwreck on the coast of France. *Supra*, pp. 502, 602, 624. On his return, in 1765, he was sent to the Illinois, to pacify the tribes in that quarter, who were breathing nothing but war. On his way thither, he was attacked on the 8th of June by a party of Kickapoos and Mascoutens, who killed five of his men, and wounded and took himself prisoner, and carried him to Vincennes. *New-York Documentary History*, II., 820, 832. Through the interposition of some friendly Indians, he and the remainder of his party were released, and he proceeded to the Illinois; at Fort Chartres he succeeded in accommodating matters, and in arranging for the surrender to the English of all the posts the French held in the Western Country. Col. Croghan passed thence to Detroit. *Bancroft's United States*, V., 339. In May, of the succeeding year, he returned to Fort Pitt, four miles above which place, on the Alleghany river, he had already, with the consent of the Six Nations, made a settlement. This farm comprised about 1300 acres. *Craig*. He went to Illinois and afterwards visited New Orleans, and arrived in New-York in January, 1767. In the course of the ensuing summer he was ordered to Detroit, for the purpose of restoring to their respective tribes some Indians who were prisoners there, and to correct some abuses at that post; and in January, 1768, was examined before the Pennsylvania House of Assembly, on the subject of the murders committed by the Indians on the western frontier of that Province. It was on this occasion that the Assembly recorded its testimony of "the Address and fidelity with which Mr. Croghan has always executed his commission, and of the eminent services he has rendered the Nation and its Colonies in conciliating the affections of the Indians to the British interest." *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX., 433, 476. In March following, he held another



that they will be an effectual check to the intrigues of those Nations for gaining the affections of the Indians; that they will promote the great object of Population in general and increase the demand and consumption of British Manufactures, particularly by affording to the Americans an opportunity of following their natural Bent for the cultivation of Lands, and offering a convenient reception and occupation for their superfluous Hands, who otherwise cooped up in narrow bounds, might be forced into manufactures to rival the mother country, an event which any other way, it might be difficult to prevent; that by raising provisions of all sorts to supply such interior Garrisons as it may still be found necessary to keep up, they would greatly contribute to lessen the extraordinary expence accruing not only from the establishments of the different Forts, and the various contingent charges, but also from the necessity of transporting Provisions as well as stores to supply the Garrisons from the Provinces on the coast by the River and by the great Lakes as well as by Land Portage all which not only occasions an accumulated expence but also often reduces the Garrisons to great distress, and in case of an Indian War, when alone they can be useful, leaves them in a very precarious Situation; That these new Colonies will prove in effect a protection and security to the old, forming of themselves an exterior line of defence, rendering most of the interior Forts useless, and equally contributing to diminish the present Indian and military Expence; That being situated behind the other provinces they will be of singular use to keep the Indians in awe, and prevent their hostile incursions upon the Frontiers to the eastward, while those Savages who are hemmed in by our settlements on both sides must either become domiciliated and reconciled to our Laws and Manners or be obliged to retire to a distance

In case your Lordships should think it right to advise His Majesty to establish these new Governments, you will consider whether it will not be practicable to fall upon such a plan as will avoid great part of the expence incurred by the estimates of the New Governments established after the Peace

conference at Fort Pitt with the Indians, when he succeeded in removing from their minds much uneasiness on account of the above mentioned murders. *Ibid*, 490. In October, 1768, he assisted at the meetings held at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations and other tribes, and embraced that opportunity to purchase from the Indians a tract of 100,000 acres of land, lying between Lake Otsego and the Unadilla River, in this State, for which he obtained a patent the following year, when he secured 18,000 acres additional in Cherry Valley, N. Y. He returned to Pittsburgh, and on the 10th October, 1770, had the honor to entertain GEORGE WASHINGTON, then on the way to the Kenhawa, whom he provided with Indian guides and accompanied some distance down the Ohio river. A few years after this, Virginia set up a claim to that part of Pennsylvania west of the Laurel Hills, and claimed jurisdiction over Pittsburgh. In this controversy Col. Croghan took sides with Virginia. He continued at this time to reside on his farm on the Alleghany river, where the news of the Battle of Lexington found him. A meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh was held on the 16th May, 1775, to give expression to the feelings of sympathy and indignation that pervaded the community. On this occasion, resolutions were unanimously passed, in entire consonance with the general feeling throughout the continent, and a committee of correspondence was appointed to watch over the District. Colonel Croghan's name is the first on this list. *Craig*, 128. In the following year, however, he was superseded as Indian agent, Congress having appointed Colonel Morgan to that office; and although Colonel Croghan continued to reside on his farm, his enemies succeeded in creating doubts as to his attachment to the cause of the Revolution, and in a Proclamation issued by the State of Pennsylvania in June, 1778, his name appears among those said to have joined the enemy, and who were summoned to come in and surrender themselves on pain of attainder. 'Tis evident that Col. Croghan purged himself of all these suspicions, for in April, 1780, he was a resident of the borough of Lancaster, and in June of the same year of Passayunk, where he conveyed to Joseph Wharton his then remaining interest in his lands in Otsego county. *New-York Book of Deeds*, XX., 305, 306, 312, 314. Colonel Croghan did not long survive these transactions. He died at Passayunk, Pa., about August, 1782; his will was proved at Philadelphia on the 3d of September of that year. *Book of Record of Wills*, A., pp. 29, 30, in office of Clerk of Court of Appeals, Albany, N. Y. His daughter Susannah married Lieutenant Augustine Prevost, of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, who succeeded to his property in Cherry Valley. The large tract west of Otsego Lake eventually passed, in 1783, into the possession of Judge William Cooper and Andrew Craig of Burlington, N. Y., by the former of whom Cooperstown, Otsego Co., N. Y., was founded.—ED.



I send your Lordships all the Papers which can furnish any lights in these matters, which his Majesty desires that you will without loss of time take into your consideration in their fullest extent These together with the materials in your Lordships office, and the examination of such Merchants as are most intelligent in the North American & Indian Trade and such of His Majestys Military Servants as have been in America (who will be ready to attend your Lordships and to give you every information in their Power) will enable you to acquaint me for His Majestys information, in one or more reports, in what manner your Lordships think these Points can be regulated so as most effectually to promote the prosperity & Happiness of the several Provinces as well as the real and solid advantage of the mother Country, objects which His Majesty has so much at heart

I am

My Lords

Your Lordships

most obedient

humble Servant

Lords of Trade

SHELBURNE

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*Lieutenant-Governor Carleton to Major-General Gage.*

[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 27. No. 40. ]

Extract of a letter from Lieut<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> Carleton to General Gage dated Quebec  
15<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup>y 1767.

The Forts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Fort George are in a very declining condition, of which I beleive your Excellency is well informed should you approve of keeping up these Posts, it will be best to repair them as soon as possible. As you have been pleased to desire my opinion of this measure, I must freely say, that the more I consider the state of affairs on this continent, more and stronger reasons present themselves, & I am the more convinced it is not only expedient, but indispensably necessary for the Interests of Great Britain, & His Majestys service, not only to keep these in good Repair, but to erect a proper Place of Arms near the Town of New York, & a citadel in, or near the Town of Quebec, these with temporary works thrown up occasionally at the other places of Landing & embarking, will secure the communication with the mother country, and will link these two Provinces so strongly together as will add great security to both, they will facilitate the transport of ten or fifteen thousand Men in the beginning of a war, from the one to the other, as the circumstances may require.

The natural political situation of the Provinces of Quebec & New York is such as must for ever give them great influence and weight in the American System, therefore no pains, address nor expence too great, to root our Faction, or Party to establish tranquillity & a firm attachment to His Majestys Government at the same time it is equally essential to establish that security and strength as can properly curb or overawe, should such ever arise who by the Tyes of Loyal Subjects and honest men are not thoroughly bound to their duty.

This communication so established will give security to the Kings Magazines till then precarious and doubtful who may avail themselves of them, will separate the Northern from the Southern Colonies will afford an easy and advantageous opportunity of transporting his Forces into any part of this continent, and may prevent the greatest of all inconveniences delay and loss of time in the beginning of a war.

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*Major General Gage to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 27. No. 43.]

Extract of a letter from Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage to the Earl of Shelburne dated New York May 27. 1767.

In order to lessen expences in every article that will bear to be retrenched I have it now under consideration to ease the Crown of the expence of supporting Fort Stanwix, which stands upon carrying place between the Mohawk River and the wood Creek; the last a small River whose Waters lead to Lake Ontario. The Fort is in a ruinous situation and I dont judge it of consequence enough at present to deserve the repairs it would require to make it defencible It is proposed as soon as the military stores can be removed, to withdraw the Garrison, and to grant the Place with the ground dependant on the Fort, to an old half pay officer on condition that he shall take care of the Buildings for the Kings use and return every thing again to the Crown when required for the use of the Kings Service, and that on consideration of a small Salary he shall likewise take charge of all the Stores destined for the Lakes, and to see them forwarded over the Portage for Fort Ontario. The use of Fort Stanwix was, that being situated upon a carrying Place, the Garrison assisted in the Transportation of the Boats & Stores, but as the Stores formerly demanded are now greatly reduced, I am of opinion that the Service can be carried on in the manner proposed without being at the expence of supporting a Fort and maintaining a Garrison at so great a distance.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General (S. P. O.), CCLIV., No. 6.]

[October 1767.] No. 6.

My Lord,

On the 22 of last Month I had the honor to write to your Lordship, when I enclosed a Review of the former and present State of the Trade and Indian Affairs, &c and acquainted your Lordships with their then disagreeable aspect, and my intention to visit the Country of the Onondagaes, from whence I am just returned.

I am heartily sorry that it is not in my power to transmit your Lordship a more favourable Acc<sup>t</sup> of these matters, as I find that what I had so much apprehended from the intelligence I

communicated in my letter of the 14 of August and enlarged upon in my last approaches daily

The Indians with whom I [just held a] Congress were very desirous to know whether I had received any satisfactory Accounts from Court respecting the intended boundary line, the summary process for Justice, the grievances concerning Lands, Murders and intrusions of the frontier inhabitants and other matters whereon they were promised relief, In answer to which I gave them many assurances that these matters were under consideration and orders actually sent to the Governor of this Province on the subject of Lands they answered that they had no expectation from that Quarter, and that their application to his Majesty was founded on a certainty that they could expect no redress elsewhere that on this and every other subject of Greiviance they had patiently waited for redress several years, that they were now quite tired and began to despair of it, and that all the Nations of the several confederacies being impatient and dissatisfied at the unfavourable prospect of Affairs could not restrain their Warriors from forming Compacts for avenging themselves on the Traders, & inhabitants &<sup>ca</sup> that for their parts they the Onondagaes with a great part of the rest of the Six Nations tho' much aggrieved would with the greatest reluctance undertake any thing hostile but that they would not answer for one another injured as they were, and encouraged by Belts and Messages sent them from the Mississippi &<sup>c</sup> particularly One lately, acquainting them that their Old Father had rose up and found his axe which was as sharp as ever, exhorting them and all Nations to take up theirs, and hold it fast till the first good opportunity—I cannot promiss myself much from my answer to them or any other steps I have been able to take in consequence hereof, having hitherto made use of all the arguments in my power to prevaile, upon them to waite patiently the arrangement of these Affairs but the delay attending them has begot such suspicions & encreased their Jealousy & Resentment to such a pitch as cannot be removed but by removing the cause.

French Agents are more than ever busy amongst them and every step taken to increase their discontent, which has already began to shew itself in Acts, two boats having been plundered on the River Ohio, & their Crews consisting of 11 persons killed, & some captivated to the Southward which seems but a prelude to a general attack upon the Frontiers, and Traders who are now scattered with large Cargoes all over the Country.

I will not take up more of Your Lordships time by enlarging upon these subjects after what I have already said in former letters, the want of a more powerful & operative system appears evident and I am compelled to repeat it, because we have to struggle with a people who can on a sudden give us a severe blow, which early intelligence of their designs can only enable us to prevent, and my unwillingness to encrease the public expence by any step which however promising, I may be yet unauthorized to take upon me, may occasion an obstruction to the public Service unless I am honored with particular orders for my conduct in cases of emergency

I have purposed that M<sup>r</sup> Kemp Attorney General of this Province should be the bearer of this letter, he is a gentleman of good Reputation and has now some application to make for a better support of his Office so that I am induced both from his office & character to take the liberty of mentioning him to your Lordship

I have the honor to be with the most perfect esteem

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient

& very humble Servant

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>

The Earl of Shelburne

W. JOHNSON



*Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade.*

[ Plantations General Papers, Vol. 26. No. 50. ]

20 Oct 1767

My Lords

Since I had the honor of writing to your Lordships in January last, I have not been favored with any letter from your Lordships

I have lately transmitted to the Right Hble the Secretary of State sundry particulars of importance respecting the unsettled state of the Indians at present, and my discoveries of their private Machinations evidently tending to a rupture

Of this the Colonies were as yet unacquainted and the discovery was first owing to intimations I received two months ago from some Indian chiefs on whose fidelity I may safely rely as I taught them to imagine the maintained a considerable share in my confidence and have always taken care to make it their Interest to tell the truth from which they have not deviated for above *twenty years* past, during which period I have thereby discovered their most secret Machinations, and had my intelligence been earlier taken notice of, the public would have received more advantage from it than they are now sensible of

In consequence as well of this, as of the several Reports made to me from the different officers of the department I last month made an excursion to the Onondaga Country under pretence of a Tour for my health (which really has been of late verry indifferent, being more than ever attacked by my wound in 1755) but chiefly to discover them in council and gain further Intelligence The result of which has been as expected—The Indians enquired whether I had received any material News, saying that their Heads were quite turned with the various they had received the injurys offered to them and particularly the want of those establishments & regulations which they were promised, for prevention of the like that they were sorry to find themselves deceived, and foresaw the consequences with the utmost concern. That Bad Belts and Messages were dayly sent amongst them, that one had been just received from an officer of the Mississippi to tell all the Nations, that He (meaning the French or spanish Government) had long sat down quiet, that on riseing up lately he discovered his ax which was as sharp & bright as ever that he intended to try it soon and exhorted them to do the same against the English who certainly intended their Ruin, that for their parts they would incline to Peace, but they saw so general a discontent spreading that they dayly expected to hear of a Rupture as the greatest part of the Indians were intent on avenging themselves

About the same time I received advice of an attack made on two Boats on the Ohio, which were plundered and eleven men killed and some more captivated on the back of West Florida. All by Northern Indians of the Lakes. In short I have very slender hopes of preventing a confederacy more powerful than the former against us, the causes of which from what I have repeatedly observed, do not require enlargem<sup>t</sup>. The Traders regardless of any concern but that of present gain, break thro' all rule and alltho' the quantity of goods at the Posts &ca prevents the advancement of prices to contributes to increase particular Frauds, ill usage &ca, for which no redress can be had, at the same time that the Indians have been for some years assured that the officers for the Department should be invested with amply Powers to redress them—The extravagant Grants & iniquitous practises concerning former purchases still subsist and settlements are established in Defiance of Government beyond the limits of the Colonies, on these points they were assured of speedy redress but I have sufficiently

shewn that it cannot be expected here for very substantial reasons. The next article is that of the boundary line between us, & them, which was judged one of the surest methods for preventing disputes about Lands in future, and which the Indians some years ago agreed to settle for a reasonable consideration the want of which settlement greatly contributes to their uneasiness. All these points yet unsettled are to them as so many assurances of our ill Intentions and they are not to be convinced to the contrary so that my influence & credit amongst them must decline in proportion as they find my promises [un]fulfilled. Besides the several letters & Reports I have from time to time laid before your Lordships, I have lately transmitted a full state of all these matters to his Majestys Secretary of State and therein humbly offered a few hints relative to the establishment of such Regulations as may best be enforced until something further be done, should these be deemed insufficient, I know of no other steps that can be taken—The defects in the laws for applying remedies in the case of persons so circumstanced as the Indians are, and the obstructions thereto in America have been sufficiently spoken upon, as well as the want of authority in the department for doing any thing effectual therein, and the Indians feeling these wants are full of resentm<sup>t</sup> for the many injuries they continue to receive, jealous dayly more of our designs and practised upon by the French and Spanish agents, and others with idle stories presents &ca seem only to wait a favorable juncture for destroying the Trade and settlements & reaping a temporary satisfaction from the plunder sensible how very ineffectual & expensive all our military operations are against them, and how much a Peace with them will be covetted for the Interests of Trade

The mismanagement of the Colonies in these matters formerly, which lost us the affection of the Indians has proved in no small degree the source of our troubles & expences as to gain them to our Interest afterwards we were obliged to pursue those methods so successfully practised by the French, and they have repeatedly received many promises and assurances from Government which they expect will be fulfilled, they expect annual favors when the annual conferences are held for repeating engagements, and was I authorized upon that Head agreeable to the plan I am confident I could do it with little more expence than is at present unavoidably incurred by the Indians continually resorting hither on finding they have little to expect at general congresses. M<sup>r</sup> Kempe attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> of New York going to England, is intended to be the Bearer of this. He is a gentleman whom I beleive to have the interests of the Crown much at Heart, and his journey is on some subject of that nature which induces me to mention him to your Lordships

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect my Lords

Your Lordships much

obliged & Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

W JOHNSON

To the Rt Hble

The L<sup>d</sup> of Trade &c.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[Plantations General (S. P. O.), CCLIV., No. 7.]

N<sup>o</sup> 7.

My Lord,

I think it an essential part of my duty to lay before your Lordship the particulars of a very extraordinary discovery made of the intentions of Major Rojers Commander of Michilimacinac to corroborate which, I transmit your Lordship the enclosed letter & deposition.



This Gentleman has been known to me since 1755, when finding him an active man, I raised him to the Rank of a provincial Officer and employed him on scouting Service there being very few people then to be had fit for the purpose, he has since been advanced by several of the Commanders in Chief for his alertness in that way, but having mispent his money, and being reduced in 1763, he was since recommended by his Majesty's Ministers to General Gage to be appointed to his present command, and to act under my direction in Indian Affairs at that Post.

From very strong suspicions which now appear well grounded I took care by the advice of General Gage to give him very little powers with regard to Ind<sup>n</sup> Management or expences there the General & myself well knowing the man the heavy debts he had incurred and reasonably concluding he ought not to be entrusted with much Authority, some particulars which I had early discovered contributed to the discovering a villanous correspondence, one letter of which the enclosed is a copy of this, would have been earlier laid before your Lordship but that notwithstanding the motives we had to suspect him, it was never the less judged best to wait for stronger proofs least he might have denied his assent to y<sup>e</sup> proposals which we could not then sufficiently disprove by which means he must have been acquitted and left perhaps to do much mischief as he would be furnished with sufficient caution to prevent the future discovery of his designs.

Soon after his arrival at his Post I was informed of his assembling numbers of Indians, of secret conferences which he held at which he suffered none to be present of the Garrison, of extraordinary titles he gave himself &<sup>ca</sup> To prevent which with the advice of the Commander in Chief I appointed & sent a Commissary there for the management of Indian Affairs, previous to whose arrival, Rogers had incurred a considerable expence to the amount of several thousands and since gave Drafts for the same on the Department for Indian Affairs the pretence alledged on account of part of this expence was to purchase a peace with the Chippawaes of Lake Superior & part of the Sioust as mentioned in my last, A peace calculated to serve the purposes of a few Traders who could not range the Country at Will if a variance subsisted between these Tribes altho' such variance in no wise affected any other of the Traders or other his Majesty's Subjects, but should have been in good policy connived at, as it diverted some of the most dangerous Indians from concerting any thing to y<sup>e</sup> General prejudice.

The Bulk of the expence however which he incurred was evidently calculated to acquire a name and influence amongst the Indians for his preconcerted purposes and of this the Traders themselves latterly were suspicious for altho' his toleration to them to do what they pleased at first proved highly agreeable and induced them to accept his Drafts for the payment of large Sums yet as he has since drawn so much, has employed so many persons under extravagant promises and given them Rank and powers to go with large cargoes of goods amongst all the Nations, the Traders began to take the alarm & from a knowledge of his vanity & extravagant schemes (tho' ignorant of the material part) are now in the utmost consternation about the safety of their Persons and propertys.

As he is a very illiterate man, he found it necessary to engage some person to do business for him, and accordingly the deponent Potter has on the promiss of a handsome allowance followed his fortune for some time past, how he came to make the discovery of Rogers designs will appear from the deposition which corroborates the particulars which came to the Generals & my knowledge, he has since insulted the Commissary and interfered with him in his duty, and the General has taken some Measures for withdrawing him from thence, It only remains



for me to add thereon, that as his case is now become desperate by Potters having abandoned his interest, I apprehend he will not wait the Generals despatches, but leave the place, & take some hasty measures agreeable to his known Character, which from the present alarming Scituation of Indian Affairs may be attended with ill consequences to the publick.

The dangerous precedent which he has set to the Indians there on the article of expence, will be productive of much trouble to those who succeed him in the management of Indian Affairs there, and indeed I cannot avoid observing that the Indian Acc<sup>ts</sup> are greatly inflamed thro' the present irregular state of their Affairs, and that if as it was once intended the Superintendant had orders to procure a certain quantity of Articles for Presents &c at the cheapest rates in England, the Indians would be better served & contented than at present, when goods are obliged to be bought up in haste bad in quality & at the most advanced prices to answer sudden emergencies, and I am myself obliged not only to advance my own cash but very frequently to borrow money to answer the demands & drafts of the several distant Officers All which arrises from the want of a regular established fund for the expences of the Department.

This and all other heads are humbly submitted to your Lordships consideration with a confidence that they will merit such attention and produce such powers as may be thought best as a remedy against such evils, till when all I can do is to propose a General Congress of all the Nations and in case my endeavours to prevent hostilities should prove ineffectual, I persuade myself I can keep some Tribes quiet, and even spirit up several party's to act offensively against the rest if impowered so to do.

I remain with all imaginable Respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's

Most obedient &

Johnson Hall

Oct<sup>r</sup> 26. 1767.

most obliged humble Servant

W. JOHNSON

A Deposition made by Nathan<sup>l</sup> Potter, late of Michilimackina taken before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Hay, His Majesty's Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec, the 28 day of Sept<sup>r</sup> 1767.

Mr Nathaniel Potter late of Michilimackina maket Oath upon the Holy Evangelist and saith that about the Month of January in the year of our Lord, One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty five, he became acquainted with Major Robert Rogers, who is now Commander of the Fort of Michilimackina and that from that time till this last Summer he has continued to be much connected with him and employed by him in various ways. That he has several times observed that the said Major Rogers was much dissatisfied with his Situation and expressed a distant design of taking some extraordinary method to better it. That the said Major Rogers sent the said Potter last Spring to Lake Superior from whence he returned about the later end of last June. And in July last the said Major Rogers had a private conversation with the said Mr Potter at the Fort at Michilimackina in which he explained his designs to the said Potter in a fuller manner than he had ever done before. He said he was much in debt to several Traders whom he was unable to pay and that this gave him great uneasyness. That he was therefore resolved to apply to the Government of England to do something to better his Situation and he wished that they would erect the Country about the Michilimackina into a separte Province

and make him Governor of it, with a Command of three Companys of Rangers, Independant of Sir William Johnson or the Commander in Chief of the forces in America, that this would satisfy him and make him easy, and nothing else would, and he proposed to M<sup>r</sup> Potter to go to England to make these proposals to the English Government in his behalf and to let him know in the speediest manner possible the success of his negotiation for that, if he did not meet with Success, he would immediately upon his receiving notice of his disappointment quit his Post and retire to the French towards the Mississippi and enter into the Service of the French, where he was sure to meet with better encouragement. That he had lately a letter from one Hopkins who is now in the French Service in one of their West India Islands. That in that letter Hopkins had offered him great encouragement if he would embrace the French interest, and stir up the Indians against the English, That he was sure he would get greater Riches and be a great man if he was to go over to the French, and therefore he was resolved to do so, if the English Government did not comply with his proposals. And that he advised Potter to do the same, as it wou'd be much for his interest: That upon Potter expressing some surprise and indignation at this proposal, as being contrary to his duty and conscience Rogers told him he was a fool; that he had hitherto taken him for a man of sence and his friend that would serve him in any Scheme to serve him but that now he found he was mistaken; But he said that for himself he was resolved to do so if his proposals were not complied with: And he added that if he did take that step and retire among the Indians and French he wou'd not go empty handed, but would in that case get into his hands all the goods he cou'd both from Traders and others by right or wrong he cared not how And he said that he had already made preperations for such a step by appointing people to meet him at a place called Lowis Constant near a river that falls into the Mississippi When Potter refused to engage with Rogers in this design the latter flew into a violent passion and swore that he wou'd never pay him a farthing of what he owed him, and said that he suposed since he would not join with him in his designs he wou'd go and reveal it, but that if he did he wou'd certainly kill him. Potter answered that he had always served him faithfully, and wished to do so still, and had no inclination to reveal any thing that might turn to his prejudice, but as he seemed to be so firmly resolved to take such dangerous a Step, that might be the cause of a new Indian War, or other dreadfull misfortune to the interest of Great Britain he apprehended himself to be bound in Conscience and by the duty which he owed his Country to give intelligence of it to proper Persons, in order to prevent its taking place. Rogers upon this took an Indian Spear that was in the room in which this conversation passed, and pointed it at Potter, threatning him with instant death if he did not swear to keep this matter secret. Potter seeing his life in danger cried out for help, but was not heard; upon which he fell upon his knees and beged Rogers to spare his life till the next day when they might converse together upon the Subject again, and he hoped with mutual Satisfaction. That made Rogers grow somewhat Cooler, he then pressed Potter to give him up a Note of hand for fifty five pounds twelve shillings Sterling which he had given him in New York, and likewise to give him discharges for several Sums of Money, which he owed Potter and which he knew Potter had set down in his books of accounts But Potter did not comply with those demands Soon after Rogers opened the door and went down one of the Steps that were before it; and Potter thinking this a good opportunity to get out of his company, endeavoured to push by him and get out of the house. But Rogers would not let him go without blows he struck him and kicked him, saying "damn you, you shant come out yet; I ll cook you, I ll warrant you," besides other very foul language However by this means Potter



at last got out of the house and went to his own lodging, the people were all exceedingly surprised at this behaviour of Rogers as they had imagined that Potter had been a great friend and favorite of Rogers, as in truth he had been, till this extraordinary conversation which he did not at that time communicate to any body. The next day Potter went out to take a walk; and during this short absence Rogers took from Potters lodgings a Silver hilted sword worth Six Guineas, a Fowling peice, twenty pound weight of Beaver Skins, a hat and other wearing apparell. Potter on his return from his walk met Rogers on the Parade who asked him what he thought of things then. Potter answered that he continued in the same way of thinking as the day before; which put Rogers in a violent passion and made him swear, that he wou'd not let Potter go out of the Garrison. Potter went home and did not yet tell what had passed. The third day Rogers again asked Potter what his thoughts were upon the matter he had proposed to him, who again refused to joyn him in his designs; Whereupon knocked him down, and bid the Guard take care of him; But they seeing that Rogers was in a violent passion when he gave this order, did not obey it, & Potter was not confined, but went home straight to his lodging. Then several persons who had been Witnesses of the ill treatment he had received from Rogers, and were both surprized and shocked at it, went to see him; And amongst the rest M<sup>r</sup> Roberts the Commissary who advised him to apply to Capt<sup>n</sup> Spicemaker<sup>1</sup> the Commanding Office[r] of the Troops for protection; And Potter did so, and received the Captains Protection, and received no farther injury from Rogers after that time. On the twenty ninth of August last he left Michilimackina, and the same day or the day before he acquainted M<sup>r</sup> Roberts the Commissary with Rogers private Conversation abovementioned which had been the occasion of their Quarrel before he left Michilimackina, Rogers sent him word that if he wou'd not hurt him; he wou'd pay him his debt Potter supposes that by the expression, if he woud not hurt him, Rogers must have meant, if he wou'd not discover the aforesaid private conversation. Rogers never returned him the Sword and hat, and Bever Skins, and other things that were taken out of his room. Potter says that Rogers is in debt to almost all the Traders about Michilimackina to the amount of one hundred thousand french Livres all which debts have been contracted since he has been at Michilimackina. He says that Rogers told him in the conversation aforesaid that he had sent Eleven Cannoes loaded with goods to Lake Superior and Lake Michigan and other places of Indian Trade. Potter says that Rogers seems to him to be Collecting an Interest with the Indians in Order to retreat to them when he shall execute his purpose of leaving the British Service: And he suspects that one Stoote, and one Atherton design to go off with him.

Sworn before William Hey<sup>2</sup> Esq :  
His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Chief Justice of the  
Province of Quebec at Montreal in  
the s<sup>d</sup> Province this 29 day of  
September 1767.

<sup>1</sup> FREDERICK CHRISTOPHER SPIESMACHER was appointed Lieutenant in the 60th or Royal Americans in 1756, whilst a prisoner of war in France; became Capt. Lieutenant in 1761; Captain in 1770, and Major in 1778. The battalion of the regiment to which he was attached went to the West Indies in 1772, where, it is presumed, this officer died in 1782. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM HAY accompanied Gov. Carleton to Canada, as Chief Justice, in 1766. He was succeeded by Peter Livius, the refugee Chief Justice of New Hampshire, somewhere about the year 1779.



*Colonel Hopkins to Major Rogers.*

[ Plantations General, (S. P. O.,) CCLIV. ]

## Letter to Major Rogers.

Au Cap Francois Isle De St Domingo the 9<sup>th</sup> of April. 1766.

My dear Rogers

This is the 3<sup>d</sup> time I've wrote you since our last meeting in New York, and altho' our absence has been long, my sentiments of friendship are, and always will be the same—as I promised, you were remembered in my conversations with the Minister of the King I now serve I have reason to think you would have a reasonable gracious exception but until my affairs are entirely finished, & the promises w<sup>h</sup> were made amply accomplished, I cannot think of persuading or enticing you on until there shall be a certainty fixed for you, or such of our acquaintance as will follow my example, you know the injustices we have suffered, particularly yourself nor is it in the power of England to recompence you for the disgraces you underwent for having served them too faithfully. be assured my dear freind of my doing and contributing every thing for your honor & advantage, seize every opertunity of ingratiating yourself in the favour of the Indians where you are placed Governor, by which means and your other merits despair not in case of a change to be raised to the rank that even the height of your wishes could have expected mistrust all the world, have no confidence but in those of whom you have the greatest proofs of their friendship, so soon as the little difficulties I labour under are raised & my sort fixed you shall know, and also the decision in regard to yourself a present nous parlerons des affaires publique. I am not unacquainted with the disturbances of North America, I foresaw the storm when in London, that lay either with the injustices of the British Minister were my reasons for the steps I've taken but my dear Rogers altho detached from the British Interest entirely & absolutely, beleive me always North America and ready to render the Continent and my Countrymen all the services which may depend, or which can be expected from me, in risquing for the common liberty not only life & little fortune, but also in being an advocate for them, for any assistance or supplys that the present circumstances of their affairs may exige, there can be no obstacle to their being a free & independent people (preach this doctrine in the New England Provinces where you and your family have so much interest) you have the means in your own hands, your numbers are far superior to any forcès that can be sent against you. and I believe there are powers who might think themselves happy in being of the number of your allies & friends, and of giving you the proofs the most effectual of their good intentions for saving you—acquaint Baube and all my friends the Hurons, the Pottawataneys, y<sup>e</sup> Chippawas & the Ottawas of the change I've made, and if you have an interview with Londiac take him by the hand for me & make known to him I serve his father the King of France, the Reverend Pere Jesuite Portier pray him de me conserver tojours son amitié le famille de Mess<sup>rs</sup> Reaumes & St Martin particulierment me cher Cethorine donner moi aussi sôuvent qui possible de vos nouvelles & croyez mei Sincerement votre.

MARYLAND

&amp; write me fully without signing your name

Mr Hopkins is well, and you will address your letters to me under cover to him.

there are continual opertunities from New York &amp; Philadelphia for Monte OChrist, or by the Mississipi, to write me.

N B. The author of this letter, is a Mr Hopkins of Maryland formerly of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment after which he obtained a Capt<sup>s</sup> Commission to Command a Corps called the Queens Independant Company, on the reduction of which he extered into the French Service and is now a Collonel therein in Hispaniola. A great intimacy always subsisted between him and Rogers

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*Earl of Shelburne to Governor Moore.*

[New-York Papers, (S. P. O. No. 12.) CLIX., 51.]

Whitehall 14 Nov 1767

Sir

I have had the Honor to lay your letters No 19 and 20 before the King and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of your Proceedings relative to the Mutiny Act, on account of the critical situation in which the subaltern officers found themselves at the time of their releif

The Conduct of the King & Parliam<sup>t</sup> towards the Colonies in General has been so full of affection and Tenderness and the Province of New York in particular has been called back from its error with so much lenity; That his Majesty can not doubt of their chearful and ready compliance with whatever the parliament of Great Britain has thought fit to enact

His Majesty approves of the Commission which has been appointed by the respective Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New York for the settlement of all differences respecting their Boundaries and it is to be wished that the same method was pursued to settle similar differences with Quebec & New Hampshire

I am &c.

SHELBURNE

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*Lieutenant-Governor Colden to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[New-York, 160, A1.]

New York November 23<sup>d</sup> 1767.

My Lord

The disagreeable situation to which I am exposed from my attachment to my Duty, while the Administration of the Government of this Province was in my Hands, and at all times to His Majesty's Interest, and the authority of the supreme Legislature of Great Britain over the Colonies, I presume would at any time recommend me to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers; but especially at this time when directly opposite political principles so universally prevail, and so few, so very few indeed in this Province, shew any regard for the mother Country, or any inclination to support the authority of Parliament. But, my Lord, when the Court of Justice and a malicious Faction combine to vent their resentment against

me, on account of my public Conduct, I presume my case becomes of a much more public and interesting nature; and that the justice and necessity that I be protected and supported, will entirely excuse me with your Lordship, for the trouble I am obliged again to give you on account of some late transactions here.

Some time last Spring a Pamphlet intituled the Conduct of Cadwallader Colden Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant Governor of New York<sup>1</sup> was printed in London, and copies of it were delivered to His Majesty's Ministers, and to several Members of Parliament. This was done because it was known that several printed papers had been dispersed in London to the prejudice of my conduct in the Administration. Particular Directions were given that no Copies should be sold. A few of them were sent to this Place, which I gave to my Children and to some Friends, to remain with them in vindication of my Character. A Printer here, by what means I know not, obtain'd a Copy and reprinted it without my privity: it is said a Lawyer, who is one of the Judges sons, furnished him with a Manuscript Copy privately taken from one of the Copies printed in London. I had no Inclination to appeal to the People, on a subject which comes properly before His Majesty's Ministers, or to excite the malice of the Faction anew against me.

The Supreme Court of this Province met the third Tuesday of October last, and after they had sat ten days, the Chief Justice in the afternoon of the day before the Term ended, charged the Grand Jury for the City of New York with the Pamphlet printed in New York: the next day before Noon they presented it,—*As a very vile, false, infamous and libellous reflection on His Majesty's Council, Assembly, Courts of Justice and the whole Body of the Law in this Province.*

I am well informed that some pains had been taken to get the Grand Jury to present the Pamphlet as if of their own accord; but they could not be prevailed on.—That as the Grand Jury were going up to the City Hall expecting to be discharged as usual at that time of the court, they were met by Mr Levingston the 4<sup>th</sup> Judge of the Court, he asked them if they intended to present the Pamphlet. They answered they did not. He told them they would not be discharged till they had. That the Jury when in Court were again asked the same Question, and gave the same Answer. That some of them said they knew nothing about the Pamphlet. Judge Levingston then gave them a Copy of the New York Impression, and the Chief Justice charged them in very strong Terms to present it, nearly in the words they afterwards made use of. Persons acquainted with the great influence of the combined power of the Bench & Bar in New York, and of other leading Men who may be displeased with that Pamphlet, will be less surprised that the Grand Jury should be induced to make a Presentment contrary to their own sentiments. The influence with such a power of Men largely concerned in illicit Trade, must be great indeed. I am well assured that a greater quantity of Goods has been run without paying Duties, since the repeal of the Stamp Act, than had been done in ten years before. Whole Cargoes from Holland, and ship loads of Wine has been run, besides what is done in the usual way of smuggling. This could not be effected without numbers of people knowing it. They have been so daring it is no secret in the Country. Men concerned in such a Trade, and very few Merchants in New York are not, must stand so much in awe of the Courts of Justice, and of the Lawyers, that nothing but a conviction of the

<sup>1</sup> The Conduct of Cadwallader Colden, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of New York, relating to Judges' Commissions; Appeals to the King; and the Stamp duty. London: 1767. 8vo. Some interesting particulars respecting this Pamphlet will be found in *Journal of New-York Assembly* for 1768. pp. 52 et seq.—Ed.



Truths contained in that Pamphlet, and some remainder of moral Sentiments, could make them hold out so long against assiduous and repeated importunities.

The Proceedings of the Court, and this presentment have made the proper impressions on the minds of the People no way to my prejudice. But the view is to make the same use of it with the King's Ministers, that was intended by the Assemblies Resolves of the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1765. Notwithstanding of the public efforts here, and the private insinuations of their friends in England, I am confident the force of Truth will at last prevail.

The Facts alledged in that Pamphlet may all be proved from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council and Assembly of this Province lodged in the Plantations Office. Some glaring instances of the virulence and malice of the Faction were omitted, because the proofs of the facts are not in England. In the reasoning part, on the propriety of appeals to the King, the argument is taken place from the similiarity of the State of the Courts of Justice here, with those of the Counties in England, at the time mentioned by Judge Hales in his History of the Common Law, when all causes were carried by Parties, Faction and Interest. The knowledge I had of these things, strongly induced me to support the Right of appealing to the King, as a remedy against those great evils.—I may add that there is not a disinterested person in the Province, acquainted with the Proceedings of the Courts, who does not complain in private Conversation, tho' they be affraid to speak out their sentiments in Public. The Council, while I had the Administration, were so sensible of the abuses in the Courts of Justice, that in two different Sessions they brought in a Bill for Regulating the Practice of the Law. But the Lawyers, with the assistance of the Judges who had seats in the Council, found means to have it dropped.

The publications continued in the News Papers from the year 1765 to this time, afford a strong proof, my Lord, of the disposition and state of the Courts of Justice here.—Papers denying the Authority of Parliament over the Colonies—Declamations exciting the People to oppose the execution of Acts of Parliament in the Colonies; and fitting their minds with the most despicable Ideas of Parliament, His Majesty's Ministers and Officers of Government.—Every suggestion that could tend to lessen the attachment to the mother Country, and to raise an Odium against her, have been repeatedly published. The People are familiarised to read seditious if not treasonable Papers.—Of these notorious Proceedings the Courts of Justice have not taken the least notice, or made the smallest attempt to suppress or discountenance them. But a vindication of their Governor, who during his Administration indeavoured to support his Instructions and the Authority of Parliament, has, at the instance of the Judges, been presented as a vile infamous Libell.

Had there been any regard to the Dignity of Government, the complaints against their Lieutenant Governor, would have been made to the King or his Ministers, in which case I should willingly have answered.

The Assembly in the last Act they passed for Providing for the Troops quarter'd in this Province, have carefully avoided to acknowledge the Authority of Parliament. An opinion is industriously infused into the Minds of the People, that the legislative authority of Great Britain does not extend to the Colonies, by Men who from their Profession are supposed to understand the Constitution best. When this opinion prevails generally among the People, no jury will form a verdict on a Law which they think has no authority in the Colonies. I have heard some men place their confidence in this, that no man can be punished in the Colonies for his disobedience of an Act of Parliament.

If such be the state of the Courts of Justice in this Province, as it seems too probable to be, it may be impossible to enforce the authority of Parliament, unless disinterested Judges and Law Officers be appointed of known integrity and abilities. A military force may protect the persons of the Officers of the Crown, but cannot punish any disobedience of the Laws; and in such case the greatest disorder and confusion must be produced.

Tho' I have this satisfaction my Lord, that in the Administration of Government, I was only swayed by sentiments of duty, yet my conduct has drawn upon me the most implacable resentment of Men who profess Principles inconsistent with the dependance of the Colonies on the Mother Country—subversive of His Majesty's Rights and Authority, and destructive of the security and property of the Subject.—I am the only Governor in America who suffered from the frensey of the deluded mobs in 1765. And I am the only Man in this Province to whom ample reparation has not been made—I alone have received no benefit from the Resolves of the House of Commons on that subject.—My Character has been aspersed in the basest manner, and the malevolent assurance with which the Faction persevere to make me feel their resentment, encreases while I am suffered to remain without any marks of His Majesty's protection or approbation. Should this continue to be my situation, I may fear the worst that malice & power can do; among a People whose daily breach of Laws, disqualifies them to oppose or displease those to whom the Execution of the Laws is committed. And probably few hereafter will expose themselves to such Malice, by adhering to the Principles upon which I have acted, or by giving information which may be so dangerous to themselves, without hope of being supported or protected.

His Majesty's Authority in the Colonies, and the Interest of Great Britain, are so connected with the matters I have the honour to inform your Lordship of that I cannot doubt of your excuse for so long a letter and I hope you will think it proper to lay my case before the King

I am with the greatest respect & submission

My Lord

Your most obedient

and faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Shelburn, principal Secrettary of State for the Southern Department.

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*Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[Plantations General, (S. P. O.), CCLIV., No. 9.]

My Lord,

N<sup>o</sup> 9.

The 26<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> I had the honor to address two letters to your Lordship, the one on the subject of Indian Affairs, the other concerning the Commandant of Michilimacinac which was accompanied with enclosures, on the latter of which subjects we have not heard farther since the General sent to have him apprehended, but I have received a very extraordinary Plan for a Government &<sup>ca</sup> to be formed at Michilimacinac, with an estimate of Trade, all



which I understand has been sent to His Majesty's Ministers. As it is long and speaks for itself it is needless here to point out the falshoods & obserdities contained in it, and shall only remark that it is calculated with an eye to his being Governor & to have it in his power to carry on an extensive Trade where he pleases assisted by three or four companys of Rangers whom he proposes to have established there.

In time we may be able to form several Governments even with the consent of the Indians but it is as certain unless they are framed & their powers executed by the most disinterest persons, they will totally defeat their intention A Scheme for establishing a reedy plan of bad circumstances and worse principles in the first Authority, and for composing the next branch of the legislature of such Traders as are at Out Posts, is too absurd to deserve any comment to say that such Traders (or Merchants as they call themselves) will avoid being guilty of wrong as their own interest would be thereby effected is a specious tho' false argument, and is what they never yet regarded It being notorious that men in Trade much superior in Judgement & understanding to any who resort to the Frontiers have constantly sacrificed their own interest together with that of the Public to the present moment and they must always do so in this Country for reasons that can be easily given.

We have seen how the New York Independant Companies first detached from his Majesty's best Troops degenerated in America thro the avarice of their Captains who of my certain knowledge seldom kept up half their number & those were for the most part creatures unfit for any duty how much more may we expect that Rangers under an interested needy man in a remote Corner without check or controul will be in a short space of time reduced to a handfull of faggots or at best a few sufficient to be employed in Trade for him at the charge of the Crown but I shall wave this point to proceed to the material objects which have occasioned this letter.

Since my last I have met with nothing but what tends to confirm the intelligence I gave in all my late letters, I have therefore thought it best to call a general Congress of both the confederacys which if productive of nothing else will at least keep the Indians quiet till something is done by the Crown but the expence of two such Grand Meetings and at such a distance makes me wish I had his Majesty's Orders previous thereto, I do all in power to prevent the general Congress they have proposed amongst themselves, but I have received the disagreeable News that the Emigrants from Pensilvania and Virginia daily increase, and that there are many new intrusions made on the lands about Red Stone Creek, Cheat River &c The Temerity of these people is not more surprising to me than that of the Traders who are scattered about in all parts of the Indian Country, and must fall the first Sacrifice on the commencement of hostilities. I have already given my full sentiments on these matters and I would cautiously avoid proposing ideal schemes or such as could not be effectually carried into execution for the general good, as I would all partial Plans for Individuals Interest, but something must be proposed or done to prevent the general liberty now taken by the Traders from producing the ill effects which are so justly apprehended. In the State I lately transmitted to your Lordship, among other matters I pointed out the necessity of such restrictions as were not inconsistent with liberty from the Nature & Circumstances of our connections with the Indians and produced a few out of many instances, which evidently shew that the Misconduct of Two or Three private persons may produce a general War, of this I am as fully persuaded as that such misconduct must arise in the course of an iregular and extensive Commerce I am still satisfied of the reasonableness of a more general indulgence than has been



to the Northward of the Lakes, but I positively deny that this indulgence which arises from the peculiar necessity's of the most Northerly Tribes, can with truth or reason be applied to the Nations Southward of these Lakes, It is the necessity of the Traders, and not of the Indians that gives birth to all this, The Frontiers are over stocked with goods, the majority of the Traders by all I can find are Bankrupts unable to come down to the Capitals, who feed their Creditors with the hopes of good remittances if they be let go where they please, this procures them credit for more goods, tho' it only postpones their fate, with that of the Merchants & Traders in general, which it is expected will receive a severe blow shortly on that acct, These are all the objects arising from the want of a regular system which cry out for amendment, but until full powers are given for that purpose, we must substitute something as a guard against the evil tendency of the latitude at present taken by the Traders who although they now for the most part give Bonds to their Governors for their good behaviour and observance of the Regulations made for Trade, yet have nothing to fear because their Bonds are not forfeited for misdemeanors.

According to his Majesty's Proclamation the Trade was declared to be free and open to all his subjects subject nevertheless to certain political restrictions, so that any Province that finds it practicable may doubtless trade with as much freedom as its neighbour, but I find a Jealousy begins to rise between the Trading people of the different Colonies, Those of the Government of Quebec I presume because that Country when in the hands of the French enjoyed most of the Furr Trade are Jealous of their Neighbours who claime an equal right to all indulgences. I have mentioned in the State that the Furr Trade is principally enjoyed by the Governments of Quebec and New York but the former does not possess all the advantages it did. The Cession of Canada has rendered it equally safe to the rest of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Subjects, & the price of labour and hire of battomen greatly encreases under our Government in that Colony. The short communication from Montreal by the Ottawa River was ever attended with so many inconveniences from the number of Carrying Places therein, that the French always preferred the Lakes (which lye equally convenient for New York) to that River when they could prosecute their Voyages without danger from Us, any material advantage which that Province has, arises from the acquaintance & interest of several of the French amongst the Indians, an interest which all impartial men would wish did not exist, since it is often apply'd to the worst and most dangerous purposes, And here I cannot help giving a fresh instance concerning Chabert Joncaire formerly a noted partizan, whose return amongst the Indians I did not much approve of, Yet he made his story so good at Quebec that he was recommended strongly for liberty to go to the Westward with a large Cargoe of goods, on which occasion he gave me many assurances on the word of a gentleman & Officer as he expressed it, that he would not only demean himself as a faithful subject, but even make use of his influence for the public Service to shew the Indians the absurdity of their expectations from France, & so reconcile them to the British Government, Accordingly at Niagra in the presence of the Officers he said many fine things to that effect, but at a little distance from thence called a number of Indians together & told them that they should take no Notice of what he had said before being compelled to do so in the presence of the English, but that he had brought them assurances from the King of France of his steady regard for them that he would shortly shew it by the Army he would send to their Assistance and that in the mean time they should begin themselves to do something against the English, this I

have had from several Indians of different Nations who were present, and I fear it has done much harm.

But to return to my subject I cannot help expressing my concern to see not only difference of sentiments & jealousy amongst the Traders, but also an infatuation in favour of their dangerous projects, which induces them to make misrepresentations to Government that might prove if credited fatal to themselves and dangerous to the Public in General, The public interest is always produced as a cloak to private gain, otherwise they had no occasion to disguise their real motive, for the Fact is if we set aside a few Northern people whose case I have already excepted, All the rest who hunt in a more favourable Climate, are very differently circumstanced, So that if La Baye & the Miamis were re-established their conveniency would be sufficiently answered. The Indians have no business to follow when at peace but hunting, between each hunt they have a recess of several months they are naturally very covetous and become daily better acquainted with the value of our goods & their own Peltry, they are every where at home, and travel without the expence or inconvenience attending our Journeys to them. On the other hand every step our Traders take beyond the Posts is attended at least with some risque, and a very heavy expence; which the Indians must feel, as heavily on the purchase of their commodities, all which considered, is it not reasonable to suppose that they would rather employ their Idletime in quest of a cheap Market, than sit down with such slender returns as they must receive in their own Villages, as a proof of which I shall give one instance concerning Toronto on the North shore of Lake Ontario formerly dependant on Niagra which notwithstanding the assertion of Major Rogers "that even a single Trader would not think it worth attention to supply a dependant Post" yet I have heard Traders of long experience and good circumstances affirm that for the exclusive Trade of that place for one season they would willingly pay £1000 so certain were they of a quiet Market from the cheapness at which they could afford their goods their, and I am certain that a handsome Fund would arise from farming out the places of Trade to Merchants of Fortune & Character, they giving security to be answerable for the misconduct of their Factors, which could not be more than we find at present. I know very well the importance of the Indian Trade at the same time I am persuaded, we should not lose our attention to the Frontier inhabitants who besides the Trade which many of them carry on to no small amount, considered as a body take off much more of the British Manufactures than the Traders, which exclusive of the Quit rents is an encreasing Revenue to Great Britain whilst the Trade has limits beyond which it cannot go but must decline in proportion to y<sup>e</sup> decrease of the Indians, & the game throughout the Continent I have equally weighed the great expence & loss which the Crown is at from its Military operations during an Indian War, and consider such War to arise from one or all of the three causes following. First from Frauds in Trade and ill designing Enemies amongst the Indians, Secondly from unjust intrusions upon their Lands, & ill treatment from the Inhabitants Thirdly from neglect of convening the Indians occasionally to strengthen & renew Covenants, or omitting to treat them generously with favours & kindness or breach of promise made to them, any of these are to them sufficient incentives to revenge, and it is often in the power of the most inconsiderable individual to aggreive them in one or both of the first instances every one of which should be strictly attended to by the Superintendant, and where [h]is powers are not sufficient to combat the prevailing Crimes of some, and the errors & misconduct of many, it is his Duty to represent it fully to his superiors, and if his situation affords him an opportunity of pointing out any remedy he is certainly bound so to do, under this apprehension I presume



with all humility & deference to offer your Lordship a few thoughts in addition to those which closed my late State of Indian Affairs & Trade. The redress of past greivances with regard to Lands having been promised and impatiently expected by y<sup>e</sup> Indians I cannot too often recommend it to the attention of Government. That the Superintendant have notice of all intended Grants of Lands within the District, and certify the consent of the Nation or Tribe to whom it belongs which will be a standing memorial of their accordation, & enable the Superintendant to satisfy the Indians of its equity in after times from Testimonys in his own Office, for want of which the Indians must now return to their Nation discontented until he writes to some of the Capitals for information concerning the Grant. That something be fallen upon to procure Justice for the Indians in a summary way, not according to the Modes and practices of our Courts, That the Superintendant and his Deputys be empowered to apprehend commit and bring to punishment by such Summary process all Criminals Offenders and all persons who sit down on Indian Lands without legal Authority, as well such, who without Authority shall assemble Indians or attempt to tamper with them for any private purposes, And as the General residence of each of the three Deputy's is on each of the Grand Communications to the Indian Country the Traders be compelled to give into them their names, destination & cargoes, to the end that the officers at the Posts be advertised thereof, as many now pass the Out Posts in the night without Passports from the Governors, and that such Traders do on their return report their Cargoes to the end that a perfect estimate may be made of the whole when such Regulations Custom & usage as appear necessary shall be confirmed into Laws. That the Traders be indulged with liberty to carry goods to such Nations as are so circumstanced as to require them in their Country, they giving Bond for their good behaviour. That the Commissaries have power to withdraw any Traders who shall abuse their indulgence amongst the Indians on complaint made, & to commit and send down all offenders to be dealt with according to law, as well as to execute all other business of the Department which their situation will enable them.

That the Jurisdiction of the Marches & Frontiers beyond the limits of the Garrisons be explained, and that the Superintendant & his deputys have certain powers given them as conservators of the peace throughout that district which is not comprised within any Colony, as a necessary check on the licentious, who now Act with discretion therein, and that the Military may be directed to afford them aid on all such occasions. That a duty be laid on all Spiritous liquors carried beyond the limits of any Colony to the Out Posts for the Indian Trade, and that such liquors be liable to a double duty when carried into the Indian Country, and the monies arising therefrom be applied towards defraying the expences of the Indian Department

It being recommended in the State lately transmitted that none but owners & proprietors of goods should go into the Indian Country. In addition thereto I would recommend that they be obliged to get good security for their behaviour in a sum to the amount of the value of their Cargoe, or if Factors be permitted their employers or partners be Surety. at present besides the ill consequences arising from the conduct of fraudulent men of desperate circumstances, the fair Traders are injured and the English name rendered odious and contemptable by reason that many of the most Idle & Careless Persons of the lowest character, & involved in debt, tempted with extravagant prospects of gain, take up a little goods for which credit is too easily given, which being charged to them at a high price perplexes their Affairs, & they falling daily into fresh difficulties will stick at nothing to impose upon



their Creditors and extricate themselves, surely such men cannot serve the Public, gain upon the Indians or make discoveries, but must on the contrary sacrifice the one incense the other & ruin themselves

And as many Renegado French &<sup>ca</sup> have retired to and live with the Indians where they do us infinite prejudice and by their intermarriage & artifices acquire much interest, whilst others now Trade and live their in security who have been concerned in murders & robberies during the late Indian War.

That the Superintendant and his Officers be empowered on due proofs wherever they can to seize the persons of all those who since they became British Subjects have been guilty thereof, or who are guilty of crimes or misdemeanors & to bind over their accusers to prosecute such persons at the suit of the Crown. That all interfering of Civil or Military Officers be particularly guarded against by express orders from his Majesty, and that the Duty of the Commissaries & others residing at Posts be explained in such a manner, as to prevent disputes between them and the Commandants, the Superintendant being answerable to remove & otherwise deal with any of the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> who shall Act contrary to instructions, on due complaint made to him, the necessity of this will appear from the behaviour of Major Rogers to my Commissary at Michilimakinac, who remonstrating against his interfering, and his extravagance to the Indians (whom he brought constantly to the Commissary and insisted on their being loaded with favours, in all appearance to acquire an interest for the dangerous purposes already communicated to your Lordship) was insulted, degraded to confinement, & sent prisoner from the Post, notwithstanding the Military & Trading peoples application in his favour.

From what has been repeated in former letters & from the many reports transmitted on Indian Affairs concerning the management of these people, I hope will evidently appear what are the powers necessary to be given to y<sup>e</sup> Department for the purposes of the Crown & the Public advantage and therefore it will be unnecessary to repeat them, or to dwell longer upon the want of settling these important points and the alarming prospect of our affairs on that Account. I have therefore only to repeat that the promoting Religion amongst them is by no means to be neglected, and that the establishment of Missionaries under proper Authority, as promised & daily expected by the Indians (many of whom educated in the principles of the Church of England are greatly disgusted at our neglects) would have very happy effects. As I understand an Episcopate is now sollicit<sup>d</sup> for by the National Clergy, and their Congregations, I am of opinion if their application meets with the success and attention which it appears to deserve that such an Establishment besides its advantages to y<sup>e</sup> National Church & its Members, will tend in the most effectual manner to promote Religion amongst the Indians under a proper Church Government, & the Auspices of a Resident Dignified Clergyman in America.

I have upon this and all other occasions humbly proposed every thing which I thought best calculated for answering the intentions of the Crown, and promoting the interest of the people in general, and if now or at any time I have been too prolix, or have made any repetitions It arises from my apprehensions for the public safety and my desire to save the Crown much expences, which may be prevented by a timely correction of those disorders which obstruct the Department, and by giving reasonable strength and power to that system which is Judged best calculated for the management of Indian Affairs, I which I affirm I can have no other Interest than what must be enjoyed by every good Subject, when he shall find the Public

Tranquility established on the most reasonable and Judicious Principles. This my Lord I shall ever wish for, and in these sentiments I shall ever remain with the utmost esteem My Lord

Your Lordships Most obedient and

Johnson Hall

most humble Servant

Dec: 3. 1767.

W. JOHNSON

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*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New-York 160, A. 3. ]

Nº 28.

Fort George, New York, 7<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1767.

My Lord

Most of the letters which I have received from S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson of late have been fill'd with accounts of the Uneasiness which now prevails among the Indian Nations and his Apprehensions that we are upon the eve of another Indian War; In my letter to your Lordship dated Nov<sup>r</sup> the 5<sup>th</sup> 1766. which was wrote soon after my Return from the Mohawk Country, I explain'd at large the principal greivance complain'd of by them in this Province and at the same time endeavour'd to make it appear how little foundation there was for expecting redress here by any methods I could possibly pursue for obtaining the satisfaction they desired; I should think myself extremely happy, if I could be instrumental in preventing a Calamity which is always attended with such dreadful scenes of Butchery upon the Inhabitants of the Borders, and fully intended to have made another Tour into that part of the Country but was under a necessity of deferring it, as I had not been honor'd with any answer to the letter abovemention'd or impower'd to give any Assurances to the Indians that they might expect a Redress from England; This Consideration alone oblig'd me to put off my journey 'till April next in hopes of being enabled by that time to say something Satisfactory to them, & beg leave to submit the consequences of a farther delay in this matter to your Lordship's consideration, as there will be a great meeting of many Nations of the Indians about that time on our Frontiers. I can assure your Lordship that I should not take the liberty of writing in this manner concerning affairs which so far from being entrusted to my management, are wholly taken out of my direction, but from the Accounts I receive almost every week from that part of the Country, every thing is to be apprehended which can be suddenly carried into execution by so barbarous an Enemy.

If I did not think that His Majesty's service call'd upon me particularly to exert myself on this occasion, I should have declined meddling with it, as I imagine that the Expence attending these Journeys (although on the public service) will fall on me alone; Last year I was employ'd for Six Weeks in settling the Boundary Line between this Province and Quebec, & in the Negociation with the Indians, to whom I gave presents of considerable value before I left them, but on my return here no compensation was made to me for the monies laid out in these necessary services; not one shilling of it has been yet repaid although two Sessions of Assembly have been held since that time nor do I suppose it is ever intended, notwithstanding it is well known that my expences amounted to upwards of £500; By the Table of Fees sent home lately your Lordship will see how deep such a sum will sink into

the scanty salary of £2000 allow'd to the Governor here, which without any Deductions together with the Common Fees of Office are far from being sufficient to support him with that decency becoming the King's Representative here. I have little reason to expect that my second Journey into the Mohawks Country will be less expensive to me than my first was, or that there is a greater probability of my being reimburs'd, but the service seems to be so pressing that it cannot be avoided, and whatever disadvantages I may labour under in regard to my situation here, I hope always to avoid the Reproach of having neglected in the smallest degree the charge which has been committed to me. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient and  
humble servant

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Shelburne.

H. MOORE



*Lords of Trade to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ Plantations General (S. P. O.), No. 253. ]

Whitehall. 23. Decembr 1767.

My Lord,

Your Lord<sup>p</sup> having thought proper to communicate to us, copies and extracts of several letters lately received by Your Lord<sup>p</sup> from Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage and Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, & also by other persons from their private correspondents in America, relative to the present temper and disposition of the Northern Indians, we have taken the same into our consideration, and, though the subject matter of these letters has immediate connection with the questions and considerations referred to us by Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> October last, yet as they do, from the nature of the advices therein contained, appear to us to be of great urgency, and to require a more speedy attention in His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Councils than is consistent with the delay which must necessarily attend the preparing a Report upon such a variety of important matters as your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s general letter of reference points out, we think it our duty to lose no time in submitting to Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s consideration what has occurred to us upon this subject.

The substance of the advices contained in the papers is, that secret councils have been held by the Indians in the woods; that a general Congress is proposed, to which all the several Nations have been invited; that a Batteau loaded with goods for the Indian Trade, has been stopped and plundered on the Ohio, and that it appears from authentic intelligence, coming through different channels, that something of moment is in agitation, which combined with the discontent prevailing amongst the Indians, on account of encroachments upon their lands, does indicate a design of an hostile and dangerous tendency.

The complaints of the Indians on account of encroachments upon their lands, and the expediency of the establishing a boundary line between their Country and the settlements of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects, have long been urged by the Superintendant for Indian affairs, as a consideration of very great importance

It was this consideration which occasioned the provisional management in the proclamation of 1763. and induced this Board to propose, in the plan for the Management of Indian Affairs prepared in 1764, a boundary line being established by solemn compact with the Indians.



This plan, having been communicated to the Superintendants for Indian Affairs, they have (tho' not strictly authorised so to do) made it a subject of discussion and negotiation with the Indians in their respective districts, and in the Southern district such line has not only been stipulated by Treaty, but has also been in part actually surveyed & run out.

In the Northern district the proposition of a boundary line, appears to have been received by the Indians with marks of the greatest satisfaction and approbation; and the particular course and extent of it to have been very precisely pointed out by them and acquiesced in by Sir William Johnson, in a Congress held with those Indians in 1765.

This line, as described by the Indians, begins at Owego, upon the Eastern branch of the Susquehannah, from whence, pursuing the course of that branch to Shamokin, it runs up the Western branch to the head thereof, and from thence to Kittaning on the Ohio, and so down that River to its influence with the Cherokee River.

In tracing the Course of this line upon the Map, your Lord<sup>p</sup> will observe, that though it does preclude from settlement a considerable and valuable part of the Province of Pennsylvania, in the forks of the Susquehannah, yet it does on the Contrary, leave room to the Inhabitants of that province, situated to the south of that River, and also to the Inhabitants of Virginia, to extend their settlements further to the Westward than they have hitherto been able to do with any degree of safety; and therefore, when we reflect that the establishment of this line will, in all probability have the effect to prevent the fatal consequences of an Indian War, that seems at present to threaten the middle Colonies, by giving satisfaction to the Indians in a point the most essential to their interests, without confining the settlements of His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s subjects to too narrow limits, we submit to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, whether it may not be adviseable that orders should be immediately sent to Sir William Johnson for the final settlement of this boundary line, in a Congress to be held with the Indians for that purpose, and that he should be enabled to make such gratification to the said Indians, as the nature and extent of the concessions on their part shall appear to require.

It would have been going beyond the bounds of the subject which occasions our troubling your Lord<sup>p</sup> with this letter, to have entered into a minute detail of what has been agreed upon with the southern Indians concerning a boundary line; but as the line settled with the Cherokees falls in with a part of the Conohway River, communicating with the Ohio, it does seem to us that it would be unadvisable, that the line now proposed to be settled with the six Nations and their allies, should be extended lower down the Ohio, than the mouth of the said Conohway River, as the carrying further might afford a pretence for settlements in a Country, which, however claimed by the Six Nations as part of their ancient dominion, is in fact actually occupied by the Cherokees as their hunting ground, and who would consequently consider such settlements as a direct violation of what has been agreed upon by them.

We are, My Lord, Your Lord<sup>p</sup>'s

most obedient and

most humble servants.

CLARE

SOAME JENYNS

ED: ELIOT

W<sup>m</sup> FITZHERBERT

THOMAS ROBINSON.

*Governor Moore to the Earl of Shelburne.*

[ New York 160., A 6. ]

(No. 30.)

Fort George, New York.

29<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1767

My Lord

By His Majesty's Ship Coventry I had the honor of transmitting to your Lordship my speech at the opening of the Session of Assembly together with the Addresses I received from both bodies of the Legislature in answer to it: The Business of the Session is now drawing very near to a Conclusion and a Bill pass'd for replacing the Sum of £1500 paid to the Officers of the 46<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Regiments as mention'd in a former letter; It is with great satisfaction that I can inform your Lordship that this Province has so readily comply'd with what was expected from it, and I think it incumbent on me to mention this additional circumstance, that this last sum was granted before any Demand was made by me; I had great reason to expect from what had pass'd in some conversations with the principal Members of the Assembly, that such a step would be taken, I therefore delay'd the mention of a Demand to give them the Credit of doing what would redound so much to their honor, and have not been deceived in my Expectations. The objections made to a former Bill by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations are removed in this, and I am extremely happy in being able to send satisfactory Accounts of our Proceedings here, at a Time when so great Pains are taken by a neighbouring Province to make unfavorable impressions here by the seditious papers which are publish'd almost every week, which seem only calculated to encourage a Spirit of Disobedience to Government, and to inflame the minds of the People. I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and humble servant

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Shelburne.

H. MOORE

## CORRIGENDA.

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- Page 271. 15th line from top. For "10," read "15."
- Page 447. 3d line from top. For "26," read "20."  
13th line from bottom. For "Thomas Cant," read "Archbishop Secker."
- Page 631. Last line. Insert "16" before "May."
- Page 854. 2d line of Note. Dele all after "promoted" to "1761," inclusive, and insert "to be Captain Lieutenant in the 80th, or Gage's Light Armed Foot, on the 4th October, 1760." And line 4 of Note. Dele all after "Johnson," and insert "He continued on Half pay until 1787, when his name disappears from the Army List."
- Page 920. 16th line from top. Insert "16 April, 1767."



FOR GENERAL INDEX TO THIS WORK, SEE LAST VOLUME.















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